# JOURNAL

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# CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

**VOLUME XI.—1889-1890.**

*EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.*

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.

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*(Translation from the Dutch made for the Society, and revised by F. H. de Vos, Esq., Barrister.)*

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## A SHORT HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS THAT OCCURRED IN THE ISLAND OF CEILON,

### SINCE THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST NETHERLANDERS IN THE YEAR 1602, AND, AFTERWARDS, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "HONOURABLE COMPANY" IN THE SAME ISLAND, TILL THE YEAR 1757.*

*(Translation made for the Society, revised by F. H. de Vos, Esq.)*

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THE Island of Ceilon was for a long time a pearl in the Crown of the possessions of the "Netherlands East India Company." Like so many of their other jewels, she was irretrievably lost to them during the latter part of the last century.

It cannot, indeed, be uninteresting to become acquainted with some of the events that took place there under our rule: such information will be found in the

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* "*Beknopte historie van de voornaamste gebeurtenissen op Ceilon sedert de komste van de eerste Nederlanders aldaar in den jare 1602, en vervolgens van het etablissement der Edele Maatschappy ten zelven eilande tot den jare 1757.*" The original spelling of names has been retained.—*Hon. Sec.*

following pages, entitled "A Short History of the Principal Events that occurred in the Island of Ceylon, since the arrival of the first Netherlanders in the year 1602, and afterwards from the establishment of the Honourable Company in the same Island till the year 1757."

This history was compiled in the year 1760, from printed papers and manuscripts in the care of the Political Secretary at Colombo, and was sent to the Fatherland in 1762.

The manuscript was found among the papers of the former East India Company in the State Archive at the Hague, and through the kindness of the Archivist, I was, now about two years ago, allowed free access to it. Should the "Historical Society" desire to include this History in its Journal, it is respectfully offered to them, by their obedient servant.

The Hague, 1862. P. A. LEUPE.

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## SHORT SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "HONOURABLE COMPANY" IN THE ISLAND OF CEILON.

Arrival of Admiral Spilbergen in Candia: his reception by the King, and the presents given to him, with permission to build a castle.

His departure, and arrival of Vice-Admiral Sebalt de Weert, who, after making a contract, sails for Atchin.

His arrival with seven ships at Baticaloa. Animosity of the native princes, followed by his brutal massacre.

Illness and death of the King. His step-brother succeeds him, and desires friendly relations with the Netherlanders. Boschhouwer makes a contract with him.

Boschhouwer's departure to Mazulipatnam, after receiving many honours, provided with ample credentials by His Majesty, to fulfil his promise, according to contract, of procuring assistance against the Portuguese.

His return to the Fatherland, where, owing to disagreements with the Directors, he goes over to the Danes.

King Adakyn dies, and is succeeded by his youngest son Raja Singa Rajao, who asks assistance from the Governor of Cormandel against the Portuguese.

His Majesty's letter delivered to their Excellencies, who thereupon despatch two persons to the coast.

Through them the Governor of Cormandel delivers the letter written to the Candian Prince.

Contents of the letter.

Arrival of the aforesaid Commissioners in Candia: their audience and conference with the King.

Their departure to Goa, with Ambassadors from the King and a letter to Admiral Westerwold.

Contents of the letter.

Sea fight between the Netherlanders and Portuguese off Goa.

Arrival of the "Henriette Louisa" from Batavia, and "Hertogenbosch," with Vice-Commandeur Coster from Souratte. [The latter] sent to Ceylon with three ships by Heer Westerwold to inform the King of the expected arrival of further assistance to besiege the various forts, and to deliver the under-quoted letter to him.

His arrival off Trinconomale, and consultation as to the best means of attacking Baticaloa.

Arrival of Heer Westerwold at Baticaloa, and capture of that fort.

He enters into a treaty with the King, which is sent by two of His Majesty's Ambassadors to Batavia.

Delivery of 400 bales of cinnamon, &c., as part payment of expenses.

Capture of Trinconomale by Heer Caen:

Nigombo by Heer Lucaszoon:

Galle by Heer Coster.

He goes to Candia, but is compelled to withdraw, without receiving any honours.

On his way to Baticaloa is murdered.

An ill return for the services rendered to the King and highly displeasing to the Netherlanders, and the reason of the loss of Nigombo.

This [place] retaken by storm by Heer Caron.

The King's treacherous intentions towards the "Honourable Company": he has no scruples about taking up arms against it.

Several instances given.

The Netherlanders are envied the possession of the Seven Corles. Secret treaty with the Portuguese, whereupon Heer Thyssen declares war, &c.

Heer Maetsuycker seeks on his arrival to remedy the foregoing misunderstanding, and writes with that object to His Majesty.

Further correspondence to change the unfavourable opinion of the King.

Without avail, as proved by his conduct to Heer van der Stel and his men.

Heer Maetsuycker again writes to His Majesty requesting him to state whether he is desirous of preserving peace or not.

The King continues obstinate, as his letter to Heer Maetsuycker confirms.

Letter from the King to Heer Maetsuycker.

Reply of the latter.

Further letters from Heer Maetsuycker to the King. He treats them with silence, which induces Maetsuycker to dissemble and write the under-given letter.

Strong protest by Maetsuycker against not receiving an answer. Requests a passport for Commissioner Maerschalck.

His Excellency eventually receives an answer from the King. His reply thereto.

His Excellency informs the King of the departure of Commissioner Maerschalck.

His Majesty desires to know the views of the Netherlanders in regard to the peace sought by the Portuguese. Heer Maetsuycker's reply.

He writes to their Excellencies that they can never expect peace with Ragia.

Communicates to His Majesty that he has heard from the Portuguese that peace has been made with them, and that it is now proposed to make war upon us.

This story seemingly an invention of the Portuguese, His Majesty resolved to send off the Netherland prisoners with Maerschalck ; whereupon Heer Maetsuycker thanks him and presents him with a horse.

Complaint of His Excellency to the King against his Dessave, and of the difficulties in collecting cinnamon.

For two years this had been peeled by the Portuguese, and such proceedings His Excellency would prevent by the help of his army. Notice thereof to the King.

[Heer Maetsuycker] expresses his surprise to the King, who is unwilling that any cinnamon should be brought to Nigombo.

Asks [of the King] that the Pittigal Corle may be repopulated so as to get possession again of the cinnamon.

Thanking him at the same time for the concession, which allows him to bring an army into the field to protect the Chalias [cinnamon peelers], for allowing the Netherlanders to pass through his dominions, and for his promised help in case of shipwreck in his harbours:

Also for permission to place a permanent Ambassador at the Court, which will be done immediately.

Presents from His Majesty to Heer Maetsuycker, who sends in return the afore-mentioned horse and a Dutch saddle.

Return of Maerschalck with two of His Majesty's grandees. Terms of peace ; also remarks of Heer Maetsuycker, concerning the cinnamon. These he sends with the Ambassador, and two of the Company's servants.

Heer Maetsuycker thanks the King for the appointment of a Dessave for Mature : proposes after the expiration of his

term to nominate Camholt, and to send Cox as Commissioner to the Court.

His Majesty asked to allow us to remain in Nigombo until we have also delivered Colombo to him.

The reply to this not ascertainable ; but undoubtedly Heer Maetsuycker was presented with a ring and a tusker elephant. He asks that the peeled cinnamon in the Seven Corles be delivered to us.

Ambassador Cox returns with the terms of peace and several prisoners, &c.

Heer Maetsuycker writes to Batavia that it is impossible to wean Raja from his baseness, and that he must be forcibly brought to his senses.

Thanks His Majesty for the breast jewel, and mentions the arrival of Heer Kittensteyn to relieve him.

Further tells the King that our services do not merit such treatment.

His Excellency's [Heer Maetsuycker's] departure. He leaves instructions with his successor, which show that His Majesty intends to destroy the cinnamon lands.

Therefore it is thought best to take those lands into our own possession ; which we did without breaking our contract.

The declaration of war sent by Heer Thijssoon to the King causes the loss and despoiling of the Seven Corles.

Two points decided by Heer Maetsuycker.

Recommendation to His Excellency [his successor] to guard against treacherous intentions regarding the Company's forts and lands.

Heer van Kittensteyn asks the King to name a Dessave of our own nation, and sends a ship to Baticaloa to bring our sick prisoners.

Complains to the King about the Adigaar Rampot, who he observes is the cause of the King's displeasure.

He is further described as a treacherous and dangerous subject.

Upon which he is ordered to return from Mature to render an account of his differences with Heer Maetsuycker, &c.

His Excellency thanks the King for the assistance rendered to the ship "De Haen," stranded at Calpetty, and for giving freedom to four persons of that vessel detained.

His Excellency hears from our Commissioner of His Majesty's intention to come down to interview His Excellency concerning some matter of great importance, and of a promise to deliver a large quantity of cinnamon and elephants to us every year.

Heer van Kittensteyn requests His Majesty to allow our Commissioners greater freedom, and better opportunities to despatch their letters hither.

Some presents sent to His Majesty; and communications received from Batavia.

His Excellency forwards these to the King, reproaching His Majesty at the same time, though politely, for calling himself God.

He writes to the King with reference to the alliance with the Portuguese, which His Excellency himself believes to be a fact.

Departure of His Majesty's Ambassadors to the Court with the *pro data* required European lifeguard, &c.

Heer van Kittensteyn receives a letter from His Majesty. In reply begs that the delay in taking over Colombo may be accepted in the best spirit possible; adding the assurance, that we, on our side, do not intend to possess ourselves of a foot of His Majesty's land.

Resignation of Heer van Kittensteyn. He is succeeded by Heer van der Meyden, who communicates the fact to the King.

Heer Hulft appears with a large fleet: he takes Caliture and makes preparations for the siege of Colombo.

Pleasure of His Majesty at the arrival of the fleet, proving that Kittensteyn and Van der Meyden had verily promised to deliver Colombo to him. For [the place] itself [His Majesty] cared nothing, if he were but allowed the honour of its conquest.

Shows still more pleasure at the arrival of Heer Hulft and the taking of Caliture. Orders already given for collecting [His Majesty's] forces.

Resolve to attack Colombo, but driven back with great loss, and compelled to defer the attack for another time.

Meanwhile, everything prepared for another attack.

His Maiesty being informed of the failure of the first attempt, keeps back his army.

Heer Hulft thereupon proposes to send an Ambassador to ascertain His Majesty's intentions.

But first gives notice thereof to the Dessaves of Saffregam and the Four Corles.

Hartman is sent as Ambassador to Candia; whereupon the King resolves to come down to consult with Heer Hulft.

His Majesty advises Heer Hulft to be on his guard against treachery, and requests him, should there be anything in his (the King's) letters which Heer Hulft does not quite comprehend, to communicate with him direct, so as to prevent all misunderstandings, &c.

At the request of the King for a trustworthy person, Y[s] Godskens is sent. He returns and reports verbally the replies to five letters sent to His Majesty.

Among other matters, the high honour and esteem in which Heer Hulft is held.

His Majesty requests to be informed how, after taking possession of Colombo, Jaffanapatnam and Manaar can also be taken.

Sends his Dessaves down to accompany Heer Hulft. Two letters written by His Excellency in answer to those of the Portuguese.

Heer Hulft undertakes the journey, and is received with unusual honour.

His Majesty abides by the agreement concluded with Westerwold, on the proposition of Heer Hulft.

Further conversation between the King and Heer Hulft.

His Excellency's return from the Court, and his sad death.

Of this Heer van der Meyden informs the Prince, who thereupon sends his Dessaves and Adigaar to express his sympathy, and to inquire into the cause of the sad occurrence.

His Majesty shows further sympathy, and desires an interview with Heer van der Meyden. He wishes the jewels and presents of Heer Hulft to be sent to his friends in the Netherlands; and to know what further steps are to be taken for the subjection of Colombo.

Writes to Heer van der Meyden that he has every confidence in the loyal services of the Netherlanders, and intends writing to that effect to the Netherlands.

Wishes them to inform him in time of the conclusions at which they have arrived, &c.

His Majesty also ordered the Sabandhaar at Gale to see that the most favourable view was taken by Heer van der Meyden of the mistakes in his letters.

Y^s Godskens, who had been sent to His Majesty, returned with three Courtiers, announcing that His Majesty would like the attack postponed until April 30.

This they had resolved to undertake on the night of the 27th; but put off until May 7, when the attack was made upon St. Jan, and the bastion taken.

The Prince's flag planted upon it, and articles of agreement drawn up with the Portuguese; thereafter followed the surrender of Colombo.

Letters received from His Majesty, retracting the agreement made with Heer Hulft.

Anger of His Majesty and the departure of his Dessaves to the Pass Naklegam : this is considered by Heer van der Meyden and Council a great mistake.

Charge to the Corporal stationed there not to prevent the passage of His Majesty's subjects.

His Majesty's anger increases, and he insists on the surrender of Nigombo and Colombo.

Writes that he does not understand idle stories, and will not hear them.

Further complaints of His Majesty about the non-performance of the agreement.

Reply of Heer van der Meyden to the King, who becomes exceedingly enraged, and even accuses the Netherlanders of treachery.

Follows this up by actual hostility.

Prevents supplies from arriving, as well as obedience to our authorities at Mature, at the same time taking possession of everything.

Whereupon [the authorities] at Gale detached three companies for our safety, and to warn the Candians to keep out of our territory.

The while it appeared that the chiefs were in alliance with the King.

This was afterwards discovered through an intercepted ola.

In the Pasdum Corle and at Caliture, things were no better, as appeared from another ola.

The Candians at Caliture collected and committed great depredations; whereupon 200 soldiers were stationed at Bentotte.

The same thing occurred at Nigombo, where an ola was also discovered.

Resolve to represent to the King his base action, desire him to cease all hostilities, and leave our territories in peace.

Request a speedy answer and that some Ambassadors may be sent: in the meantime Nigombo would be deserted and razed to the ground, and all reasonable demands of His Majesty not conflicting with our interests would be conceded.

Unsatisfactory answer of the King.

The increasing enmity of the King obliges us to keep a strict watch upon everything.

His Majesty presents the Portuguese with some large villages: the Candians attack the post of Hakman, but are obliged to retire.

Our principal Singalese are unreliable.

A sergeant, four soldiers, women, and some of the natives of Mabolle are seized and brought before the Dessave of the Seven Corles.

Two spies caught at Bomboele and decapitated.

As the Portuguese again try to collect a force, 200 or 300 men are detached in order to frighten the Candians.

Sixteen ships and 700 men are sent to Ceilon in charge of Heer van Goens, as Commissary from Batavia.

Capture of Tutucoryn, Manaar, Hammenheil, and Jaffanapatnam; treachery detected at the last-named place.

The King appears to wish for peace, but nevertheless continues to agitate the country.

The port of Calpetty surrendered to His Majesty: [the surrender] disapproved by their Excellencies.

[His Majesty] to have possession provisionally, provided he continues peaceable.

Heer van Goens elected Governor in place of Van der Meyden; first conquers Cochin.

Raja Singa strangely remained inactive during that expedition.

His Majesty holds captive all the Netherlanders sent to him. Their Excellencies therefore decide to send him only natives in future.

Van Goens relieved and replaced by Heer Hustaerdt, under whose rule the English vainly try to gain a foothold in the country.

Things continue to remain peaceful.

As also under the rule of Heer Roothaes.

Heer van Goens arrives as Superintendent, Admiral, and General, and assumes the Government.

Conspiracy against the Candian Court, from which the King fortunately escapes, and craves assistance of the Company.

They assist him with troops, who take possession of fifteen provinces.

Their Excellencies apprised of this, in order to evade the danger, recommend the retiring a little further into the low-country.

Orders given to take possession of the ports of Baticaloa, Coetjaar, and Trinconomale.

The opinion being that our armies must evacuate the upper country so as to give less [cause of] objection against the occupation of Trinconomale.

Van Goens maintains that the contrary would be of more benefit to the Company.

This their Excellencies finally acknowledge, and consider the necessity of erecting a small fort at Calpetty:

Also to garrison Chilauw, and fortify Nigombo.

Raja Singa appears to agree with the "Honourable Company," praises the occupying of Trinconomale, and communicates a letter written to him by the English.

Is rewarded with the amount realised by the tax on arecanuts sent to Colombo, in acknowledgment of his good faith.

Calpetty becomes the possession of the Honourable Company.

They capture an Embassy sent from the King to the English at Madras.

This shows plainly how little trust can be placed in that monarch.

Baticaloa is captured :

Coetjaar also occupied.

Meanwhile it is not thought advisable to take possession of the Seven Corles or to peel the cinnamon to the north of the river of Caymelle.

The Mendecaduale and Attekalan Corles are invaded by the Singalese ; which is avenged by some of our troops sent out.

Resolve to see whether the abandoned lands of the Honourable Company could not be held.

This does not seem to have succeeded, as the ports and free navigation remained open to the King until a violent insurrection again occurred.

Request to the King for the release of the Netherland prisoners.

Not succeeding, the navigation at Coetjaar, Baticaloa, and Calpetty is closed : whereupon some courtiers arrive, and pretend that this is all the work of malcontents.

Deplorable situation of the King and the consequence thereof : his illness.

He is, as it were, beleaguered, but has entrenched himself on a hill.

The highlanders again commence hostilities.

Appearance of a large French fleet off Trinconomale, under two Admirals, who pretend that they have been called in by Raja Singa.

Whereupon it is considered advisable to send out some detachments ; in consequence of which several Corles are again brought under the authority of the Company.

Retreat of the French from Trinconomale, in consequence of the measures taken by Heer van Goens.

The request of Raja Singa to drive away that nation the more remarkable, as they were encouraged in their action by the King.

The occupied posts are maintained, and pardon granted to many insurgents.

Thus the Company remained in quiet possession until 1675, when a general invasion took place.

Departure of Van Goens, who is succeeded in the Government by his son.

Bibligam attacked and surrounded in such a manner that our troops succumb to the superior power of the Candians, &c.

The greatest disloyalty is shown on that occasion by the Company's subjects ; also by those of the Nigombo district, which is abandoned by them.

The Dessave of the Seven Corles having gone to the north with his whole force and all kinds of implements, some reinforcements sent to Calpetty.

At Mature also everything was in danger and commotion.

A number of people sent to Baticaloa on account of the insurrection of the inhabitants.

All the outlying posts called in, and departure of the Governor in person to Sitavaque and Mature ; which had a good effect.

Jaffanapatnam reinforced by one hundred men, and Aripo placed in a state of defence.

The Dessave of the Seven Corles, fearing the tyranny of the King, came over to us and was accorded protection.

The inhabitants of those Corles also implore our protection for the like reason, and that they may be ruled by their own Prince.

Whereupon Van Goens resolves to take the pretender, Prince of Matele, with him to Nigombo, to make further inquiries.

In case the inhabitants renewed their request, to march with a force to Doenagaha.

Resolved to take possession of that post and Sitavaque.

Heer van Goens receives a letter from their Excellencies directing him to hand over to the King the lands held possession of since 1665.

A missive on the subject written to His Majesty.

Resolved in case these generous offers are not accepted, to protest, and if that has no effect, to defend Sitavaque, and the Kolona and Happittigam Corles.

Report to the Court officials, concerning the reception of the letter from their Excellencies, which was presented at Sitavaque by Captain van der Poel. It was therein stated that in order to satisfy His Majesty and to dispose him to release our prisoners, some of the best horses should be offered to him, among them two Persians.

Heer van der Poel sent to Sitavaque, with the above-mentioned horses and with soldiers and lascars to resist the King's forces, upon the report that most of the Dessaves were collecting all their men.

The result of that report and the acts of the enemy.

Van der Poel ordered to send off the useless and the sick, and to follow with the remaining militia, leaving the necessary garrison at Sitavaque :

But to apprise the Court thereof, and of the murders committed by the highlanders.

Heer van Goens, junior, relieved and succeeded by Pyl, the Jaffanapatam Commandeur.

A Persian lion, horses, tigers, and falcons sent to the Court with Mierop ; also the presents remaining at Sitavaque : by which it is expected the Netherland prisoners will be released.

The King's people maltreat the Chalias and burn the peeled cinnamon, the King pretending friendship the while and dissembling in everything.

But in 1682 the Chalias being at work unmolested, the King was presented with a special gift accompanied by a friendly letter.

The tyranny of the King over those who had appeared too powerful has a political significance.

On the demise of his father the young King will give the Company much more trouble.

The Singalese are by nature generally bad and treacherous.

The treacherous disposition of the old King and cowardice of the lowlanders contrasted with the highlanders.

The cinnamon harvest of 1683 peaceably gathered in, amounts to 8,400 bales, but the Ambassador Mierop still remains at Ampe, and his proceeding up country is uncertain, for reasons given in the text.

Lamswaerde and Ram as volunteers sent by their Excellencies with a letter to the King, in order to induce His Majesty to make peace; but are unsuccessful in their mission.

The Court officials excuse themselves from entering within the Company's gravets on the pretext that they are acting under orders.

Considered advisable to give the King notice of this in a friendly manner.

Meanwhile the aforesaid Courtiers having sent troops to different Corles and laid claim to them, it was resolved to concentrate the Netherland forces.

Mierop is admitted to audience and cordially received.

The remaining presents at Sitavaque sent to the Court by the hands of Captain Slegt.

The King's people having strengthened their forces at Ampe, the ordinary convoy of the Embassy is also strengthened by 500 men.

Two boats with two field-pieces are sent to Rouanelle, under pretence of enhancing the honour of the presents.

The peeled cinnamon is detained, as the Chalias at Nigombo went higher up [than usual] where the crop was more abundant.

The King states that if the Company is in want of cinnamon they can ask His Majesty, when they will have a sufficient supply; but that he is offended when it is peeled beyond the boundaries without his knowledge.

The King's pardon asked, and the detained cinnamon restored.

Peace and quietness continue, and a present is sent to the Court. Illness and insanity of Mierop.

The cinnamon peelers continue their work quietly, and are able to furnish 8,400 packages.

Four Courtiers arrive from Candia and communicate the good health of His Majesty and an assurance of his good-will.

The King's people again occupy some district, but do not molest the inhabitants, and are not interfered with.

Mierop returns from Candia, having been presented with an elephant and several other gifts.

Lamswaerde and Ram also return ; but there are no tidings about the other prisoners.

Everything remains quiet, and the King still flatters the Company with hopes of peace.

The small fort Hangwelle rebuilt ; it is intended to fortify Nigombo ; Caliture also strengthened.

Great uncertainty continues as to the fate of Raja Singa.

The High Priest of Candia pays a visit to the Governor, and is received with great state.

Conference between him and the Governor concerning the King's intention towards the Company : his departure, &c.

Release of the Netherland prisoners frustrated through the instigation of the French and Portuguese : attempt made to conciliate the King with presents.

The cinnamon peelers are driven away from the Pittigal Corle.

Decapitation of some highland Chiefs and Dessaves on account of their tyrannical rule.

The movements of the King's people in the Mature district checked.

A present of a falcon to the King, who seems pleased ; and arrival of prisoners in consequence.

The departure of Heer Pyl to Nagapatnam to confer with His Excellency's Commissioner van Rheede is the cause of suspicion and uneasiness at the Court, and he is induced to return immediately.

Remarks of Heer van Rheede, upon the opinion of Heer Pyl, concerning the peace movement of the Court.

Continuation.

Further continuation.

Heer Pyl seeks through the arrival of an Embassy to take advantage of that state of things, but in vain.

And presents to the Courtiers, in pursuance of orders from their Excellencies, all the Corles taken possession of in 1655 ; but they will not accept them.

Death of Raja Singa, and general mourning.

Succession of young prince Mahattane to the throne.

General rejoicing.

The Secretary of State communicates the decease and cremation of the old King, and he is advised of the funeral ceremony and the sending of an Embassy.

Arrival of some Courtiers, bearing two olas by order of the King.

They mention that His Majesty has given the large village Belligam to the Basnaike.

Discussion of Heer Pyl with the Ambassadors about the letter.

Continuation.

Further continuation.

The Ambassadors are, after two days, again admitted to audience by Heer Pyl, when the ola is again discussed.

Continuation.

Further continuation.

The Governor repeats, at another interview, his complaint about the peeling of the cinnamon in the Pittigal Corle. Whereupon the Ambassadors request him to exercise patience for a fortnight after their departure.

They received promise of a ship to fetch a High Priest from Arracan, conditional on the [prior] fulfilment of their promise.

The officials ask, whether the King will be allowed to transfer 3,000 amunams of arecanuts from Putulang, and also 400 or 500 packages of cinnamon to the Netherlands on His Majesty's account on board our ships, and to bring out goods in exchange.

This was politely refused.

The Court officials have far more influence with the young King than with the old monarch, which does not tend to the advantage of the Company.

Sudden arrival, by river, of the Secretary of State, announcing that the young King will assume the title of Emperor shortly.

We testify our pleasure thereat.

Speedy departure of the Ambassador.

Secret conference between him and the Governor, in which he says that if the Company desires peace, they should first restore to the King all the lands confiscated since 1665, and further should open the navigation of the ports.

Regarding the first part of that request he was told that the King had been offered these territories long since, but no one had as yet appeared to take possession.

The Ambassador gave it as his opinion that the best way would be for the Company quietly to evacuate them.

Objections stated to him against the opening of the ports, which could not be done without authority.

Resolve to draw up a draft of contract, and Alebos chosen to offer congratulations to the new King.

He departs with some costly presents.

Heer Pyl's report of the Embassy and all that happened with the Candian Ambassadors, forwarded to Heer van Rheede, who sends his opinion thereupon to Colombo.

Heer Pyl's remarks upon the pretensions of the Singalese.

N.B.—The fulfilling of the terms of peace.

Evacuation of the sea forts, and free navigation of those places.

Free trade with foreign merchants.

Negotiations for peace should be fearlessly entered upon.

A favourable peace would be to the advantage of the Company.

Return of Alebos, unsuccessful in bringing about preliminaries of peace or the release of the remaining prisoners.

Appearance of the Dewekare Mahamotiaar at Colombo with nine prisoners. He announces the coronation of the King as Emperor, and that permission has been given for peeling the cinnamon unmolested in the up-country Corles.

The coronation of the King observed by us with great state.

Alebos goes again to Court to congratulate the monarch, and to make him some presents on behalf of the Company, with ample instructions for the negotiation of peace, according to the draft contract mentioned below.

The private discussions of the Governor with the Dewekare Mahamotiaar about the peace had no effect upon him: he boldly inveighed even against the Counsellors.

The subjects of the Company, including the coolies, showed greater preference for the King than for the Company.

Return of Alebos unsuccessful.

[Description of] his interview with the Courtiers regarding peace.

His second conference with those officials.

Their remarks upon some of the articles contained in the contract of peace.

Answer of the Ambassador thereto.

Continuation, concerning the two points mentioned in articles 3 and 5.

About the booty at Gale.

The treasures left behind at Raigamwatte.

The revenue and taxes from the lands.

He further declares that he cannot treat for the surrender of lands and towns included in that contract.

His answer upon the point concerning the exclusion of all nations in the traffic and the closing of His Majesty's ports.

And that there will be no prohibition should His Majesty feel inclined to send one or two vessels elsewhere, to purchase necessaries or curiosities.

The Courtiers agree to report to the Sovereign, who will then take it into favourable consideration.

End of the Conference.

The Ambassador declares his conviction that the contracts of 1638 and 1649 were not at the Court, and that they seemed to have no knowledge there of the letters, &c., written by His Majesty to Colombo in 1640.

The Ambassador is informed that he will be permitted to leave the next day, and that the Sovereign has agreed to every point, with the exception of the surrender of the lands, and that on the Governor will be bestowed a title of honour, and a certain Province surrendered.

But this was a mistake, as His Majesty had not made up his mind upon certain points, his intention being to come down to meet the Governor with a view to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Ambassador mourns his lot, and is told he must consider himself highly favoured at the honour shown to him.

It is presumed that the cause of the sudden change must be ascribed to a certain ola written by the Basnaike of Colombo.

A letter received from the Courtiers expressing displeasure at the wrong done to His Majesty, &c.

Separate note accompanying the same.

Contents thereof.

Change of affairs to the disadvantage of the Company after the King's death.

In whose time the Company's right on the ground of conquest could be better maintained against all Europeans.

The evacuation of the above Corles, the taking possession of them by the King's people, and the placing of Chiefs over them, with the exception of the Three Corles. Meanwhile the Company's subjects continue to press for the continuance of sake of titles of honour, which has an ill-effect.

Some Courtiers bring two olas. The first states that His Majesty is coming down to make arrangements with the Governor, to which His Excellency replies that he cannot have that honour, as he is not permitted to leave Colombo.

The subject of the second letter treats of religious tolerance for the Singalese, and the opening of the ports.

Orders sent to Calpetty to prevent the despatch of a vessel with arecanuts from Putulang.

Heer Pyl sends a full report of what has happened, before as well as after the mission of Alebos, to His Excellency the Commissary, who makes his comments thereon.

Again receives a very offensive ola from the Courtiers, to which His Excellency sends the reply given below.

Those who formerly fled to the mountains are returning again, and Heer Pyl sees plainly that his native employees are traitors, the worst being the Basnaike.

The Singalese consider it against their dignity to be reasonable; it is therefore better not to be too conciliatory.

His Excellency maintains that the lands in the possession of the Company should not be surrendered, but on the contrary an attempt should be made to conquer the Pittegal Corle.

Things thus remain without any appearance of a suitable arrangement with Candia, a rumour being prevalent of an attempt to oust the Company altogether.

The French Ambassador causes much mischief by inciting the Courtiers to send off another vessel with arecanuts.

They had already granted a pass to a different vessel laden with 200 amunams for Cormandel.

A vessel with three flags charged with red lions detained at Calpetty.

Arrival of a vessel with curiosities from the coast for His Majesty, which after discharging cotton goods was granted a clearance.

The peeling of the cinnamon and the sending of the annual present are carried on, although the Singalese caused us delay.

The King desires that Heer Pyl should continue in the Government: otherwise he would not enter into a treaty of peace; but if His Excellency remained he would confer with him about it.

His Excellency therefore resolves to remain in order to advance the peace.

Notwithstanding this there was nothing effected with the Courtiers.

The only desire being for free permission to peel cinnamon, &c.

The present sent up remained on the way. The King sends off several of the lascars and subjects who had deserted to the up-country. He considers himself affronted because no Netherlander is sent with the presents.

Heer Pyl is relieved and succeeded by Heer van Rhee, under whose rule, of five years duration, the land remained quiet, and the cinnamon was peeled in peace.

With the exception of the escape of a great number of the Chalias, who were sent back and appeared before the Governor and gave the greatest assurance [of future good behaviour].

Heer de Roo becomes Governor, but dies at Suratte; so that van Rhee remains until the arrival of Heer de Heere.

Harmony continues with the Court. A party of runaway lascars are sent back, the ringleaders being put in chains.

The Chalias peel the cinnamon as far inland as ever.

Fresh proofs of the ill-feeling of the Courtiers, who send two impertinent olas to the Governor.

Replied to in strong terms, and a resolution made not to send the required contract.

Great consternation at the Court at the false report that the Company intends to declare war against the King.

The cause of the detention of the Ambassadors, who were sent up with presents.

On their return after a year's absence, they report that His Majesty gave many proofs of his friendship with the Governor. [The King] sends four escaped ringleaders, with the request that they should be pardoned for the nonce.

One hundred and twenty-three escaped Chalias, with six of their ringleaders, given up.

The gravets closed by order of His Majesty, who has given orders to negotiate at Putulang.

This causes great scarcity of provisions, and the falling off of the trade in arecanuts and salt.

Although the highlanders made their appearance in the Company's territories, they offered nothing for sale, and the Ambassador of last year still remained up-country.

A Modliaar in the Mature district deserts to Candia with his family.

The afore-mentioned Ambassador returns from Candia, where he had been courteously entertained : a friendly ola is also received from the Courtiers.

Heer de Heere dies, and the Political Council assume the Government.

The condolence of the Court Adigaar and of four other Courtiers is received.

The gravets are opened and provisions obtained, but Putulang remains the headquarters of the arecanut trade.

Arrival of Governor Simons, who assumes the Government.

The order of their Excellencies for the closing of the ports carried out, and reported to His Majesty on the pretext that it is on account of the French, with whom the States were at war.

Of this the Court apparently takes very little notice.

The year following, 1704, the Court also kept very quiet.

An Ambassador sent to His Majesty to inform him of the nomination of a new Governor.

The arecanut trade is not re-established.

Return of the Ambassador, who reports that the closing of the ports is of very little consequence as long as the price of the arecanuts remains as high as at Colombo.

Departure of some Chiefs to the Court of Madure, to escort a princess of the so-called "Sun race" to His Majesty : for which purpose accommodation is granted on board a vessel.

Illness of His Majesty and nomination of a Crown Prince ; followed by His Majesty's death.

Whereupon an Ambassador is despatched to offer condolence and congratulation to the new King.

His Majesty receives him cordially.

The ports are at once closed and regulations issued with respect thereto.

Heer Simons gives the Government over to Heer Becker: meanwhile everything remains quiet.

Failure of a conspiracy against the King, and execution of the culprit.

Resolve to send an important Embassy to congratulate His Imperial Majesty upon his coronation.

Quietness still continues, and the friendly behaviour of the young King gives general satisfaction.

But the Courtiers again commence their old attempt at trying to open the harbours, the prime instigators being the Dessave and the Modliaar of the Gate.

The Governor intercepts a letter written by some of the Chiefs on the Coast to the Chiefs of the cinnamon peelers in order to incite them to revolt: this is defeated by the removal of the disloyal.

Insolent and brutal behaviour of our Ambassador.

Our apologies sent to the Court, which appear to have given satisfaction, so that peace remains undisturbed.

But in 1716 the gravets were again closed, of which fact His Majesty professes his ignorance and promises that they shall be re-opened.

Heer Becker replaced by Heer Rumph.

The King requests the opening of the port of Putulang, and the gravets are opened.

The Courtiers strongly desire the opening of that port, but are refused.

The Kilkareese Moors about Koedremale and Moddergamme, being desirous of opening a market for the purpose of importing cloth to the King's dominions, are given every facility.

Diving for pearls on the Chilauwse reefs by the Candians prevented by a cruiser.

Also the disturbance created by the Courtiers in the Maanboel Corle, by sending a Company of soldiers to Moddergamme.

Death of Heer Rumph, leaving the Government to Heer Mol and Council until the arrival of Heer Hertenberg. He, also dying, the Government remained with Heer Schagen and Council, until the arrival of Heer Vuyst, who transferred it in 1729 to Heer Versluys.

Unfriendly reception of the Ambassador in the King's territory; the detention of the Company's letters between Batticaloa and Trinconomale; and the obstacles put in the way of the purchase of paddy.

Peace and friendship at the Court.

Departure of Heer Versluys. Government of Heer Woutersz and Council, and arrival of Commissioner Pielat.

Closing of the gravets.

The stakes pulled up with the intention of insulting the Company.

Complaints about the closing of the ports and the diminution of the presents.

The stores will not be opened before the opening of the harbour of Putulang.

The opening of the harbours refused, and the King's arecanuts received at Calpetty.

The rebels in the Hina Corle brought to submission.

Heer Pielat's departure. The Government left to Heer Domburg.

Arrival of two Ambassadors with some fugitive lascars, for whom they request pardon, and permission to proceed to Colombo *viâ* Matura.

This being refused, they return.

The gravets are again opened, and a quantity of arecanuts brought away.

Revolt of the Chalias in the Seven Corles. They demand the removal of their Vidaan when they would peel again. For this His Majesty had already given the necessary orders, which he wished them to obey.

The Chalias persevere in their obstinacy, and are encouraged by the Court.

Their superintendent and interpreter dismissed and replaced by others.

With little effect.

Attempt to gain over to their side those working in the bush: those of Gale and Mature also refused their services.

Their former superintendent and interpreter reinstated at their request. Promise to make up the deficit in the great harvest from the small harvest.

Revolt in the Salpitty, Raygam, and Hewegam Corles, and depredations committed on the loyal inhabitants.

Complaints against the lawlessness of the Cinnamon peelers, and the mischief committed by them.

They are admonished and warned not to continue their nefarious practices.

Their reply, and request to be relieved of some of the taxes [*Wattoebaddoe*].

The garden rents remitted. [The malcontents] together with those of the Hina and Pasdun Corles, warned to abstain from further insubordination.

But remain as stubborn as ever, and pillage several gardens in the village of Pilgore, besides [committing] other depredations.

They are driven from the place by a detachment of troops, &c.

Two olas received from the rebels, wherein they repeat their former requests, make various complaints, and insist that the Head Administrator shall be sent to them.

Decision arrived at.

This being communicated to them, they still refuse to work, with the exception of those of the Raygam, Pasdum, Wallawitte, Aloetcoer, and Happittigam Corles, and those of Caliture and Nigombo.

The Governor writes a letter to the Court, to which the King replies that the causes of the revolt are the unjust actions of the Chiefs.

Their Excellencies asked for 300 Bœginese and Bali [soldiers].

The insurgents in the Hina and Salpetty Corles become more unruly than ever.

Gale Corle, Gangebadde Pattoes, and Belligam join the rebellion.

The Dessave with two other [officials] members and a company of Grenadiers are sent to Hangwelle to make inquiries, hear the complaints, and grant redress.

Some Commissioners with fifty soldiers are sent to the villages of the Chalias.

Orders also sent to Gale, and some Commissioners with forty-eight soldiers to Calane to uproot the Planted Eden (?), and to station themselves at Malwane and Attenegale.

The small forts of Malwane and Attenegale surprised by the Candians, our people dispersed, the guns and ammunition captured, and the forts dismantled, &c.

To bring about their rebuilding presents are sent to the court officials in order to pacify the King, and to obtain the return of the Ambassador.

Death of Heer Domburg. Heer Macaré and Council assume the Government.

The displeasure of the Court, caused originally by the non-reception of two Ambassadors at Mature; also a letter about the complaints of the inhabitants.

In consequence of the publishing of the letter the people are incited to mutiny.

The rebels had done their best to force those who had previously refused to sign the ola.

The evacuation of the afore-mentioned entrenchments emboldens the Candians, who possess themselves of Pelgore.

The inhabitants of Happittigam and Aloetcoer pretend to be His Majesty's subjects.

Petition to their Excellencies for troops, as the King's people are getting the upper hand.

Arrival of Heer Imhoff at Colombo: he assumes the Government, in consequence of which quietness prevails everywhere.

Communicates his arrival to the Court, and requests the speedy return of the Ambassador.

Exhorts the people by proclamation to remain peacefully in their villages.

Abolition of several taxes; the cinnamon peelers resume work, permission being given to peel in the King's territory.

By a letter to the King, the Governor demands the surrender of the four chief rebels, satisfaction concerning Alangacon, and for the damage done at Attenegale, &c., as well as permission to peel and the [unimpeded] transport of elephants.

His Majesty's explanation touching the agitation in the country.

Publication of another proclamation.

This finally restrained the inhabitants of Hina, Happittigam, and Aloetcoer Corles:

Brought to reason by a detachment sent against them, and by outlawing the ringleaders.

Quietness and peace are restored, and the Ambassador is cordially received.

Heer Imhoff fears that the ill-feeling at the Court may at some time or other intensify itself to the disadvantage of the Company.

Death of the King, and succession of another whose name is not mentioned: the Governor and Council assume mourning.

Departure of Heer Imhoff, who is succeeded by Heer Bruynink.

The Court refuses permission for the conveyance of the cinnamon, the vessels are therefore obliged to sail without it.

The Ambassador prohibited from expressing any form of condolence.

Destruction of the materials for the rebuilding of the dam at Attenegale by order of the King, and prohibition against continuing that work.

Pillaging of three houses in the villages of Galepitty, Mandeme, &c.

The inhabitants of the Coerewitty Corle appropriate some lands in the Company's territory.

Complaints thereof by the Ambassador, and the reply of the Court.

Refusal to allow the erection of a church in the Happittigam Corle.

Not considered worth while to take umbrage thereat.

Heer Bruynink goes to Batavia and leaves the administration to Heer Overbeek.

[His Excellency] receives an insolent letter from the Dessave of the Three and Four Corles, requesting that two documents addressed to Negapatnam may be sent to Arracan and Siam by the Company's people, &c.

Heer van Gollenesse takes over the administration from Heer Overbeek, who goes to Batavia.

The Candians alter the frontier lines of the Hina Corle, and appropriate nine villages belonging to the Company. This is investigated by native commissioners.

Their report thereon, and the communication of the Governor to the Courtiers : the case redressed by the arrival of an Embassy.

The Candians continue their smuggling and illegal traffic.

The Adigaar is of opinion that the smuggling will cease if the port of Putulang is opened.

The natives of Putulang are much offended at the refusal to allow fifteen dhonies of arecanuts to sail to Kilkare.

The arrest by a certain Naiker of the Jaffanapatnam Master of the Stables with five horses, and the Vidaan of Mantot with tame elephants.

The people of Calpitty were requested to protest before the Chiefs of Putulang against the detention of the animals. The Naiker aforesaid did not scruple to detain the Mature Gaginaik with the elephants ; for which he was refused passage to the continent finally.

Regret expressed by the Court at the arrest of the elephants ; whereupon their release ordered.

And assertion made that the Company had also committed a great error in detaining the Naiker.

Thereupon the Company urge the necessity of punishing him for causing the elephants to be detained.

The Court encourages the malpractices, promising the Naiker that, in the event of his two vessels being stopped from sailing, the transmission of the Jaffana mail would also be stopped, in the same manner as the supply of provisions had been prohibited.

He is asked to leave for Manaar within eight days.

He continues his ill-will, as shown in the text.

The guard for the prevention of the escape of the Chalias driven away, and the guard-houses destroyed.

No means of getting the cinnamon peeled in the King's dominions. Many, however, of the escaped Chalias return ; and 200, mostly Jagerers, left for the bush.

The anger against the Naiker dissembled ; he is allowed to depart, after handing over some presents and two detained dhonies.

The Chalias again revolting, three companies of Europeans and ten detachments of lascars are sent against them, with much success.

The Court appears unfriendly, the Ambassador being delayed three months on his way.

The Dessave of the Three and Four Corles makes very unreasonable demands. He permitted the destruction of many houses and gardens in the Hina Corle.

And professed at the same time to the Governor the sincere friendship of the Court towards the Company.

As a proof of this, he was shortly to be expected with a large suite:

And with permission to peel cinnamon, transport elephants, &c.:

He also requests that a ship may be made ready to convey some Courtiers to Pegu.

He arrives for this purpose bearing an ola.

The Court, disapproving this action, continues its extravagances regardless of consequences.

Remonstrances mild but firm decided upon, and to overcome force with force if necessary.

Whereupon depredations cease, and the Ambassador returns with full permission to peel cinnamon and to transport elephants.

The Court appears much pleased at the granting of a passage to some Chiefs to Batavia to bring the priests: the Governor receives some presents, &c.

Death of the King, who is succeeded by the eldest brother of his late consort.

The Chiefs in the interior agitate strongly against the leasing of land, but the revolt is speedily suppressed.

Continued friendliness of the Court; polite reception of the Ambassador: the request for pearls and three mares is not granted.

The request for the delivery of the escaped peelers vain.

The Ambassadors, upon arrival, express their disapproval on four different points at issue.

The reply thereto.

The Court seem to seek a quarrel upon every frivolous pretext.

Apparently on account of a fishery of the pearl banks between Chilauw and Caymelle.

They try diving at Chilauw with twenty-one dhonies for two or three days without success.

Arrival of a High Priest with thirty-two minor priests and a numerous suite, for the purpose of consulting Netherland physicians: they take lodging with His Majesty's Ambassadors.

They request that he [High Priest] may remain at Calane; which is refused with an excuse, as his illness was considered feigned.

The Courtiers continue their unfriendly attitude, except the Dessave of the Three and Four Corles, through whose mediation the Court shows a better disposition.

Heer van Gollenesse goes to Batavia as Director-General, and is succeeded by Heer Vreeland.

Peace is maintained until after his death: the Government then falls upon Heer de Jong and Council, from whom Heer Loten takes over.

Displeasure of the Candians at the too great freedom in diving for pearls on the banks off Caymelle; permission will be asked of the King in future.

The Court desire to participate in the elephant trade, and letters are written to Batavia about the matter. The Dessave of the Three and Four Corles is requested to desire His Majesty to await the reply.

Execution of some Candians by order of His Imperial Majesty, and recovery of some subjects who had escaped into the Company's domains.

Captain Castelein, sent as Ambassador into the up-country, is asked by the Dessave of the Three and Four Corles about the answer regarding the elephant trade, as he seems to doubt the despatch of a letter to Batavia, &c.

The Mohotiaar of the Gate, Leander de Saram, is presented with a gold chain and the title of Moedianse.

Becomes Maha Modliaar of the Governor's Gate. Their Excellencies decline the request affecting the elephant trade.

The Governor of the Three and Four Corles being informed, still presses the point.

The depredations of the Tamblegamme natives at Trinconomale put a stop to.

The complaints of the cinnamon peelers and chiefs of the Mahabadde are unfounded.

A letter of complaint from the Hina Corle received by Lieutenant-Dessave Keller.

The Ambassadors repeat their request about the elephant trade, which is politely refused; but a promise is given that their Excellencies will reconsider the matter.

Insolence of a Naiker at Jaffanapatnam.

The peelers hindered in their work and maltreated, and the cinnamon scattered and stolen.

Reply from their Excellencies to the Court, telling them to desist from their double request.

Recall to Batavia of Heer Loten, who is to be succeeded by Heer Schreuder.

The Ambassadors once more prefer their requests concerning the elephant trade and the transport of arecanuts to Putulang.

The reply of the Governors.

Their Excellencies are now informed of this conference.

Departure of Heer Loten, who hands over the Government to Heer Schreuder; under whose administration the revolution of 1760 broke out.

THE first Netherlander who came to this Island was Admiral Joris van Spilbergen. He arrived at Batticaloa on May 30, 1602, to offer the friendship of the "Netherlands East India Company" to Don Joan, the Emperor of Candia. This so pleased the King and the Chiefs or Courtiers, that they not only paid Spilbergen all possible honour, but they presented him with a quantity of cinnamon and pepper then in store.

They also gave permission to the States and His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassauw to build a castle as they thought proper, within His Imperial Majesty's territory, employing the following words:—

"I, my Empress, Prince, and Princes, will carry on our shoulders the stones, lime, and all the building materials, if the States General and the Prince wish to build a fortress in my country."

Admiral Spilbergen having thus accomplished his mission, and the turn of the monsoon not permitting him to remain longer at Batticaloa, commenced his return journey; leaving behind some letters for Vice-Admiral Sebalt de Weert, whom he expected to meet while in the King's dominion, and who soon arrived at Ceilon. After making a contract with the King of Candia (the contents of which are not recorded), he sailed to Atchin, to collect a large force to attack the Portuguese.

Having collected a fleet of seven ships, De Weert sailed in haste to Batticaloa, and immediately informed the King of Candia of his arrival; who thereupon came down to confer with him. The King understanding, however, that De Weert had liberated some Portuguese belonging to four vessels captured by him, was very dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction was increased to such an extent by false reports from the Ambassador who had accompanied De Weert upon his voyage, and also by his unguarded behaviour, that His Majesty in a violent passion ordered De Weert to be

bound. But he resisted, and while attempting to draw his sword was seized from behind, and had his head cloven with a broadsword; thus losing his life in an unexpected and traitorous manner.

As this atrocity could not be remedied, no one dared to inform the King, but the Prince of Oeva was at last emboldened to tell. His Majesty was at first greatly troubled; but the affair being explained as satisfactorily as possible, it was both overlooked as a thing past recall, and the King ordered that the crew left on shore by De Weert should also be killed; thus serving them in the same way as their master. This was done, and only a few escaped by swimming [to their vessels].

After this massacre (which, when too late, was often regretted by the Candian King), His Majesty fell dangerously ill, and succumbed in the year 1604.

He was succeeded, after some previous insurrections in the Kingdom, by his step-brother Cenewieraat Adassyn, who, as soon as he felt his position secured, again sought the friendship of the Netherlanders in order to form an alliance with them against the Portuguese. His Majesty, however, was anticipated by the Netherlanders, for in the year 1609, Their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands having concluded a twelve years' peace with the Archduke Albertus and the Infanta of Spain, Isabella Clara Eugenia, with the proviso to include these in the Indian possessions, the Directors issued letters of recommendation to all the East India Kings, Princes, and Potentates, and amongst them the Emperor of Candia. These were drawn out by Their High Mightinesses and His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassauw in the tenor stated by Baldeus* in his description of Ceilon, pages 23, 24, and 25, despatched by the yacht "Hasewind," and upon arrival forwarded to Chormandal to Mr. Joan van Wesik, President, on behalf of the East India Company.

* Baldeus (Ph.), "*Beschryving van Malabar, Choromandel en Ceylon,*" &c., Amsterdam, 1672.

The President despatched these letters to Ceilon by the hands of the junior merchant Marcelles de Boschouwer. He was received at the Candian capital on March 8, 1612, by His Majesty, to whom he delivered [the letters] and concluded a convention with His Majesty on May 11 of the same year, as detailed by Baldeus on pages 26, 27, and 28.

After the conclusion of this contract, Boschouwer asked permission to depart for the coast to acquaint the President with the result of the negotiations; but this was refused under various pretences, and many honourable offices were given him up to the year 1615. Upon his serious remonstrances, he was then allowed to depart to Mazulipatnam to render the promised assistance against the Portuguese, as mentioned in the contract, and also to arrange and conclude such treaties and alliances with the kings, princes, and republics as would be considered a protection to His Imperial Majesty's Kingdom against the treachery of the said nation; for which purpose he was provided by His Imperial Majesty with letters and credentials appointing him Plenipotentiary, and stating that everything done or promised by him would be ratified.

Boschouwer having left Ceilon on May 9 of that year (1615), arrived at Mazulipatnam on June 2, where he found Heer Hans de Haze at the head of affairs, who took him to Bantam to hold a consultation with General Reynst. But the General having died in the meantime, and the state of affairs in the Mulucquos not allowing of any force being taken from there to Ceilon, it was considered advisable to send Boschouwer home to Europe to submit his commission to Their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Directors of the East India Company, and to fully inform them of the state of affairs in Ceilon. But he seems not to have been successful, for no sooner had he arrived in Holland, than, filled with an idea of his importance, he disagreed with the Directors, and deserted to the Danes, with whose King he made a contract. This became valueless, as Boschouwer dying during his passage to Ceilon, the King entirely repudiated it.

Meanwhile the relations between the Candian King and the Portuguese remained in a state of agitation, until the decease of King Cenewieraat Adassyn in the year 1632. He was succeeded by his youngest son Raja Singa Adassyn, or Raja Singa Rajoe, who also allowed matters to remain as they were until the year 1636; when, perceiving the impossibility of agreeing with the Portuguese, he sent off a letter to Heer Carel Reyniersz, Governor of Chormandel, wherein he mentions the victories already obtained over the Portuguese, and at the same time earnestly requests the assistance of the Company against them, promising to defray all expenses, and to behave as a brother to the Netherlanders as long as the sun and moon shall endure. On receipt of this letter the Governor of Chormandel immediately forwarded it to the supreme Government of India, who at once despatched two persons (Captain Jan Thyssen, afterwards Councillor Extraordinary for the Netherlands, and the merchant Andreas Helmondt) to the coast, leaving the general direction of affairs to the Governor of Chormandel, with orders to communicate his decisions to the fleet stationed at Goa.

On the arrival of the two Commissioners, the Governor handed them a letter directed by His Excellency to the Candian King, dated October 20, 1637, in which was stated:

1. That notice had been taken of His Majesty's letter wherein he mentions the trouble, vexation, and treachery caused by the Portuguese, notwithstanding the successive treaties of peace and friendship entered into with them;

2. That His Majesty's resolution to protect his country and drive away the Portuguese, and to call in our assistance for that purpose, is fully appreciated by us;

3. That we are inclined to co-operate with His Majesty in all sincerity, and the Governor-General has appointed these two persons to act as Ambassadors and to enter into negotiations;

4. That provided His Majesty grants us the whole of the cinnamon trade, we on our side are ready and willing to give him every assistance in the way of arms and ammunition of every description;

5. That if His Majesty would have two or more shiploads of cinnamon ready to deliver to us by next month, at such price as shall be agreed upon between us, we should be ready to receive the same against cash, merchandise, or ammunition, according to His Majesty's pleasure ;

6. That in case His Majesty wishes to enter into further agreements, the said Ambassadors are directed to proceed without delay to our fleet stationed at Goa and to apprise the Admiral thereof, so as to provide Ceilon with such ships as may be required ;

7. Lastly [it is hoped] that the Ambassadors, who are sent with sincere regard, will be granted a favourable audience, and be allowed to depart without delay, in order to join our fleet at Goa before the end of the monsoon [monsson], to counteract the manœuvres of the enemy, and to bring matters to a happy termination.

The Ambassadors departed with this letter, and on their arrival in the King's territory were met by the King's Treasurer and a Netherlander named Jan Albertsz., of Embden ; while the King awaited them at the Namleganga river, a distance of fifty miles from Candia, and received them in audience on November 19. He remained standing during the interview. Among other inquiries he asked if they had full power to treat with him. They replied that this power was only granted to the Admiral stationed at Goa, and not to them.

These Ambassadors had daily interviews with His Majesty, and a letter was prepared for Heer Adam Westerwold, Admiral of the fleet, and three persons nominated, to view the ships and to make a report to His Majesty.

Having received the letter and made all the necessary preparations for departure, they accepted their despatches and took leave, accompanied by the King's Commissioners, to Goa, where they arrived on December 4, 1637, and delivered the letter dated November 28, 1637, to Heer Westerwold.

The contents of the letter were as follows :—

1. That as the Commissioners Heer Thyssen and the merchant Helmond) had not full power to treat with

His Majesty, His Majesty sent his Ambassadors to negotiate with His Excellency;

2. That the Governor of Palliacat had written to His Majesty concerning one or two cargoes of pepper, and that it would be advisable to send five ships to capture Batticaloa, and to erect another fortress in that harbour, and also to transport the cinnamon stored in that place;

3. That His Majesty was informed of His Excellency's intention of remaining at Goa until the end of the next month, April, when he would leave for Jacatra, if possible touching at Colombo, in order to despatch three ships for the capture of Batticaloa, which His Majesty considered sufficient for that purpose;

4. That His Majesty is about to proceed against Colombo, and if victorious, the said town will belong jointly to His Majesty and the Netherlanders;

5. That regarding the contract for cinnamon and pepper, it would be advisable for Heer Westerwold to come here with all his ships, in order to conclude a convention, which should be as lasting as the sun and moon;

6. That in case His Excellency is prevented from coming himself, he should immediately send a trustworthy person to negotiate with His Majesty; for the treaty formerly made with the Portuguese now being broken, the assistance of the Netherlanders was necessary;

Meanwhile an important sea fight took place outside the Bay of Goa between the Netherlanders and Portuguese, wherein the former appeared to great advantage, and the King's Ambassadors, who had witnessed the fight, could not evince sufficient surprise at our prowess at encountering with our small vessels such large Portuguese galleons, which were by far our superiors both in armament and men. The combat over, the Netherland fleet cast anchor amongst the islands on the south of Goa for repairs, in order to again show a bold front to the enemy. The "Henrietta Louisa" from Batavia, and the ship "'s. Hertogenbosch" from Surat, made their appearance with the Vice-Commander Willem Jacobsz. Coster

on board, who, after despatching the necessary reports and merchandise by the yacht "Valk" to Batavia on January 23, 1638, was directed by Heer Westerwold and his Privy Council to proceed to Ceilon with the ships "Texel," "Amsterdam," and "Dolfyn," manned by 110 sailors and 70 soldiers, to communicate to His Majesty that further reinforcements would be sent by next May: his duty was not only to besiege one or other of the Portuguese forts, but to deliver a letter to His Majesty mentioning :—

1. That their Excellencies had received His Majesty's letter, dated September 9, 1636, whilst actively engaged at the Indian headquarters in preparing sixteen well appointed ships for the Indian coasts in order to blockade the Portuguese outside the port of Goa;

2. That the letter had acquainted them with the treachery and atrocities committed by the Portuguese in His Majesty's dominions, and that His Majesty earnestly implored our assistance, at the same time permitting us to build a fort either at Batticaloa or Coetiaar, and offering to defray the expenses of the vessels required for His Majesty's service;

3. That the offer having been taken into consideration by the Governor-General and his Councillors, their Excellencies could not refrain from acceding entirely to His Majesty's wishes;

4. That as Heer Westerwold learnt from a letter received later from His Majesty, dated November 21, 1637, that His Majesty still persevered in his request, he had sent a ship and two yachts, to tell His Majesty to expect our arrival;

5. That with them the Vice-Commandeur Willem Jacobsz. Coster, Vice-President of the Council, was coming over to negotiate about the questions pending; also about the condition of the Portuguese forts, and the best manner in which they should be attacked;

6. That His Majesty should muster his army at Batticaloa or elsewhere, against Heer Westerwold's arrival, and should have some bamboo ladders and other necessaries

of war in readiness, to enable him, with our assistance, to conquer the above strongholds ;

7. That His Majesty's Ambassadors return at the same time and will give a further verbal report ;

8. That Heer Westerwold expects to go over to Ceilon about the end of April with three more ships, men and ammunition, to confer with His Majesty ;

9. Finally, that he requests His Majesty to have in readiness according to promise one or two cargoes of cinnamon.

Heer Coster having arrived before Trinconomale with his three ships on April 2, 1638, the King's messengers landed to deliver the letter addressed to His Majesty and to inform His Majesty of the arrival of the ships.

Meanwhile Heer Coster conferred with the Modliaar of Mataklappe about the position and strength of Batticaloa, and resolved to sail there and land. This he did with 100 soldiers and sailors, whom he divided into two detachments, and who, with the assistance of the inhabitants, threw up two batteries, and fortified them with two half mortars and two half metal culverins. His Majesty also arrived there on the 14th of the same month with a force of 200 men ; and after entertaining Heer Coster with great honour, they consulted together as to the manner in which the afore-mentioned stronghold should be attacked on the arrival of the ships.

Heer Westerwold also made his appearance in the roads off Batticaloa on May 10 of the same year, having under his command four ships and one yacht, manned by 840 men, officers, soldiers, and sailors.

He landed on the following day with this force, and six more half mortars (which were quickly placed upon the aforesaid batteries), and attacked the fortress in such a manner that the Portuguese were obliged to surrender after about four hours' firing, and to march out without arms or accoutrements.

After the capture, Heer Westerwold made a treaty with his Candian Majesty on May 20 (as mentioned by Heer

Baldeus in greater detail on page 56). This was despatched with Heer Westerwold, accompanied by two of His Majesty's Ambassadors, to Batavia, to receive the ratification of their Excellencies.

His Majesty, in order to reduce the expenses already incurred, delivered 400 bales of cinnamon, 87 quintails of beeswax, and 3,059 lb. of pepper, promising to deliver more at Sammature, a port, as soon as it could be collected.

Heer Westerwold having taken his departure, the ordinary Councillor of Netherlands India, Heer Anthony Caen, captured the fortress of Trinconomale on May 1, 1639, and Heer Philip Lucaszoon, Director-General, the fortress of Nigombo, on February 9, 1640.

Heer Jacobsz. Coster, the Vice-Commander, made his appearance on March 8 following, before the town of Gale: after casting anchor in the bay the same afternoon, and landing with very little opposition on the north side, he marshalled his whole force, dividing them into three bodies.

Many of them were killed on the following day, and some wounded, by 350 European soldiers from Colombo, sent as a reinforcement to the Portuguese. But the Netherlanders were fortunately reinforced on the 11th by the arrival of the vessels "Haarlem," "Middelburg," and "Breda," with 400 soldiers and sailors. Thus Heer Coster did not find much difficulty in effecting a breach in the bastion St. Jago on the 12th instant, and in capturing the town on the 13th; which he stormed after a valiant resistance of some one and a half hours.

After this victory, Heer Coster might have been accepted as the chief personage in the town of Gale; but as his presence was required in Candia, he went there in order to give the necessary orders about some matters which had been neglected. Upon his arrival, seeing that his reasonable demands met with no satisfaction, and being detained for no purpose, he became so depressed and angry, that he not only threatened the Courtiers, but addressed them in unseemly language. The Singalese pride revolting against this, they

informed the King, who then gave Heer Coster permission to depart without the usual honours being shown him.

He was thus obliged to depart without having effected anything. He took his way to Batticaloa, but before he reached there, was murdered by some Singalese, who had gone with him under pretence of bearing him company —an ill return for all Heer Coster's great services to the Candian King. For not only did he bring over to the King's side the inhabitants of Trinconomale and Batticaloa, but also effected the surrender of the territories of Gale and Mature with all their taxes; although there was no obligation on his part, either verbally or by contract, the only object being to secure His Majesty's affection. In return the King had in no manner been grateful for such services, but on the contrary showed how little he cared for the Netherlanders: otherwise we could, with his assistance, have taken Colombo with very little trouble; for the enemy in order to protect Gale had concentrated their forces in its neighbourhood, and Colombo was only defended by priests, citizens, and a few soldiers, who hardly dared show their faces beyond the walls.

But the King rejoicing at the sight of two European powers cutting one another's throats in his territories, allowed the Portuguese time to recover themselves; and the Netherlanders not only lost this splendid opportunity, but had the misfortune even to lose the stronghold of Nigombo (which had been captured as above stated on February 9, 1640, by the Director-General, Philip Lucaszoon), the Portuguese having in the meantime received some reinforcements from Goa.

Gale was also besieged so closely that Heer Jan Thyssen, who was then in command of that place, was compelled to make sorties from time to time to prevent by all possible means the nearer approach of the enemy. During the whole of this time the Netherlanders had no help from the King, who looked on complacently, leaving his lowlands in the hands of the enemy till the year 1644.

On January 9 (or, according to others, February 9) Nigombo was retaken by storm by Heer François Caron,

fortified by four bastions of earth faced on the outside with sods, and garrisoned with 500 men ; in consequence of which the Portuguese General Don Philippo Mascarenhas, when trying to repossess himself of it, was obliged to retire to Colombo with great loss and covered with disgrace.

Heer Jan Thyssen meanwhile wrote from Gale to Batavia on March 10 of the same year, that the Company could not depend upon the King, who would gladly free himself from the Netherlanders, if only he had good grounds, and had already urged various frivolous pretexts, and was doing his best to secretly deceive the Company ; but that he would not hesitate to offer him battle and imitate the valour of the Portuguese, who always opposed not only the Netherlanders but the King.

In another letter of April 24 of the same year, he said it was evident that the King was keeping up his deception and cunning. He sent the people to the mountains and drove them away from the Company's territories, and even endeavoured to deprive the city of Gale of fishermen, toddy drawers [*tyffedoors*], and others ; so that the Company experienced more contumely and derision from the Singalese than from the avowed enemy, and it was only by force of arms that our property could be protected.

The King, envying the Netherlanders the possession of the Corles, conspired secretly with the Portuguese, and encouraged his bandits to rob and commit all kinds of depredations ; in consequence of which and the intermeddling of the Portuguese, Heer Thyssen declared open war against His Majesty, and the Commandeur of Nigombo, Nicholas Jacobsz. Overschie, seized the King's tame elephants outside the Company's frontier posts.

The King took such umbrage at this proceeding that he gathered all his forces to avenge himself upon our people ; in which he succeeded, as they made a very faint resistance, and cowardly surrendered.

Under these circumstances Heer Jan Thyssen was replaced in 1646 by Heer Jan Maetsuycker, who in order to

redress the past, wrote to His Majesty saying that Heer Thyssen had acted without authority, and was dismissed on that account, as also Commander Overschie, and that he himself had been appointed in Heer Thyssen's place. He also stated that the elephants which had been seized were on their way back, and as soon as His Majesty was pleased to receive their Excellencies' letter, with the accompanying presents, the elephants would follow.

Heer Maetsuycker informs the King by another letter, that the Netherlanders had never intended to take away his lands; they only wished to protect them against the Portuguese, and, after having settled our war expenses, we wished him to sell us the products of the country at a reasonable price, according to the contract made with Heer Westerworld; further desiring His Majesty to be pleased to appoint a place where all differences could be settled.

But all this was in vain: the King only increased his hostility against us; for, when the Commandeur Heer Adriaan van der Stel was sent to Hegari with 688 men, they were surprised by the Singalese and all but four killed, the head of the Commandeur being sent in a silk handkerchief to the Netherlanders.

Upon hearing of this atrocity, Heer Maetsuycker was again obliged to address the King. He wrote to him on May 20, 1646, to the effect that he had heard with deep regret that the Commandeur Van der Stel, who was sent with the permission of His Majesty to draw off our army, had been surprised and killed, when he could not according to orders, with propriety, defend himself, but had to maintain peace, and that almost all his men had been killed and the guns and baggage looted.

Heer Maetsuycker also said that the enemy would only rejoice that the differences between the Netherlanders and His Majesty had risen so high, that His Majesty allowed the persons who came to serve him to be murdered. He requested His Majesty to declare himself either for peace or war; but hoped His Majesty would be guided by his good sense and

not make war against those who had delivered him from the power of his enemies, and given him four fortresses, and who had the power to be of further aid to His Majesty. But His Majesty would not listen to these arguments, and continued to molest us and murder our people, as proved by a letter dated May 31, 1646, addressed to His Majesty by Heer Maetsuycker. It is as follows :—

1. That instead of receiving an answer to his former letters, he daily received tidings that our people, who were told to abstain from committing any depredation, were murdered and maltreated at Nigombo by His Majesty's command ;

2. That His Majesty had sent Ambassadors to Colombo, from which it would appear that His Majesty desires to enter into a war with the East India Company in spite of our just and reasonable offers ;

3. That it is decided in accordance with international law to oppose force by force, and that four ships and some smaller vessels are being prepared to occupy Batticaloa, Coetjaar, and Trinconomale, and to repossess ourselves of the places formerly taken from the Portuguese.

Meanwhile, whilst composing the above, Heer Maetsuycker received a letter from His Majesty, dated May 21, 1646, stating :—

(*a*) That he was inclined to keep to the arrangements made with Heer Westerwold.

(*b*) That the Netherlanders had unlawfully taken his lands.

(*c*) That Heer Thyssen had deposed his Governors.

(*d*) That the Netherlanders had taken possession of Nigombo against his will.

To which Heer Maetsuycker replied :—

1. That the Netherlanders also wish to adhere to the contract with Heer Westerwold.

2. That His Majesty was not entirely wrong in his statement that the Netherlanders had taken unlawful possession of some of his land ; but that this had been done by Heer Thyssen without authority, under the impression that he could get the cinnamon easier by this means.

3. That their Excellencies are willing to give up the lands and also to reduce the taxes.

4. That His Majesty has only to send his Dessaves, who will be received with the honour due to their rank, provided that His Majesty gives orders for the cinnamon and other products of his country to be delivered to us according to contract; so as to pay off the money advanced by us, all of which could be done in a little time, provided His Majesty gave orders to that effect.

5. That with regard to Nigombo His Majesty had given strict orders in his letter of February 9, 1645, that the Netherlands garrison should remain at that fortress at His Majesty's expense.

6. That it is not advisable to raze that fort, as the Portuguese might afterwards find means to lurk there.

7. That the new fortifications erected by the Netherlanders could be pulled down.

8. That the fort of Nigombo should remain in the hands of the Netherlanders for the space of a year at least, for the purpose of watching the Portuguese.

9. That the garrison ought not to be at once withdrawn, as it would prevent the dispersing of the inhabitants and non-gathering of cinnamon [required] to pay off the war expenses.

10. That it is also expected that His Majesty will deliver the prisoners at once, if he desires peace.

11. Lastly, that a speedy answer is desired upon all the above points, in order to make necessary arrangements: otherwise we declare our intention to wash our hands of all future consequences, being ready to give every satisfaction to His Majesty in the hope of disposing him to peace, and to forward the letters and presents received from their Excellencies, whenever His Majesty will be pleased to accept them.

But it appears that no satisfactory answer was received, as Heer Maetsuycker again wrote to His Majesty on June 21, 1646, as follows :—

His Majesty's letter of the 10th received, but disappointed with its contents.

His Majesty says that it is not right to ask for peace from Kings under threats of war, but if His Majesty be high and mighty, are we fallen so low as not to be permitted to tell the truth?

His Majesty was of a different opinion, when in 1640 he accepted us as the protectors of his dominion.

We use no threats, only warnings: neither do we sue for peace from a feeling of insecurity; but offer it as an alternative to just war, being perfectly satisfied that we have not given any cause for the latter.

We are inclined to surrender Nigombo, according to the orders we have already received; but under present relations with His Majesty, this will never be done unless His Majesty drives us out of the place by force.

To this day nothing has been repaid us towards the expenses of our capture of Nigombo; therefore its surrender is an unreasonable request and unbecoming such a King.

His Majesty does not mention ought concerning the prisoners in his letters; without their release we cannot make peace.

Our intentions are, to abide by the contract of Westerwold, to maintain the peace and alliance, on condition that His Majesty first releases our people and issues his order that the cinnamon, &c., be delivered to us: this being effected, we are willing to leave the Government of the country in His Majesty's hands.

This letter also had no effect: not only did the King pass it over in silence, but made it appear as though he had not received any letter. This being reported to Heer Maetsuycker through the Netherlands prisoners, His Excellency again wrote the following letter to His Majesty dated September 11, 1646:—

1. That he was surprised to learn from the letters of the aforesaid prisoners of His Majesty's complaint that Heer Maetsuycker fails to answer His Majesty's letters, as he has never received any reply to his of the 21st of June last;

2. That we are still willing to conform to the contract made with Heer Westerwold.

3. That before the absolute surrender of Nigombo, we wish to have security for our war expenses.

4. That, as a compromise, it would be advisable for the Netherlanders not only to remain at Nigombo six or eight months longer, but to keep possession of Ceilon for two or three years, in order to recoup themselves by the cinnamon, and largely reduce His Majesty's indebtedness to them.

5. That meanwhile the potential outturn of cinnamon in the Nigombo district should be ascertained.

6. That the assurance is given to His Majesty in the name of their Honourables, that at the expiration of the terms stated, all the lands will be evacuated, and only the fortress of Gale retained by the Netherlanders.

7. Finally, that on His Majesty's acceptance of these proposals, he is requested to send an answer to that effect, and also to release some of our people, and more especially a clerk named Nicolaus Loenius.

Not receiving any reply to this letter, Heer Maetsuycker despatched a letter dated January 8, 1647, to His Majesty. In it he complained strongly that his letters remained unanswered, mentioning at the same time that his proposals were too favourable to be disregarded, and that it was his belief that His Majesty had either not received them, or that he had been prejudiced by tale bearers; but that in order to satisfy himself, Heer Maetsuycker had despatched the merchant Maerschalck as his Commissioner, for whom (if His Majesty was pleased to grant an audience) a passport was requested to enable him to depart unmolested, whether the decision was for peace or war.

Whereupon Heer Maetsuycker received a letter from His Majesty dated July 12, 1647, the contents of which (although the letter itself is not forthcoming) can be guessed by the reply of August 11 of the same year. This states:—

1. That Heer Maetsuycker heard with regret of the continued indisposition of the King.

2. That the Commissioner mentioned in his last letter will start shortly by way of Batticaloa.

3. That if the order of the Honourable Company permitted it, he would present himself before His Majesty in person, in order to faithfully execute the contract made with Heer Westerwold, which up till now has not been necessary.

4. That the past disturbances were not ascribed to His Majesty or caused by the Netherlanders, but by false tongues and ill-meaning persons; to whom His Majesty is requested not to give too ready credence, but rather to consider the loyal services of the Netherlanders, who desire no other recompense than the faithful fulfilling of the contract and His Majesty's friendship.

On the 21st of the same month of August, Heer Maetsuycker prepared another letter for His Majesty, informing him that Laurens Maerschalck was ready to depart for Candia, to assure His Majesty of the good feeling of the Netherlanders, and to settle the differences upon the conditions proposed, which His Majesty would, no doubt, accept.

After the despatch of this letter, another communication was received from His Majesty dated August 29, in which His Majesty desires to learn the opinion of the Netherlanders concerning the peace proposals of the Portuguese.

Heer Maetsuycker replied, on September 10, that His Majesty should act touching it according to his own pleasure, and in the interests of his country, the only desire [of the Netherlanders] being the strict fulfilment of the contract made by Heer Westerwold, if His Majesty also had the same feeling. That further, the wish of the Portuguese for peace with His Majesty was only caused by the fear of an approaching war with the Netherlanders, and the opportunity of gaining His Majesty's protection; but in this they deceive themselves, the contract being no obstacle to prevent us from harrying them wherever possible; the only difference being that the Netherlanders formerly warred with them in the name of His Majesty, but will now be obliged to attack them in the name of their Excellencies the States General; consequently everything captured will be the property of the Netherlanders, and should Colombo be taken, His Majesty would have no claim upon it,

Meanwhile, Heer Maetsuycker informed their Excellencies at Batavia on November 18, 1647, that no lasting peace can be expected with Ragia, notwithstanding all his professions of friendship and courtesy.

Afterwards Heer Maetsuycker wrote another letter to His Majesty, dated March 25, 1648; but received no reply for a long time. He therefore resolved to write again on the 10th of the following September; and communicates to His Majesty, that having waited eleven months in vain for tidings from his Commissioner Maerschalck, and having received information from the Portuguese that His Majesty had concluded a treaty with them and purposed commencing hostilities against us, he wished, if such was the truth, that the aforesaid Commissioner should be sent back.

But understanding afterwards that this was a mere invention of the Portuguese, and that His Majesty had resolved to release Heer Maerschalck and the Netherland prisoners, Heer Maetsuycker expressed his thanks by letter to His Majesty dated October 27. But when the release was delayed, he thought it advisable to remind His Majesty by letter of March 30, 1649, that a horse was waiting for him at Galle, asking permission to forward it.

Heer Maetsuycker also complained of the partiality of His Majesty's Dessave for the Portuguese, in supplying all their wants, while he did everything to harm the Netherlanders.

On April 10 of the same year His Excellency informed His Majesty by letter that having visited the Cattoegampelle Corle to ascertain what progress was being made with the gathering of the cinnamon, he did not find a living soul in Pittegal and at Madampe Corle, only an Appoehamy and a few Lascaryns, who plainly told him they had been commissioned by His Majesty to prevent anyone from settling there, as it was His Majesty's desire to lay waste all these lands, and thus prevent the Netherlanders from having the benefit of the services of the natives, in breach of the contract made with Heer Westerwold.

He also informed the King that for two successive years the Portuguese had peeled the cinnamon which rightly belonged to the Netherlanders, that His Majesty always said that this would be prevented in future by sending an armed force, which fact His Excellency had before brought to His Majesty's notice; and requested that a free departure should be granted to his Ambassador.

Thereafter he received a letter from His Majesty the same day, and replied to it on the 20th following, to the effect, that he was surprised at His Majesty's objecting to anything being brought to Nigombo, that fortress being held against his will, as according to his own writing of February 16, 1645 (which His Majesty is requested to peruse attentively), the contrary is the case.

His Excellency further insists that His Majesty should be pleased to order the return of the inhabitants of the Pittegal Corle and the gathering of the cinnamon; but thanks His Majesty for the concession of allowing him to bring an armed force in the field against the Portuguese in order to protect the peelers; also for the free passage of the Netherlanders through his territories, and the promised assistance in case of shipwreck in His Majesty's ports; adding that he wished that the orders of their Honourables would permit him to personally confer with His Majesty, when His Majesty would gain a better opinion of the Netherlanders, and could then establish his authority over the whole of the Island, whilst we could retire from Nigombo and Gale.

Heer Maetsuycker repeated his request to have a resident Ambassador at Court. This being granted in a letter from His Majesty dated April 28, His Excellency expressed his thanks by letter of May 24, stating that such an Ambassador will be despatched as soon as the Ambassador at present residing at the Court is sent out with the tidings, and the conditions of peace.

In the meantime His Majesty again wrote to Heer Maetsuycker on May 14, a letter accompanied by some presents; for which he returned thanks on July 7, sending not only

some small presents in return, but also the afore-mentioned horse with a Holland saddle.

On July 15, Ambassador Maerschalck at last made his appearance with two important personages on the King's behalf, bearing a letter dated June 27, 1649, and the conditions of peace.

Upon which subject Heer Maetsuycker simply remarked that article 10 concerning the cinnamon did not agree with the stipulation in the treaty, as that spice would lose half its value to the Netherlanders if they were deprived of its monopoly ; the condition being especially agreed upon in the previous contract that we should have the sole control over it. His Excellency had signed the conditions on that understanding with the approbation of their Excellencies, and submitted it for His Majesty's ratification, at the same time sending a letter dated August 8, with His Majesty's Ambassadors and two of the Company's servants, one to swear to it and return with the King's resolution, and the other to remain at the Court.

Heer Maetsuycker also thanks His Majesty for appointing a Dessave of Mature, from our nation ; yet requests that at the expiration of his term of office His Majesty may be pleased to give the place to a certain Lambert Camholt, whom Heer Maetsuycker had intended to send as agent to His Majesty, but as Heer Camholt had fallen ill in the interval, he proposed to send instead one Burgard Cox, in whom every trust could be placed and for whom a speedy dismissal was sought.

The agents were also instructed to request His Majesty to leave Nigombo in our possession, until we could also deliver Colombo to him, which we shall do our utmost to accomplish, if His Majesty be pleased to grant us the same assistance and advice ; for the Portuguese injured us in every way.

No reply can be discovered to this letter ; but it appears from a letter dated September 9, written by Heer Maetsuycker, that His Majesty sent His Excellency a letter dated September 8, and also made him a present of a ring, a gold chain, and an elephant with tusks.

After thanking His Majesty His Excellency requested that the cinnamon stored in the Seven Corles might be delivered to us.

It seems that on November 16, His Majesty again wrote to Heer Maetsuycker, and that on December 3 following the agent Cox came back with the conditions of peace, and some of the prisoners; whilst a vessel had to be despatched from Batticaloa for the sick.

Meanwhile Heer Maetsuycker wrote to Batavia at the end of July of the same year, that although the treaty of 1638 differed in a few points from the present one, no trust could be placed in Ragia, who would never abandon his treacherous machinations, and therefore could only be brought to reason by force.

On December 27 Heer Maetsuycker sent a letter to His Majesty thanking him for a jewel which His Majesty had presented to him, at the same time communicating the arrival of Heer Jacob van Kittensteyn, who came to replace him in the Government.

Thereafter having been informed by the agent of the Company at Kandy of the King's displeasure, and of his having six times contemptuously called us "*Casta Hollandeze*," declaring that we had broken the treaty, Heer Maetsuycker was constrained to mention this in a letter to His Majesty dated February 5, 1650, saying that our loyal services deserved to be better appreciated.

This was the last letter Heer Maetsuycker wrote to His Majesty, as he left the Island on the 27th of the same month, leaving instructions for his successor, showing that the Netherlanders had conformed to Heer Westerwold's treaty in every respect; but that the King becoming jealous of our successes over the Portuguese, viz., the capture of Batticaloa, Trinconomale, and Nigombo, as also the town of Gale, instead of delivering to us all the goods and merchandise mentioned in the treaty, in liquidation of our claim for expenses, had done his utmost to deprive us of them, by sending the people from the cinnamon districts to the mountains, and devastating the lands, hoping thus to discourage us, and,

that being thus deprived of the chance of recouping ourselves for our expenses, that we should of our own accord depart from his dominions. But having noticed his evil designs, we considered it best to appropriate the cinnamon districts, and to keep the King and his ill advisers out of them. Continually acting with this intention, we finally succeeded on this side of Nigombo, and on the other side too; but without actually breaking the treaty entered into with His Majesty, as we pretended to clear the country from robbers who molested the peaceful inhabitants. This might have continued for some time, as the King dared not acknowledge that the destruction was caused by his orders, but Governor Jan Thysszoon giving credence to false reports of the Portuguese, and, contrary to his instructions, declaring war at Nigombo against His Majesty, caused great disorders in the Seven Corles, which were taken from us by the King's people and laid waste, to the great loss of the Company.

Heer Maetsuycker, however, affirmed two points, viz. :—

1—That the lands situated on this side of Gale are legally in our possession, and as, together with those of Nigombo, they are not yet sufficient to repay our expenses, we should keep them, although we were not strictly entitled to them according to the treaty.

2—That we are not to be persuaded, either by threats or promises, to allow the King to appoint Dessaves over them, or to give them any jurisdiction, unless he nominates one of our own people.

Heer Maetsuycker also recommends his successor to be even more watchful in times of peace than in times of war against treacherous attempts upon our forts and lands, the latter of which he stated extended along the seaboard from the river Alikan to the river Waluwe, a distance of about thirty [Dutch] miles, and from twelve to fourteen or sixteen miles inland, commencing from Alikan and a part of the Walewitte Corle and some villages and places of the Passedum Corle, besides the Jakkawelle, Agras, Belligam Corle, Morrua Corle, and Dolasdas Corle.

Heer van Kittensteyn having considered these instructions, determined to at once request His Majesty by letter dated April 1, 1650, to be pleased to nominate a Dessave from our nation: he also despatched a ship to Batticaloa to fetch our sick prisoners who were in the King's dominions.

On April 2 His Excellency again addressed a letter to His Majesty, complaining that he considered the Adigaar Rampot as the cause of the displeasure shown by His Majesty shortly before the departure of Heer Maetsuycker; as also of the contemptuous expressions used towards us communicated by our agent, the said Rampot being a dangerous subject, having, when Ambassador in 1650, with the assistance of the Dessave of Mature, attempted by every malicious contrivance to wrest the lands out of the Company's hands, but that he could obtain neither land nor power, as all his designs were frustrated by excuses, &c.

Heer van Kittensteyn received a reply from His Majesty dated August 25, 1650, that he had summoned the Chief, Rampot, from Mature, to explain his difference with Heer Maetsuycker. His Excellency, by letter of September 17 to His Majesty, expressed his conviction that His Majesty will, when he has received a truthful account, see that Rampot was to blame.

On December 28 His Excellency despatched a letter to His Majesty thanking him for the assistance rendered on the occasion of the stranding of the ship "De Haen" at the island of Calpetty, and also for the release of four persons sent by the Commander of the said vessel to Nigombo, who were detained by the Dessave of the Seven Corles; adding, that he was informed by our agent that His Majesty intended to come to the lowlands, preceded by the agent, to confer with him about a matter of great importance, and that His Majesty will in the meantime continue to deliver to the Company a sufficient quantity of cinnamon and elephants.

Heer van Kittensteyn also requests that his agent and suite may be granted more liberty and more opportunity for despatching his letters.

Some small presents were sent to His Majesty at the same time, and on March 4, 1651, he was informed of the receipt of a present from Batavia consisting of :—

A gold chain.

A silver gilt saddle, richly mounted and embroidered, with everything pertaining thereto.

A silver gilt bridle, &c.

A quiver embroidered with gold and silver.

A bow case do. do.

And fifteen gilt arrows with two bow strings.

These goods Heer Van Kittensteyn despatched to the Court on April 15, in charge of Lieutenant Frans Has, and on November 15 following he mildly remonstrated with His Majesty for being so bold as to call himself God, under pretence that we so named him ; and added that His Excellency is not surprised that the Portuguese and the Bengal Princes gave His Majesty flattering titles, but the Dutch agent has, not without reason, refused to use their style of address.

After that many letters were exchanged with the Candian Court ; but they were not of sufficient importance to deserve mention, with the exception of one from Heer Van Kittensteyn of January 15, 1653. In it His Excellency states that from information received, he understands that the Portuguese have declared that His Majesty has made an alliance with them, and are provided by him with supplies from Saffregam ; also that they intend making a combined attack upon us, to which report His Excellency could not but give credence.

On May 12, 1653, Heer Van Kittensteyn gave permission to some Ambassadors, who had come with presents to him on behalf of His Majesty, to depart, at the same time sending a body-guard previously asked for consisting of an ensign, a sergeant, a midshipman, two corporals, and twenty-four privates, and requesting that they may be well treated ; [adding that] a request will be sent to Batavia for a superior officer and a doctor. The latter was sent to His Majesty on July 19.

A letter was afterwards received from His Majesty dated August 15, to which Heer Van Kittensteyn replied on September 2, desiring His Majesty not to be displeased at the delay in the capture of Colombo; he may further rest assured that it was far from our intention to appropriate a foot of His Majesty's dominions, more especially Colombo, which will be given up to His Majesty when conquered.

Soon after this Heer Van Kittensteyn was replaced by Heer Adriaen van der Meyden, who, after taking up the reins of government upon the departure of his predecessor to the Indian headquarters, informed His Majesty of it by a letter dated October 25, 1653, other letters being afterwards interchanged between them.

In 1655 Heer Gerald Hulft, the Director-General of India, appeared off Ceilon with a formidable fleet, and on October 15, brought the fortress of Caliture, under the power of the Company, and took the necessary measures for besieging Colombo. A letter was received from the Court professing great pleasure at his arrival. His Majesty was also supposed to have said that although Heer Van Kittensteyn and Van der Meyden had promised to deliver the city of Colombo up to him, he was indifferent, provided he could have the honour of the conquest, and that the Company might expect special benefits by the conquest.

By a letter dated October 29, 1655, His Majesty again expressed his satisfaction at the arrival of Heer Hulft and the fleet, as well as at the capture of Caliture, adding that His Majesty had already issued his commands to his Dessaves and principal officers for the mustering of his forces.

On November 9, 1655, Heer Hulft and his Council resolved to attack the town of Colombo. The necessary orders were given; and every one had his duties and position assigned him. The attack took place on the 12th of the month, but was repulsed with great loss, and had to be postponed for another occasion.

Meanwhile, every preparation was made for another assault. His Majesty, made acquainted with the failure of our efforts, while expressing his regret, promised to join his forces to ours; but as they did not put in an appearance, Heer Hulft thought it advisable to send a messenger to inquire His Majesty's intentions, whether he was disposed to come or not, as things had so far advanced that no further delay ought to occur in making a fresh attempt. But before attacking he informed the Dessaves of Saffregam and the Four Corles, requesting them also to write to His Majesty and to assure him of our sincere affection, in case there was still a doubt on his mind about it.

On December 27, 1655, Lieutenant Johannes Hartman was sent as Ambassador to Candia for the same purpose, with the result that His Majesty wrote on January 20, 1656, in answer to our letters, that he had delayed his departure solely by the advice of his counsellors, but that he was determined to come shortly regardless of lucky or unlucky hours as he desired very much to consult with Heer Hulft.

By a letter of February 14, His Majesty recommended Heer Hulft to be on his guard against the machinations of traitors and evil disposed persons, and requested that in case of his meeting with any obscure or unintelligble sentences in His Majesty's letters, to communicate it to him at once so as to prevent all misunderstanding, as it is the sincere intention of His Majesty to maintain the peace so long as the sun and moon shall shine.

On March 14, 1656, His Majesty requested that one of our leading men should be sent to confer with him secretly, about some important matter, whereupon Heer Hulft nominated the merchant Ysbrand Godskens for that purpose. He returned on the 23rd of the same month, and stated that His Majesty wished him to report verbally the answer to the five letters previously written to him; that he was pleased to hear that the people who were confined outside the city of Colombo by the Portuguese had been sent back; that he quite understood that our people must have experienced

much inconvenience and loss, on account of the long seige, but that this would shortly be remedied; also that His Majesty has heard from a trustworthy source that Heer Hulft was in the habit of exposing himself frequently to danger, and should he be killed, it would be to His Majesty like losing the apple of his eye; he therefore besought Heer Hulft to be more careful of his person for the future, and recommended everyone in authority to see that no injury might befall him; that as the letters of Heer Hulft always treated of matter of great importance, there was no reason to make excuses for their frequency; that it always gave him pleasure to read the letters of one of the most trustworthy servants he had ever had, and that His Majesty on his side had always acted upon the articles of peace made with Heer Westerwold, but that in the meantime there had been many Governors of the Island, and Generals of India who had created much trouble about all that was right and just, and had been the cause of estrangement between them, much to his sorrow, and he called God to witness his innocence. He finally requested Heer Hulft, who had been such a true servant to his masters, and also to the Candian Court to strengthen that friendship, so that nothing should ever interfere with it. His Majesty also wishes to be informed in what manner it was intended after the taking of Colombo to capture the Kingdom of Jaffanapatnam, and the island of Mannaar; also whether it would not be advisable to despatch some of His Majesty's Dessaves to occupy those places at once. His Majesty is also inclined to grant Heer Hulft an interview on the following Sunday or Thursday, if His Excellency wishes it: some Courtiers would be sent to escort His Excellency.

At the same time His Majesty's Dessaves came down bringing with them two letters, dictated by Heer Hulft at His Majesty's desire, in answer to two which had been sent to His Majesty by the Portuguese.

These letters so much pleased the King, that he requested Heer Hulft to sign them in his own name and to forward them.

On April 1, Heer Hulft was informed by letter that some Courtiers were sent to conduct him to the Court. They declared that His Majesty was looking forward with longing to the time of meeting His Excellency and hearing the music of his voice.

Everything being prepared, Heer Hulft undertook the journey on April 5, and on the 8th was admitted to an audience with every mark of honour, as is recorded more fully by Heer Baldeus: it is therefore unnecessary to mention every detail here.

It is, however, worth relating that when Heer Hulft had reached the middle of the audience chamber, His Majesty arose from his throne, and requested him to come nearer.

Heer Hulft then addressed His Majesty in respectful terms saying that their Excellencies had sent him to ascertain whether His Majesty was pleased to abide by the treaty made with Heer Westerwold, or if he preferred to have a new contract drawn up, in which case any favourable clauses desired by His Majesty would be inserted.

Upon His Majesty testifying his satisfaction with the existing treaty, Heer Hulft recapitulated briefly the victories gained over the enemy, and added that there still remained three important matters already represented to His Majesty, and to the disposal of which he is desired to give his attention. Firstly, about the coolies requested, the necessity for whom would be explained to His Majesty, if desired, by the merchant Ysbrand Godskens, who could give every information. But His Majesty gave orders for the Courtiers to retire, and requested Heer Hulft also to direct his suite to remain outside: they then remained in conference for another quarter of an hour, when Heer Hulft was dismissed with every mark of friendship.

On April 9, 1656, Heer Hulft returned from Court; and on the following morning inspected the works, as also in the evening, but was unfortunately mortally wounded by a chance musket shot of the Portuguese, from which he died soon after.

The Government again devolved upon Heer Adriaen van der Meyden. He at once communicated the sudden and important loss to His Majesty, who immediately sent the Dessaves of the Five and Seven Corles to view the body, while the letters of condolence were delivered by His Majesty's Adigaar, the Dessave of Matule and other Courtiers. They wished to be informed whether the sudden death might not be ascribed to a stray shot from our own men or through his own misfortune, rather than to the enemy; whereupon they were shown the fatal spot, which they approached in fear and trembling and taking a handful of earth with them, desired that the place might never be trodden upon.

His Majesty gave a further assurance of his sympathy in a letter dated 15th of the same month, and expressed a desire to confer with Heer van der Meyden.

His Majesty also requested by a letter of the 18th following, that the presents from His Majesty to the late Heer Hulft might be sent to his friends in the Netherlands: he also desired to be informed in what manner they contemplated the capture of Colombo, as His Majesty wished to be present if they intended taking it by force, and wished to have private notice of it two or three days beforehand.

On the 22nd of the afore-mentioned month, His Majesty wrote to Heer van der Meyden, that he hoped the Netherlanders would continue to give him and his successors their true and loyal service; and that he intended to write to the States General in the Netherlands on the earliest departure of a vessel to that country, and to testify to the great services rendered to him by the late Heer Hulft. In the same letter His Majesty expressed a wish to be informed in time of the carrying out of the resolutions arrived at, to enable him personally to render his assistance. But His Majesty did not think the proposal of Heer van der Meyden that he should come to Camp after the capture of Colombo could be of any advantage, as there would remain nothing to be done, but to execute the treaty, and that according to the promise of Heer Hulft he was to be put in possession of the town.

A letter to the Sabandaar of Galle from His Majesty dated April 23, mentioned amongst other things, that Heer van der Meyden is requested to put the most favourable construction upon any doubtful or obscure passages in His Majesty's letters.

Meanwhile it was considered advisable in order to arrange some confidential matters to send a messenger to His Majesty. For this mission the merchant Ysbrand Godskens was selected. On his return with three Courtiers he reported to Heer van der Meyden that His Majesty wished the storming of Colombo postponed until the 30th of the month, as he intended to be present.

But on the 27th everything was prepared for the storming, which it was unanimously resolved should take place on the following night.

His Majesty was immediately informed thereof, and there remained nothing to be done, but to allow things to take their usual course; which would undoubtedly have been done had it not been that at a later Council of War the difference of opinion of some of the members caused the attack to be postponed to the 7th of May. On that day a furious assault was made upon the bastion St. Jan, which was taken from the Portuguese after a protracted resistance, [the Netherlanders] having been three times repulsed.

The Singalese soldiers, and the Dessaves of Saffregam and the Seven and Four Corles took refuge in the trenches at the commencement [of the assault]. His Majesty also sent four Courtiers and a great number of Lascaryns, who took up much room and were very noisy, but of little help.

On the 8th of May the Prince's flag was planted upon the aforesaid bastion, and on the 10th our forces had advanced far enough to make use of the cannon placed there. This not only kept the enemy in check, but induced them to send out the same day a bearer of a flag of truce to request a free passage for three other Commissaries; who, on the following morning appeared before Heer van der Meyden and submitted to him some peace proposals for his consideration.

But the Portuguese were obliged to assent to some of our objections concerning them, and Colombo finally surrendered on May 12, 1656.

After this conquest a letter was received from His Majesty dated the 11th of the same month, stating that he was informed that not only were the Portuguese in treaty with us about the surrender of the town, but that the surrender had actually taken place; this he did not believe, as we had not informed him of it, as we were in duty bound to do. If true, however, he requested us to communicate to him immediately the terms of peace, and to remember what was written to Heer Hulft on behalf of His Majesty and the promises made by Heer Hulft. Subsequently there was another letter received, plainly denoting His Majesty's displeasure.

Some news arrived from Matuaal, that on the request of the Corporal then on guard at the Pas Naklegam, a sergeant and ten Mardykers were sent there to disperse three of His Majesty's Dessaves, who had collected there with some soldiers. Heer van der Meyden and his Council, however, considered this a great blunder, and immediately sent orders to the Corporal to send the men back to their original station, and not to interfere with the movements of His Majesty's subjects, as it might give further grounds for His Majesty's jealousy and displeasure which were daily increasing, and as he was also cutting off our supplies.

His Majesty still insisted on our handing over Nigombo and Colombo to him, stating in a later letter that Heer Hulft had solemnly promised in the names of His Imperial Highness the Prince of Orange and the Honourable Company to surrender to him the fortress of Nigombo when taken, and that he had rendered assistance to his Hollanders for that purpose, but that the promise still remained unfulfilled.

His Majesty in a letter dated 21st of May complained that no notice had been taken of his interests, in a letter which had been written to one George Blom, Dutch interpreter in Candia, that they may please other people, with soft

talk, but they could not easily deceive him, and that he feels much concerned at the statement that Heer Hulft's authority in this country had been conferred upon him at Batavia, while it had in fact been derived from the Netherlands.

To this was added a postscript from George Blom on behalf of His Majesty, saying that His Majesty directed him to inform Heer van der Meyden that when a place is taken with the assistance of His Majesty's soldiers, the conditions agreed upon should be faithfully carried out without swerving therefrom in any way; but that at the surrender of Colombo, neither the principal rebels nor the presents in hand were given up to His Majesty, with the exception of two Persian cats, one small boat, &c.

Heer van der Meyden did not fail to reply to this, in respectful terms; but the Candian King was not to be satisfied, and inveighed against the Netherlanders bitterly, going so far as even to act treacherously. For it appeared that he secretly invited two Portuguese to come over to him promising to confer on them the same advantages they enjoyed during their supremacy.

It was also discovered that His Majesty's Lascoreens had broken into the Company's gardens, where the buffaloes and cows were kept, and had done much damage; that a Árachchi (*Arraatze*) named Kanangere, hitherto a trustworthy servant of the Company, had gone over to the King with three hundred Lascoreens, and that more were ready to follow; also that the Dessaves of Matule and Ouva had signalled with white handkerchiefs to the Commanders of four Portuguese frigates, seen near Galkisse on the 29th of of May, which appeared next day in the roads off Colombo, and that some fishermen had been promised 400 laryns, if they could contrive an interview with one of them. They made an attempt in two boats for this purpose, but had to abandon it on account of the heavy sea.

News came from Mature that His Majesty's soldiers and their Commanders had forbidden the inhabitants, under pain of severe punishment, to supply us with provisions or

to obey our orders, and had pressed them to place themselves under the jurisdiction of the King; further that they made themselves masters of everything, and had the audacity to settle down at Belligam, Mallimande, and Baygams.

All this caused the authorities at Gale to detach three Companies of soldiers, each 40 strong, two of which were to remain at Accuras for the protection of its inhabitants and to let the Candians know that they must keep away from those lands which had been in our possession for so many years by His Majesty's special permission, unless they could show special orders from His Majesty to the contrary; and that if they would not heed our warnings but persist in their depredations, we should treat them as enemies and retaliate.

Meanwhile it appeared that there had been an understanding all along between the Native Chiefs and the King; and the Adigaar who came by way of Angretotte to Mature did not hesitate to circulate the false report that he had acted on the authority of Heer van der Meyden.

An ola was also intercepted containing the following :—

Cattepitty Appuhámi has arrived at Mallimande and sends an ola from that place, that he had come by the King's orders to take possession of the lands of Mature, and to prohibit the people from providing the Netherlanders on any consideration whatsoever with provisions of any kind even to unripe fruits; adding that he had always been inclined to come down here, as has again happened, and the inhabitants would do well to show their appreciation and respect for the Court and the Dessave of Mature, when they would not remain unrewarded; also that the Dessave of Saffregam had sent the Dessave of Mature to render assistance in everything.

In the Pasdum Corle and at Caliture things were just as bad; for besides carrying off the mother and brother of a certain Kotte Nainde and imprisoning other inhabitants, an ola was found containing the following:—

Tudoculle Madonna Appoehami directs the various Árachchies, Lascoreens, and chief Mayoraals of Caliture,

Makoene and Barberyn, when this ola is shown them, not to hold any intercourse with the Netherlanders, to pay no taxes to them as heretofore, and not to permit any of their people to serve in the forts. Any one acting in contravention of this order will be severely punished : therefore let every one come here to me.

After this, later tidings arrived from Caliture of the wounding of three persons, a man, a woman, and a slave, that the Candian soldiers were ravaging the country, that all those who were unable to elude the pursuit were being carried off, and that the rest had been pursued as far as the river ; also that two Araatchies stationed at Alikan had issued orders for all the inhabitants to appear before them within three days ; and finally that two Lascoreens and 42 coolies, while on their way from Caliture to Colombo, had been surprised by robbers and taken into the interior.

It was therefore resolved to despatch a force of 200 soldiers to Bentotte, for the protection of the inhabitants and the cinnamon peelers.

At Nigombo things were no better, as His Majesty had managed by presents and promises of honours to bring the Pattangatyn of Cocquielle over to his side ; and thus not only were many difficulties encountered everywhere, but even at the church called Guia de Lobo, was found an ola containing the following: —

The town of Colombo is now conquered. The promise was given that it would be surrendered to His Majesty, but this promise not having been fulfilled, has caused some disturbances. We desire neither to share the blame nor take part in the quarrel ; but we are convinced of His Majesty's goodwill towards the Holland nation, and should you now feel inclined to send a messenger to His Majesty, it will be allowed and a free conduct will be granted him.

Heer van der Meyden and his Council having deliberated over all this, considered it their duty to inform His Majesty by letter of these unlawful acts and wicked plunderings.

It was clearly shown to His Majesty that both he and the Company suffered great loss in consequence, to the advantage of the Portuguese, and His Majesty was besought to cease hostilities and live in friendship with us, leaving us in peaceful possession of the lands we had so long occupied.

A speedy answer was insisted upon ; and we also desired His Majesty to send us some delegates, saying that we were inclined to evacuate Nigombo and demolish it, and further to grant all reasonable demands of His Majesty, provided they did not clash with the interests of the Colony.

Should His Majesty persist, however, in his unjust persecution of the poor inhabitants and our own Netherlanders, we should protest before God and the whole world, and proclaim ourselves guiltless of all the misery, straits, and bloodshedding that might ensue, as we were compelled against our will to repel by force the injustice and indignities committed against us.

Although a reply was received from His Majesty, it was not satisfactory, as it only treated of a falcon sent with our letter to make the contents more acceptable, and did not make him desist from hostilities; for although the 200 soldiers sent by us as protection had frightened his people and caused such satisfaction to our native subjects that more than 1,000 returned to us, it did not prevent His Majesty from giving orders to his Lascoreens to capture as many Netherlanders as possible and bring them to him, and to cut off the noses and ears of all the blacks, Singalese, Moors, and slaves in our service.

The enmity and bitterness of His Majesty increased daily obliging us to keep a watch everywhere, and to send troops against the Candians, who meanwhile carried off a Durayá (*Doeria*) and two cinnamon peelers.

On July 20, 1656, two deserters came to inform us, that His Majesty had presented two Portuguese with important villages ; also that the Candians had with 100 men attacked our post Hakman, which had only a garrison of 10 whites

and 15 Lascoreens, but had met with such a reception, that they were obliged to retire.

The worst of our troubles, however, lay in our own dogs biting us most, as the principal Singalese were so treacherous that they watched all our movements for the information of the enemy, while we were left in total ignorance of the designs of the Candians.

We were apprised of the capture of a sergeant, four soldiers, their wives, and some other inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Mabol, who were bound and carried before the Dessave of the Seven Corles, and were told to rest assured that having served the Netherlanders so long, they would be employed as slaves to His Majesty for the future.

Letters also came from Caliture to the effect that some robbers had had the audacity to destroy the harvest at Boemboele, and that the men sent in pursuit of them had captured two spies, cut off their heads, and exposed them to public view in the paddy fields.

The Portuguese Admiral requested by His Majesty, sent some vessels or dhonies (*thonys*) to Nagapatnam to again collect some forces, which increased our difficulties, and frequently compelled Heer van der Meyden to send 200 or 300 men against the Candians to drive them away.

The King Ragi Singa meanwhile continued his evil acts, and well nigh depopulated the lowlands maliciously and ignored his just debts to the Company, as he still claimed to be master of Colombo.

Their Excellencies at Batavia, however, sent a fleet to Ceilon at the end of 1657 under the command of His Excellency Mr. Ryckloff van Goens, composed of 16 ships and 700 soldiers, while Heer van Goens was to superintend the Government as Commissary.

On February 1, 1658, the Netherlanders took possession of Tutucoryn, and on the 22nd of March following, Manaar fell into their power, followed on April 23, by [the capture of] Ham-en-Hiel, and on June 21, of the castle of Jaffanapatnam, where they shortly after discovered great treachery

in which His Majesty was implicated: the guilty parties were punished according to their deserts.

During the remainder of the year, and the two years following, nothing of importance occurred, and the King now and then showed some desire for peace, without ceasing, however, from disturbing the lowlands, carrying off the inhabitants, and even murdering them.

In the year 1661, it was found advisable to cede Calpetty, to His Majesty. Their Excellencies, however, disapproved of his, pointing out the facilities it would afford for the smuggling of cinnamon from that fort; they would, however, leave His Majesty in possession, provided he did not break the treaty.

In September, 1662, Heer van der Meyden gave over the government to Heer Ryckloff van Goens, after the latter had captured the town of Cochin on the Malabar Coast from the Portuguese. It was remarkable that during that expedition, wherein some of the Ceylonese forces were also employed, the King remained quiet, and it was conjectured that in consequence of the glorious triumph of the Company he would still so remain.

Meanwhile His Majesty still kept the Netherland Ambassadors, sent to him during so many successive years, captive without assigning any reason or listening to the repeated solicitations for their release. Whereupon their Excellencies wrote to Ceilon on August 26, 1663, that they would for the future send only competent Lascoreens or other natives to the Court instead of Netherlanders.

At the end of the year 1663, the Governor Rijckloff van Goens returned to Batavia, and was replaced by Heer Jacob Hustaard, during whose administration nothing further happened, save that the English endeavoured to gain a footing on the Island by the aid of the Candian Court: this they were, however, unable to do, as the relations between the King and the Company remained peaceable.

This [quietness] also continued during the time of Commandeur Roothaes, who took over the Government on the 19th

of November, 1664. He assumed charge of the Company's interests until the year 1665 ; when Mr. Rycklof Van Goens came to Ceilon as Superintendent, Admiral, and Commander of the Forces, and re-assumed his former position as Governor.

At that time a conspiracy arose at the Candian Court hatched by some Dessaves and Appoehamies, who aimed at the King's life ; but His Majesty fortunately escaped after killing some of his courtiers, and took refuge in the Hangerantkitte mountain. From thence he wrote several letters to Colombo wherein his straitened and humble condition could be gathered, requesting assistance, and that some well appointed ships should be prepared to protect the ports of Batticaloa and Coetjaar against the treachery of the Portuguese.

Heer Van Goens then sent some soldiers to the King's country under the command of Captains Dupont and Marten Scholten, and the merchant Van Goens, who took possession of the following 15 Provinces :—

Pannue.
Korrewitte Corle.
Naudon Corle.
Koekele Corle.
Attakalang Corle.
Pannewaal Corle.
Attulegam Corle.
Dehegampelle Corle.
Kolane Corle.
Mende Corle.
Hymitte Galeagues.
Denniwalre Agures.
Gennimale Bammettepate Agures.
Handepandoene Corle.
Billigal Corle.

Their Excellencies at Batavia being apprised of this, earnestly recommended as by letter of July 11, 1665, to be careful not to expose ourselves to the dangers often experienced by expeditions in the mountains, and thought it more advisable for us to return to the lowlands.

They also see no difficulty now that fortune is so much in our favour, in taking possession as soon as possible of the harbours and territory of Batticaloa, Coetjaar, and Trinconomale, giving as our reasons the King's commands and

the impossibility of maintaining ourselves in these ports without having a garrison on shore. Trinconomale should be first occupied, and the point where the Portuguese had formerly an old fortress, strengthened: everything should be considered and arranged in the best manner, having regard to the size of the fort and its situation, so as to maintain our footing. The same measures might afterwards be taken at Batticaloa, and thus lay at rest, once for all, their Excellencies' anxieties about the opening of these ports to other European nations.

Their Excellencies repeat by letter of July 21 of the same year the apprehensions mentioned in their former letter concerning the expedition to the mountains; being of opinion that if they evacuate Saffregam and the highlands, and occupy Trinconomale and Batticaloa, and make it clear to His Majesty that it is not our intention to make a conquest of his territories, it will give him less offence.

Heer Van Goens, however, maintained his opinion that it was to the King's interest that the districts containing the posts of Saffregam, Bibligam, and Ruanelle should remain in our power, so as to afford protection and security to the inhabitants; the more so as those who had been kidnapped before the revolt, had most of them returned, and there was, therefore, a lack of people in the Company's territory. Another reason was that by holding Ruanelle the transport of arecanuts by way of Putulang could be diverted to Nigombo and Colombo.

Their Excellencies in their letter of September 13, 1666, acknowledged the correctness of these opinions, and added that in furtherance of this plan, Calpetty should be provided with a small fort, as it had become so important that the trade in arecanuts and cotton goods had produced 3,000 rix-dollars in taxes within eight months; that Chilauw should also in time be occupied, and Nigombo fortified with a view to induce the inhabitants of the Seven Corles to put themselves under the protection of the Company. The King Ragia Singa seemed to approve of the Company's actions, as upon the capture of Trinconomale by their forces in the

same year he expressed his satisfaction in no measured terms, and considered the advance guard of Ruanelle as being already in his power. He also communicated to His Excellency Van Goens a letter which he had received from the English.

In acknowledgment of this friendly disposition, and in order to compensate His Majesty somewhat for the loss of the lowlands, he was granted the taxes upon the arecanuts transported to Colombo.

At the commencement of 1667 Calpetty came into the possession of the Company. They also captured some persons whom the King had sent as Ambassadors to the English, then enemies of the Honourable Company, at Madraspatnam, and brought them to Colombo.

The Netherlanders could judge by these treacherous proceedings on the part of the King Raja Singa how little worthy of trust he was in reality, as during this time he was professing the kindliest feeling towards his trusty Hollanders.

In the year following, 1668, the road by Waluwe towards Batticaloa was opened and occupied by our troops, the inhabitants appearing before the Company's Dessave.

To prevent any jealousy at the Court, a letter or ola was sent to the Courtiers, with the assurance that the only motive for this [occupation] was the interest of both the King and the Company.

At the same time Coetjaar was also occupied, and in the meantime a letter received from the King stating, *inter alia*, that Batticaloa and Coetjaar were occupied by the Company at His Majesty's express desire, as can be seen in the Minutes of the Council of Ceilon dated September 18, 1668.

Although the Company in this state of affairs was strong enough to make important conquests, it was not considered advisable to dispossess the Singalese of the Seven Corles, notwithstanding their close vicinity to Nigombo, or to peel cinnamon north of the river of Caymelle against the King's will, as it would arouse His Majesty's displeasure;

the more so as the Company had already possession of the coast, and consequently could command the whole commerce of the Island, and their Excellencies did not aspire to anything further or wish to control His Majesty in the interior.

Things were in this condition when news arrived quite unexpectedly in the month of October, that the Singalese had invaded the Mendekaduale and Attakalan Corles, thus playing us a treacherous trick and obliging our people to beat a retreat.

It was now resolved to send a military force as far as Ruanwelle; and in the meantime to despatch Sergeant Major Hendrik van Reede with a considerable detachment. He succeeded in avenging the treachery of the King.

Consequently things remained more peaceful in 1669, except that the King attempted to take possession of the Company's evacuated lands. He however expressed his regret at the retreat of the Company's forces. A trial was made on December 5, to hold these lands without retaining a garrison there, keeping them only under the supervision of a Dessave assisted by a few European and native soldiers; but it appeared that the attempt was unsuccessful.

The ports of the Island remained open, and the King was not only granted free navigation at Calpetty, Batticaloa, Coetjaar, &c., but also at Colombo, Gale, and Nigombo; until October, 1670, when another violent insurrection broke out between the highlands and lowlands. It was pretended that the chiefs had driven the King to this.

Matters going from bad to worse, a letter was sent to the King requesting the release of the Company's people who had been treacherously kidnapped from Arandore, and threatening to employ every means [of harassment] in their power upon refusal of satisfaction.

This having no effect, it was resolved to stop the navigation at Coetjaar, Batticaloa, and Calpetty, and not to allow any more vessels to enter or depart from these ports.

In consequence of this, some courtiers arrived the

succeeding year, in February, 1671, pretending that all that had passed was the work of some ill-disposed malcontents, but that the King and his officers remained true to the Hollanders: they requested that one of the Company's servants might be sent with them to the Court to assure His Majesty of their friendly disposition towards him.

This request was, however, refused, partly as no one felt inclined, in consequence of the treachery already committed, to run the risk of going to the Court, partly as none of the previously sent Ambassadors had ever returned.*

It was shortly afterwards ascertained without any doubt that the King found himself in a deplorable condition, everything tending to prove that His Majesty had lost all power, and the chiefs taking advantage of this, and being unwilling to submit longer to his tyranny, seized on everything that came within their power. They also prevented the correspondence between the Court and Heer van Goens. But a soldier who had some time since been sent [to Candia], had presents given him by the King, and was ordered to go to Colombo with three courtiers and to confer with Heer van Goens. This plan was, however, frustrated, as the King was suddenly taken ill; and as he was no longer master of himself the courtiers took possession of the Court, and prevented their departure.

This was a great misfortune, as the people of Saffregam and Arandore were very desirous of putting themselves under the Company's power, and many came to Colombo with olas soliciting protection; while most of the King's people were going to the mountains fearing the advance of the Company's forces.

At last after the many letters sent to the Court during the last fourteen years had been left unanswered, and no attention paid to the repeated requests for the release of the Dutch prisoners, the above-mentioned soldier came from the Court in the year 1671, laden with presents, and related among other things that some of the chiefs were soon to follow him, and that

* See note (*b*), Appendix.

the King was as good as besieged, but had so well entrenched himself on one of the mountains, that with 50 men he could easily keep 1,000 at bay; and that the Company's people were detained by the Chiefs and not by the King. But while the arrival of the Chiefs was looked for in vain at Colombo, they consulted what was to be done with the Candian King, he having already suffered so much at their hands, that all the lowlands round about were cleared of highlanders, and it was easy to see that his power was on the wane, provided nothing was to be feared from outside.

The mountaineers once more resumed their depredations, trying to corrupt the inhabitants of the Company's districts, and to bring the people over to their side, taking many to Batticaloa and Trinconomale, where they expected to be assisted by the French, who had arrived there with a numerous fleet under their Admirals de la Haye and Caron, pretending they had been invited by the King Raja Singa, and had been authorised by His Majesty's Commissioners to assume the Government of these lands. It was thereupon resolved to delay no longer, but to despatch some soldiers to Sitavaque and Iddangodere, and also a considerable force to the Mature district; also to station troops as far as Walgodde in order to keep the communication open from that place to Tammegam. This had the effect of bringing several Corles again under our authority, and inducing the inhabitants of the Billigal Corle to apply to us to send a force there, when they would also submit to our rule. Some native soldiers were thereupon sent to Billigal, this Corle being of great importance to the Company.

Meanwhile information was received from Mature that the depredations, outrages, and murders on the part of the King's people still continued, but that Dessave Pit with a large force had driven the insurgents over the Waluwe river.

His Excellency van Goens having received certain intelligence of the arrival of the French in the Bay of Trinconomale and of their landing there, consulted his Council as to the best means of dislodging them and defending the Company's

property. They were unanimously of opinion that Trinconomale might legally be considered to belong to the kingdom of Jaffanapatnam, and as it had never been under the control of the Singalese, and had been taken by the Company from the Portuguese, they were for defending it by force of arms against the invasion of the French.

The means taken for that purpose by His Excellency were so effectual that in the same year, 1672, [the fleet of] that nation was defeated, and through want and capitulation retired from the aforesaid bay.

It was very strange on the part of the King Raja Singa that while the French were at Trinconamale, he expressly desired the Company to drive them away from that Island. There is little doubt that they acted in concert, if not directly with him, at least with his chiefs and with his knowledge: by which conduct the artful and base character of that prince were clearly brought out.

Meanwhile we still held the occupied posts, and granted amnesty to many of the insurgents, without, however, entering into any agreement with the King's rebellious subjects, although they very much desired it. The King on his part did not interfere with the Company, and left them in quiet possession of their lands until the year 1675, when a general rising took place, and the mountaineers invaded the country in much greater force than was deemed possible.

In the meantime Admiral and Superintendent Rycloff van Goens left for Batavia in April of the same year, 1675, and the administration was assumed by his son, Heer Rycloff van Goens, junior.

In the month of August the fort of Bibligamme was attacked and besieged by a strong body of the King's people, and the garrison in the month of September, commanded by Lieutenant Dessave Blykland and Lieutenant Moliere, was, after a desperate resistance, obliged to surrender to the superior power of the Candians: they were sent as prisoners of war to Kandy, despite every effort made by the Governor to procure their release.

Thereafter the King, who had been present in person, took his forces by way of the Neude and Kaduatte Corles to Ruanelle, and remained quietly there. This attack clearly proved the insubordination and treachery of the natives, the Company's subjects, who deserted the Netherlanders in a shameful manner, and otherwise injured them. The inhabitants acted similarly in the district of Nigombo, which they deserted altogether; everywhere they showed the greatest cowardice and faithlessness, proving what little reliance could be placed upon them in case the Company fell into difficulty.

At the same time information arrived that the Dessave of the Seven Corles, Tinnekoon, had marched northward with his entire force, provided with the necessary tools, such as *inchiados*,* hatchets, spears, and thonys. Whereupon some men were sent by sea to fortify Calpetty. That force, however, effected little except maltreating the Company's people, close to Calpetty, after which they departed.

In the Mature district things were also in a very disturbed state, owing to the appearance there of a great number of mountaineers from Saffregam. From Jaffanapatnam and Batticaloa came similar news that great numbers were flocking to the latter place, and that its inhabitants too were beginning to revolt. It was thereupon resolved to call in all the outposts, the Governor first going to Sitavaque and then to Mature to superintend matters himself: this had the effect of arresting the progress of the Candians, and the King with his formidable force remained inactive at Ruanelle.

Jaffanapatnam was reinforced with 100 men, and the Aripo redoubt placed in a state of defence, to prevent communication with the Wannias.

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* This word is probably derived from Ingeniero *(Engineer)*: thus, perhaps engineering tools. [On this subject Mr. Donald Ferguson writes to me as follows: "As to the word *inchiado* at p. 419 of the *Beknopte Historie*, the editor's note is quite wrong. The word simply represents the Portuguese *enxada* or *enchadae*, 'mattock,' or 'hoe.'"—F. H. de Vos.]

At the end of the year 1675 the Dessave of the Seven Corles being displeased with His Majesty, and fearing his tyrannical disposition, placed himself under our protection. This we granted him, and as a consequence the inhabitants of these Corles in the beginning of the following year, 1676, requested by ola to be taken under the Company's protection, saying they could not tolerate the cruel reign of the King Raja Singa, and asking to be allowed to be governed by their Prince (whom they designated in their olas by the title of Prince and King of Matuaal). Although there had never been a better opportunity for the Company to annex these important districts, the Seven Corles, with their numerous inhabitants, yet it was taken into consideration that we had not a sufficient force to protect the territory and the inhabitants against the King's resentment. Notwithstanding this resolution it was agreed that the Pretender (the Prince of Matule) should accompany the Governor to Nigombo to gain more ample information; and that should the Chiefs and inhabitants of the neighbouring Pattoes repeat their request, to detach a force not farther than Doenegaha to prevent a migration; and in order to induce the most influential [natives] to come over to our side to transport their families safely to Nigombo and treat the people in a friendly manner.

Having made the necessary inquiries, it was decided to take possession of Sitavaque and Doenegaha, so as to prevent the kidnapping of the principal families by the King's party; but not to advance any further or to occupy any more districts, not having force sufficient to oppose the mountaineers.

On October 19, 1677, the Governor, Heer van Goens, junior, received a letter from their Excellencies, the Chief Indian Government, dated the previous September 7, containing positive commands to offer, and to deliver to His Majesty by a friendly missive, all the lands acquired by the Company since 1665, and to assure him of our interest in his welfare; to which was also added a letter to His Majesty from their Excellencies which was to be sent at the same

time. On receipt of these orders it was agreed to write to His Majesty, stating:—

1. That their Excellencies were pleased to recommend the Council of Ceilon to beseech His Majesty to lay aside his displeasure and resume the peace and friendship which had been maintained with the Company for so many years.

2. That, in proof of the sincere affection of the Hon. Company for His Majesty, their Excellencies offer to cede absolutely the Province of Pannoewe and the Five and Three Corles occupied by the Company since 1665, after the receipt of His Majesty's olas, and to comply with all reasonable demands.

3. That in return it was hoped that His Majesty would abstain from further enmity, release the Netherlanders held captive, and conclude a settled peace.

It was decided in case of His Majesty refusing these generous proposals, and continuing his hostilities, to protest in friendly but decided terms: should this also have no effect, to gradually retire with the native forces from the mountains to Sitavaque and the lowlands: and if even this failed to pacify the King, as a final effort, to defend the fortress of Sitavaque and the Kolona and Happittigam Corles by every means in our power, they being the necessary frontiers of Colombo, Mature, and Nigombo.

The Courtiers were now advised of the receipt of the aforesaid letter from their Excellencies, and requested to send one or more persons to the frontier to receive it. Whereupon some messengers arrived, to whom it was delivered by Captain van der Poel, who had gone to Sitavaque for that purpose.

These same messengers hinted to Captain van der Poel that it would give His Majesty much pleasure, and might favourably incline him to release the Netherland prisoners, if we presented him with some Sourat, Persian, or Arabian horses. It was therefore resolved to send the two best Persian horses in stock, with handsome trappings, and a letter, to prove our friendship and incline His Majesty to peace.

While the horses were being prepared for departure, a rumour reached us that most of the Dessaves were assembling their forces. Not knowing their intentions, Captain van der Poel was sent in the following year, 1678, with a sufficient escort of soldiers and Lascoreens, to repel any attack that might be made by the King's people; but on arriving at Sitavaque he found no one to receive either the horses or the letter. On the contrary, having remained there some time, he was informed that the mountaineers were continuing their ravages, to the ruin of the poor people in the Saffregam districts, who requested permission to come down to the Hewagam Corle with their wives and children. The Korála *(Coraal)* of the Hegampelle Corle told him that a certain Pannipetti Rale had, on behalf of the Dessawe of the Three Corles, issued a manifesto to the inhabitants of the Hegampelle Corle, prohibiting them from providing the Netherlanders with provisions or from approaching their fortresses, but summoning all the Lascoreens of that Corle in the King's name to join his forces.

Captain van der Poel afterwards reported that many of his soldiers were suffering from the prevalent fever, and said it was necessary to send them away. He was therefore directed to at once despatch the invalids, and, if no better news arrived from the mountains, to follow with the remainder of the soldiers, leaving only the required garrison at Sitavaque; but to inform the King of this previously, as well as of the violence and murders perpetrated by the mountaineers, and that it was out of respect for His Majesty and for the furtherance of peace that we did not retaliate.

On March 28, 1679, to give them full scope an ola was written to the chiefs in the name of the Council of Colombo drawing attention to their conduct. Notwithstanding this no answer was received to any of the letters, and the presents still remained at Sitavaque, all to no purpose.

Soon after this Heer Ryckloff van Goens, junior, returned to Batavia, and on November 3, 1679, transferred the Government to the Commandeur of Jaffanapatnam, Heer

Laurens Pyl, who in the year 1680 was appointed Councillor Extraordinary and Governor of Ceilon. Things remained in this uncertain and unsatisfactory state between the Company and the Candian Court until the arrival from Persia of a lion, some horses, tigers, and falcons ordered by their Excellencies. Governor Pyl, in Council, resolved on May 14, 1861, to despatch them to the Candian Court by the Sergeant Mierop, who was to take with him at the same time the presents still remaining at Sitavaque, and strive to induce His Majesty to grant a favourable peace (his reluctance in accepting the former presents being ascribed to our not sending European Ambassadors with them), and at the same time to obtain the release of the Netherlanders detained prisoners.

Meanwhile, the king's people committed great violence and maltreated the Chalias at Caymelle, chased them away and burned the peeled cinnamon. They continued to act in this manner elsewhere, for some time the King continuing to profess friendliness to the Dutch and ignorance of any hostilities.

In the following year, 1682, as Governor Pyl and his Council received good accounts about the undisturbed work of the peelers, it was resolved, in order to prevent any interruption, to despatch a special present to the Candian monarch, accompanied by a friendly and flattering letter. This seemed to have a favourable result, as the peelers were not harassed, and the cinnamon was peaceably gathered.

Private information was, however, occasionally received from Candia showing a bad state of affairs, as the King continued to tyrannise over the people, and executed several subjects whom he deemed too powerful. These cruelties he was driven to on grounds of policy, as he thought milder treatment on his part might jeopardise his crown.

All this was communicated to their Excellencies by Governor Pyl by a letter of July 3, adding that upon His Majesty's decease, and the succession of his son, the

Company would have more trouble from the young King than his father could give them in his old age.

Heer Pyl also said he could, after the experience of many years, affirm that the Singalese were in general bad and treacherous by nature, and only remained honest until opportunity offered for perpetrating their rascalities; that the present King was very easily offended when thwarted, and the Company flattered him to the utmost to conciliate him and facilitate the gathering of the cinnamon; also that the lowlanders are a simple and inoffensive people, but the mountaineers are much more determined, so much so that 5,000 of them could easily disperse 12,000 of the lowlanders, if unassisted by Europeans—the rumour of the approach of the mountaineers being sufficient to make them take to their heels. It would therefore be seen that these poltroons could not very well be exchanged for European soldiers, as they were only to be depended upon so long as our soldiers were in the field.

In January, 1683, Governor Pyl had the satisfaction of a peaceful in-gathering of the cinnamon, which amounted to 8,400 bales; but he had the vexation of hearing that the Ambassador Mierop still remained at Ampe with the presents, having no opportunity of advancing nearer to the Court, which was chiefly attributable to the King's indulgence in strong drink and opium, and consequent loss of memory. In consequence, the chiefs had things all their own way, and prevented the Ambassador from approaching the Court, their only wish being to prevent a genuine peace with the Company, although dissimulating to the Ambassador and professing their desire for peace. He was not slow to pay them off in the same coin.

About this time their Excellencies despatched two volunteers, named Anthony van Lamswaarde and Michiel Ram, from Batavia with a letter for the King, in order to use every effort towards inducing His Majesty to promote the desired peace. These messengers, however, fared no better than the former one, being compelled to remain at Ampe Attaly.

In the month of June the Chiefs presumed to enter the Company's gravets* and erect some poles decorated with green leaves, to claim jurisdiction there, declaring that they did this under orders, but had no intention of making war, having on purpose laid aside muskets and knives. This was, however, considered by Governor Pyl an incitement to the Company to declare war, thereby causing a breach between the Company and the King. It was therefore considered advisable to take no notice of the matter, but to bring it to the knowledge of the King by a friendly letter, saying it was our conviction that this had been done without His Majesty's knowledge, and that the instigators were as much the enemies of the King as of the Company, that they will be gently told to depart in the King's name, and if they do not obey will be forcibly driven away.

The chiefs also sent some soldiers to several Corles, and demanded possession of them from those in command.

In consequence of which the Governor and Council, fearing the Singalese intended an attack, resolved to concentrate the Netherland forces in the other Corles, in order to be in a position to repel them, and to call away the Netherland forces at Dunaga, and replace them with Toepasses only.

Shortly after this Governor Pyl received a letter from the Ambassador Mierop from Candia, announcing that he had been admitted to an audience with the King, and had a friendly reception, and sending an ola from the courtiers to the chiefs at Attaly asking for the presents for the King got in readiness here and lying at Sitavaque. It was thereupon decided to send them up to His Majesty by the *pl.*† Captain Adam Slegt, with a letter, the most important portion of which ran :—

"The Governor offers his thanks to the King for the "favour and honour shown to the Ambassador Mierop and

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* Gravets or resthouses : so it appears in a chart of Ceylon. [Mr. Donald Ferguson writes :—"This is hardly a correct explanation. The *kadawatas* were watch-posts on the boundary of the Kandyan Kingdom." F. H. de Vos.]

† *pl.*=*plaatselyke :* thus still not appointed to that rank.

"his suite, also for a black tiger received by the Governor "as a present from His Majesty."

Meanwhile tidings came that the King's people were fortifying themselves at Ampe, and were daily bringing many *pingos* with arms and ammunition, also that the Dessave of Ouwe (*Oeva*) had joined his forces with the others under pretence of carrying away the presents with the greatest honour.

As our previous experience had shown how little dependence could be placed in this fickle and treacherous nation, it was resolved to increase the ordinary escort of the Embassy to 378 soldiers with 500 Lascoreens, and for further security to despatch two large boats, each with two field pieces, to Ruanelle, to protect the ford by the river; pretending on our side, as they had done on theirs, that these important preparations and this immense procession were intended to do honour in conveying the presents. The orders were that if the King's people delayed in receiving the presents and detained the Ambassador, they were to be asked to respectfully offer them to His Majesty, and if he refused to accept them, the Embassy was to return, leaving the presents behind. This was accordingly done.

The only important event that occurred this year was that the Chalias, having ventured too far up from Nigombo, where cinnamon was more abundant, it was confiscated, and the Chalias were reprimanded by the King's chiefs: they were, however, not injured.

The King was supposed to have said upon hearing of this occurrence, that if the Company were in want of cinnamon, they had only to mention it to His Majesty and he would send a sufficient quantity to Colombo; but that they would give him great offence if they gathered it beyond their frontier without his permission. Governor Pyl thereupon asked the King's pardon, and also requested the return of the detained cinnamon, which His Majesty granted after long opposition on the part of the courtiers, the quantity amounting to 14,105 lbs.*

* The symbol lb., rendered lbs. by the translator, generally stands for three noughts or ciphers.—F. H. de Vos.

In the following year, 1684, there was peace and quietness. A present was therefore sent from Colombo to the Court with an Ambassador, who was politely received at Attaly, but had to remain at Ampe, whilst there was a report that the Ambassador Mierop was unwell and mad at Kandy.

The peelers uninterruptedly continued their occupation, and Governor Pyl assured their Excellencies at Batavia by letter of July 3 of the same year, that he would find no difficulty in delivering annually 8,400 packages, as the King put no obstacles in the way.

In the month of June four courtiers arrived from Candia, merely to communicate the perfect health of His Majesty and inquire after that of the Governor and his Council, assuring them of His Majesty's goodwill and affection, whereof he shortly intended to give a proof.

The King's people meanwhile surprised and occupied the districts of Pannue, Attekalan, and Karrewitte, Koekele Corles, also the salt pans in the Lewais ; but as they did no harm to the Company's people they were not interfered with, the lands being comprised in those occupied by the Company since 1665, and generously offered back again to His Majesty by their Excellencies in 1677.

In September the messenger Mierop, being ill, returned from Candia by desire of the Governor, having been presented whilst there with an elephant, a gold chain, some silver trinkets, silk stuffs, &c. Their Excellencies' ambassadors sent from Batavia, Lamdswaarde and Ram, also returned, but nothing was mentioned about the release of the other Netherland prisoners.

Things remained quiet during the following year, 1685. His Majesty continued to flatter the Company with the hope of shortly concluding a peace, while the courtiers tried to deceive and circumvent the Netherlanders.

Meanwhile the small port of Hangwelle was being reconstructed, and when finished Sitavaque was to be evacuated. It was also intended to fortify Nigombo to enable it to repel a European force. Caliture was also put in a state of defence

—that fortress and Nigombo being considered the two principal avenues of Colombo, and the best and most important of the cinnamon lands.

Meanwhile Ragia Singa's state of health caused great anxiety, as, upon the King's demise, great changes and revolutions might be expected.

At the commencement of the following year, 1686, the High Priest or Gannebandaar of Candia arrived on a visit to the Governor, and was received with great honour and ceremony, being by his own people treated with royal respect.

The Governor had several conferences with him about the King's health, his feeling towards the Company, the release of the prisoners, and as to who will succeed him, &c. The Gannebandaar was at first very reticent, even as to whether the King was dead or alive, but became more communicative later, and departed on the eighth day with great pomp and ceremony, promising his good will towards a satisfactory settlement. Shortly afterwards information was received that preparations were being made at the Court for the release of the prisoners. This did not take place, however, as the King and his courtiers were instigated by French and Portuguese persons.

The attempt was made to propitiate the King by presents of dogs, large cocks, and many other things, but the peelers were driven away from the desolate Pittigal Corle, where they had hitherto remained unmolested. This was attributed to the machinations of some evil disposed people, and was so reported to the Court. In August of the same year it was stated that the King had decapitated some of the highland chiefs and Dessaves, on account of their tyrannical rule. This prevented the flight of many other subjects, who would otherwise have come down to place themselves under the Company's jurisdiction.

In November disturbances took place amongst some of the King's people on the borders of the Matara district, but were suppressed by native soldiers sent against them.

At the commencement of 1687 a falcon was sent to the King, which caused a great interchange of compliments, the courtiers writing of it to the Basnaike of Colombo as a magnificent present; and in May we had at last the long-wished-for pleasure of the release of the [Dutch] prisoners, amongst them being Lieutenant Molière and Ensign Steenbeek, besides eleven Toepasses and some natives.

Meanwhile Governor Pyl, without informing the Court of it, had gone to Nagapatnam to confer with His Honour the Commissary Hendrik Adriaen van Rheede, who had arrived there from the Ganges: this caused great suspicion and uneasiness.

The feeling was so strong that a trustworthy person named Mattamagoddy Chitty was sent from Candia to Jaffanapatnam to the Governor, with orders not to return without him, while the chief Adigaar at the Court also besought him to return to Colombo as soon as possible, the state of affairs rendering his presence there highly desirable. This induced the Governor to hasten his departure, the more so as tidings also came from Candia that some forces were stationed at the frontiers to defend the country against foreign powers. This seemed to be mere speculation, and the meaning of it could not easily be gathered.

During the presence of the Governor Pyl at Nagapatnam, he handed to His Honour the Commissary some considerations concerning the treaty of peace with the Candian court.

His Honour promised to communicate his opinions to him later, which were received at Colombo on June 18. His Honour, treating of the Company's interest in Ceilon, remarked :—

That the monopoly of the cinnamon demanded their first attention, but that the experience of many years proved that the Singalese policy was opposed to this monopoly of ours, and that they were determined to possess themselves of Ceilon and to drive away all the Europeans, or at least force them to be dependent upon their pleasure.

The Company therefore had secured to themselves the seaboard and several useful persons, following in this the example set by the Portuguese, being determined not to remain there only in defiance of the King, but to gather the cinnamon whether the King liked it or not. This had caused the angry feelings of the Singalese, as proved by their frequent disregard of the articles of peace.

The Company having thus come to the conclusion that they could not agree with the Singalese, considered the contract as broken, and taking into consideration the consequences, had taken some of the fortresses and strongholds, and had constructed others, as they were in truth needed.

This led to a renewal of proposals for a treaty with the King extending over many years, but resulted in no definite arrangement.

The conduct of the Governor Pyl made His Majesty feel well disposed towards him, and His Majesty forbade war, and seemed to desire friendship, in consequence perhaps of old age, infirmities, and the state of his country; but taking into consideration the difficulty of sounding the minds of the Singalese, there remained the fear of ever ascertaining their true intentions. Should they be really inclined for peace, we ought not to insist upon every point in the contract of Adam Westerwold; as for various reasons we could not trust the Singalese, especially with regard to the surrender or demolition of the castles and fortresses on the seaboard, which would be of serious disadvantage to us and give facility to the French and English, to gain a footing in Ceilon, both those nations not being considered when the contract was made in India.

The trade with the Indians might be granted, if insisted upon, as the Company could easily put difficulties in the way by levying tolls upon it.

The lands, provinces, and peoples conquered during the war should not be claimed under the contract, but by virtue of the right of war, they having been taken from the Portuguese by force of arms. We also founded our claim upon

our long possession, and the castles and fortresses would be useless without lands, neither could the garrisons be fed without them.

There were some other occupied lands and provinces however, of importance in other respects, and to which different considerations apply, namely, those of Batticaloa, which are indeed very convenient, but too difficult to keep, as 100 or 150 Singalese or Weddasse could easily disperse the inhabitants of that place or take them to the mountains.

Although the trade there was of little value, the situation was of great importance to the Europeans, as if once settled upon the island Poeliandivoe, they could with the connivance of the Singalese procure elephants, cinnamon, arecanuts,* timber, or rice, and also establish a factory there for all goods required by the Singalese; and thus reap a greater benefit from that place alone than the Company derived from the whole of Ceilon.

Trinconamale, being a dependency of Jaffanapatnam, there was no necessity to negotiate with the King about it, as it did not concern His Majesty; while on the west side of the Island it would be sufficient for the Company to keep the lands of Colombo, from Gourbewille to Angoeroetotte, &c., as well as those of Gale, Mature, and Nigombo, as they had been possessed till the year 1664, but were entered on in the years 1670 and 1672. If the Singalese insist upon these lands being returned, [it were better] to assent upon the condition of the free gathering of the cinnamon in the wild Pittigal Corle and the lands thus surrendered.

We might also allow the King to participate in the profits of the elephants and other advantages, such as levying of taxes, &c. These concessions should all be granted, provided His Majesty is sincerely inclined to peace.

Although the war in Ceilon had caused great loss to the

* What has often in these pages been called *arreek* (arecanuts) is a nut much in use in the Indies; the Malays call it *pinang*. The use made of it is the following:—They take a betel leaf, rub a little wet lime on it, add a piece of arecanut, roll it together, and put it in the mouth. The Malays call this a *sirih* quid.

Company, their weakness must not be allowed, merely for the sake of obtaining peace, to be availed of by the people to drive out the Company in process of time. We should therefore be very circumspect in our negotiations concerning the surrender of forts and lands; also touching the terms of peace, we should not, in the hope of peace, give them any advantage which might injure us, otherwise the Company would be only courting their ruin, knowing their powers of dissimulation and treachery.

Governor Pyl wished to act upon these opinions at once upon the arrival in August, 1686, of an embassy from Candia, but in vain, for the courtiers would not listen to him, and spent their time principally in empty compliments, and expressing [their sense of] His Excellency's favour and affection.

In accordance with the orders received from Batavia, the Governor on this occasion made them the offer of all the Corles taken by the Company in 1665; but they were refused by the courtiers, who pretended no authority had been received from His Majesty the King to accept them.

Tidings were received in December, 1687, of the death of His Majesty Raja Singa Rajoe, King of Candia. Whereupon it was decided to go into mourning, and retain it until the Ambassadors (who had come to Colombo to notify the succession of the young prince Mahastane to the throne) had fulfilled their mission. The Ambassadors acted as if they knew nothing of the late King's death, but they were paid back in the same coin for their dissimulation. The Gannebandaar privately requested the Governor not to sorrow over the death of the old King.

The Governor caused a general rejoicing in honour of the ascension of the new King to the throne, and ordered, amongst other things, three discharges of musketry by the military; and it was resolved to celebrate the obsequies of the old King in the usual manner.

The Secretary of State afterwards arrived at Colombo from Candia, and notified the death and cremation of the old King.

He was informed of the manner in which that event had been celebrated here, and that an Ambassador would be sent to congratulate the young King, &c.

Some time after some Candian courtiers arrived at Colombo as Ambassadors from the Court, and being admitted to audience delivered two olas from the young King. The first contained nothing of importance; but in the second His Majesty mentioned that he had presented the large village of Belligam (a seaport between Gale and Mature) to the Basnaike. In reply to this the Governor informed the King that whoever had advised him to this action must surely be one of the greatest enemies of the Company, as His Majesty ought to be aware of the great offence thus given to their Excellencies; therefore this grant must be null and void. His Majesty had besides by his act renounced some of his privileges, as one of his titles was Count of Belligam. The question was also asked whether His Majesty had also conferred that title upon the Basnaike; whereupon the courtiers made no answer, but looked at one another.

The Governor referred to the respect shown by him during the past eight years to the late King, and said that His Majesty had promised to bestow many favours upon him as his loyal and affectionate Governor. Whilst his (the Governor's) predecessors had given much displeasure to the deceased King (which was now at an end) they yet peaceably gathered the cinnamon in the Pittigal Corle, while he, wishing to do the same again, was prohibited. He therefore protested in respectful terms, and requested to be allowed the same facilities. The promise was given, but not carried out.

It appeared that by reason of the death of the old King, and the young King not having so much experience of affairs, the enemies of the Company, knowing that we could not assent to the afore-mentioned grant, had thereby found the means of exasperating the King against the Company.

His Excellency asked the courtiers whether they knew who we and our masters were according to the treaty, at

the same time showing it to them : he added they could now perceive that the Company was recognised by the King not as subjects, but as friends and protectors of his kingdom, and that His Majesty was bound to reimburse all that the Company as a true confederate had contributed, such as money, goods, and men in order to repulse the Portuguese; but up to the present time this had not been done: he had relied on their frequent promises to discharge that debt, but it appeared that the Company's enemies had employed their influence in causing the greatest offence to the Company by the above-named grant, instead of rewarding her for her loyal assistance. It was therefore completely out of the question to agree to that ola, and the Ambassadors were requested so to inform His Majesty.

At the expiration of two days the Ambassadors requested a private interview, which being granted, they remarked that the late King had always been so favourably inclined towards the Governor, that during his illness and shortly before his death he had earnestly requested the young prince to keep his trusty Governor in the Island, to show him much favour, and, after His Majesty's death, to fulfil all promises made to him.

The Governor upon this asked whether the promises referred only to the elephants which had been brought away. They replied in the negative, but that they referred to many other things, which had been delayed through the interference of others, but which would be sent to Colombo later on.

His Excellency remarked that it appeared very strange that the rest of the things were sought to be kept back contrary to the King's order, thereby casting a slur on the honour both of the late King and his successor. He also asked at the same time, whether the Pittigal Corle was included amongst these, as reported at Colombo, and whether the village of Belligam had been given by the late King to the Basnaike. In answer the Courtiers said that they were not sure about the first question, although it was probably

the case, but with regard to the other, the late King had given orders that a village in the Four Corles should be given to the Basnaike, but that Belligam had afterwards been substituted for it.

The Governor continued to demonstrate to them the impossibility of giving effect to the above ola; but that it was intended to please His Majesty in every other respect. The Ambassadors now inquired whether that ola could not be delivered to the Basnaike with due honours: on which the Governor desired them not to make such an unreasonable request, but to request His Majesty to substitute the village of Kendamgamme for that of Belligam.

The officials then wished to know what was to be done with the ola, and were informed, that out of respect to His Majesty it would be deposited with other secret State papers.

They again asked whether it might not be delivered to the Basnaike in Council. This was finally granted in order to get rid of them; but the Basnaike was secretly ordered to return it to the Secretary after their departure, which he did.

The Governor in a subsequent interview with the Courtiers reiterated his displeasure at the protracted execution of the promises, and especially about the peeling of the cinnamon in the Pittigal Corle.

The Courtiers requested us to have patience until a fortnight after their departure, when not only would the Pitigal Corle be put into our possession, but permission would be given to peel cinnamon uninterruptedly in all the other Corles, and some more elephants would also be sent.

In return for which the Company promised on its side to despatch a vessel to Arrakan to convey from there a chief priest (een Bisschop), to consecrate their temples and pagodas, provided the promises made to the Company were executed, and the Company remained masters of the seaboard.

The Courtiers made a further proposition, namely, that if the Company were granted a monopoly of the arecanuts, they would allow the King to transport his nuts (amounting to about 3,000 amunams) from his villages by vessels from Putulang; also that His Majesty should be allowed to ship yearly on his own account about 400 or 500 packages of cinnamon to the Netherlands in the Company's vessels, and receive other goods in return.

They were told that this could not quite be allowed, but that it would be better for His Majesty to deliver the arecanuts to them, and receive payment on the coast; also for His Majesty to use our ships, or for money to be paid to His Majesty's servants, thereby preventing the sale of the nuts at a lower price, to the manifest prejudice of the Company; and that it would also be more advantageous for His Majesty to dispose of his cinnamon to us at a certain valuation, in payment of which he could either choose Netherlands or Indian goods, and thus save the expenses and risks of the sea.

This answer seemed to satisfy the Ambassadors.

It now became evident that the Courtiers had far more influence with the young King than they had had with the late one: and the most powerful party being against the Company everything took a different turn, so that the permission of the King (given by ola) for peeling the cinnamon could not be depended upon; because by all appearances the King and his courtiers would not be satisfied until the ports of Calpetty, Batticaloa, and Coetjaar were opened to all Indians as in the year 1664.

This became more evident when in May of the same year, 1688, the Chief Secretary of State came down quite unexpectedly by water, accompanied by a large suite, in unusual state, and after the usual superstitious ceremonies, delivered a message to the effect that the young King was about to be elevated to the rank and title of Emperor. This caused instant rejoicings on the part of the Company, and three volleys of musketry and thirty-one discharges of cannon were fired as a token of satisfaction.

The Ambassador took his departure the same evening, as hastily as he had arrived, only remaining a sufficient time for Governor Pyl to have a secret interview with him.

The Secretary stated that if the Company earnestly desired peace, it must first evacuate all the lands taken since the insurrection of 1665, and the ports must be declared free as formerly, as the closing of them made the King more a prisoner than a free sovereign prince, besides causing the complaints of the common people to the effect that the Company grasped at everything and gave no one else a chance. He exaggerated the convenience and advantages to the Singalese, if the ports were free not only with respect to arecanut and cloth trade, but also with respect to the King's taxes, &c. He added that the King and the Court were very much offended at the closing of the ports, declaring that the Portuguese had never committed that outrage.

Wherefore the Court demanded that all this should be done, as they were sure that it was so ordered from Batavia, appealing to the letter from their Excellencies at Batavia to the late King, recommending the evacuation in favour of His Majesty of all lands and strongholds taken possession of since 1665, and that in it was also included the opening of the ports to every one as they were formerly.

Whereupon this Ambassador was publicly and in presence of the Council informed that the lands claimed had been offered to His Majesty long since, but that no one had appeared from the Court to take them over, much less had orders been given from that quarter for their transfer; and that it would have been rather disparaging to the Company had they abandoned them so quietly; whilst it was clear that the letter from their Excellencies alluded only to the lands seized.

Governor Pyl afterwards had a private conference with the Ambassador, who hinted that the lands should be quietly evacuated, while the Governor gave many weighty reasons against the opening of the ports, the principal reason being that this could not be accorded without special orders from Batavia; also that the Moors would be the chief frequenters

there and reap the greatest advantage; any one unbiased could see the justice of that objection, and in consideration of the service rendered to the King by money, men, and other things by the Company, which had not been repaid, that they were entitled to the preference, the more so as the Moors had never rendered the King any service, neither could they ever do so.

This argument silenced the Ambassador completely.

On July 12, 1688, it was agreed in the Council to draw out a draft contract, and to send it afterwards by a messenger to Candia. The Secretary Alebos was temporarily appointed to compliment the King on his accession to the throne: he departed for Candia on the 23rd following, with costly presents.

Governor Pyl communicated the fact of this embassy and his interview with the Candian Ambassador to His Honour Commissary van Rheede, who thereupon wrote some remarks to Colombo, contending that it was very unjust and unreasonable on the part of the Singalese to expect a peace, the conditions of which had neither been discussed nor agreed upon, particularly as in consequence of the death of the old King the new monarch was not bound by the treaty made with Adam Westerwold; for which reason opportunity should be given him to confirm that contract, or to make a new one, with regard to the surrender of the lands and strongholds occupied by the Company since 1665: this would satisfy international rights, truth, reason, and custom, as it would be unreasonable to compel the Company to fulfil conditions to which the King would not consider himself bound.

It would also be absurd for the Singalese to appeal to the letter from their Excellencies at Batavia, wherein the name of the old, but not of the young, King was mentioned, particularly as the young prince had not divulged his opinions, and the Netherland servants of the Company were no sorcerers, or fortune-tellers, to guess the thoughts of the Singalese, who were only pretending to be offended about the abandoned

lands, as they had never made any demand for their restitution. It was quite necessary that all these facts should be clearly represented to the King, so as to make it understood that the Netherland people were not his subjects but his friends and allies, and that the term of servants referred to them only to the extent of the actual service they performed in the Island as administrators, to preserve and cultivate the friendship between the King and their Excellencies.

The Commissary further maintained that the small fort of Poeliandivoe, in the district of Batticaloa, the fort of Trinconamale, and in fact none of the forts situated near the sea, including Calpetty, should be abandoned, as the Singalese might afterwards contrive to drive the Company from the Island altogether, and reinstate their enemies.

Concerning the free navigation of these ports, the King's own vessels (if he wishes to despatch any of them) must be provided with the Company's passports; for the greatest King of all the lands between Arakan and Persia, the Great Mogul, was glad to obtain these for his vessels. Provided with these, the King would be allowed to transport all kinds of products of this Island of Ceilon, to all quarters of the globe, and import such curiosities and merchandise as he desires to purchase from abroad.

With regard to cinnamon and arecanuts, an understanding should be entered into with the King in order to silence the complaints of various Singalese chiefs that we were keeping the King like a slave in the interior. But as regards the permission to all Singalese subjects to sail from the said ports when provided with the Company's passports, this could not bind the Governor of Cormandel and other places, they being separate Governments, and having their own rules and regulations. It must therefore be left to the Company's discretion, whether to give them passports or not; also concerning the free navigation of foreign vessels to the ports as mentioned before, that free traffic should be allowed to the Company's subjects.

But that these three distinct conditions should not be

granted before the King's intentions with regard to the Company were ascertained, and whether dependence might be placed in him. They also wished to remind His Majesty of the enormous compensation they were entitled to for all they had spent in driving the King's enemies away from the Island, which debt the new King ought to liquidate.

But above all, we must positively ascertain whether His Majesty intends to continue the old treaty made with his father, or whether he prefers to make a new one with the Company. This must regulate our further action, as without a decided declaration no trust could be placed in His Majesty's words and promises, nay, even in his written treaties, so long as His Majesty and his chiefs lend an ear to the Company's declared enemies, a certain Pedige Rale and a flattering Frenchman, both private persons.

The Company's ministers must show a bold and decided front during the negotiations, as the Singalese remarking any timidity on our part would become conceited and try to take as much advantage as possible; and if we were to make concessions or yield to them, fearing they might declare war, whether rightfully or not, the Company's prospects in Ceilon would be irretrievably ruined; because once the ports and the forts are abandoned and dismantled, the Singalese would not be satisfied, but would try to get hold of the remainder. It were thus better to show great firmness, and declare our determination to keep the seaboard at any cost.

His Honour the Commissary was further of opinion that it would be a great advantage to the Company to obtain tranquillity and security by a favourable peace, which should contain the elements of mutual confidence; and that the lands and forts occupied by the Company since 1662 should remain in their possession until the King had repaid his debt to them; or in default, that the aforesaid lands, cities, and forts should belong to the Company absolutely, and go to extinguish the debt, the most important item included in the lands being the cinnamon.

Meanwhile the Ambassador Alebos returned from Candia without bringing any preliminaries of peace or having effected the liberation of the Netherland and other prisoners.

But in June the Dewekare Mahamohotiaar arrived in Colombo with nine Netherland prisoners, and announced the crowning of the King as Emperor ; also that His Majesty had granted absolute permission to the Company to gather cinnamon in all the upper Corles, provided His Majesty was informed of it previous to their going into the woods.

The coronation was celebrated by the Dutch with much solemnity and pomp, whites and blacks shouting "Long live the King!" the usual declaration of sovereignty and allegiance.

Shortly afterwards the Ambassador Alebos was sent again to Candia, to congratulate the young King, and to offer some presents from the Company, with full powers and instructions to negotiate a peace based upon the following :—

1st.—There shall be a sincere, firm, and indissoluble peace between His Imperial Majesty the King of Ceilon and Candia and the Most Serene Company and their respective subjects from this day ; and that His Imperial Majesty and his subjects shall acknowledge us and treat us as their nearest friends, allies, and protectors of His Imperial Majesty's dominions, against his and our enemies, be they Europeans, Indians, or others ; and that the one shall help the other.

2nd.—In case any of His Imperial Majesty's, enemies shall attempt any harm to his lands, the nearest force at hand, whether His Imperial Majesty's or the most Serene Company's, shall at once march against them and inform the other, when they shall consult together as to the best manner to resist and disperse them.

3rd.—His Imperial Majesty shall consent and agree to leave in the peaceful possession of the Company (according to article 8 of the contract made in 1638 between the late Emperor Raja Singa and the Admiral Adam Westerwold), as compensation for the expenses incurred and advanced by them in driving away the Portuguese from this far-famed Empire, the lands and ports at present occupied by them,

until the time the said debt is reimbursed by His Imperial Majesty, or to cede them in fee simple as annulment of the said debt the lands mentioned, consisting, besides the towns and forts, of the following, namely, those between the rivers Waluwe and Chilaw, viz., the Roene Wania on this side of the river Dolasdas, Morrua, Belligam, Gale, Walalewitte, Pasdum, Reygam, Salpete, Hewegam, Hina, Alutkor, Happitigam, and the Pittigal Corles, besides the island Poeliandivoe, the point and inner bay of Trinconomale, and the islets within it.

4th.—His Imperial Majesty also agrees, according to article 9 of the said treaty, to allow free trade and commerce with his subjects in all cities, villages, and hamlets, and to accord free and unmolested intercourse in trade, buying and selling, exchange, &c., also trade with His Imperial Majesty and his subjects, as customary between friends and allies, without paying taxes, tribute, excises, or any charges whatever, either to His Imperial Majesty or to any of his subjects, for merchandise or ware of any description; but to let them pass free out of His Imperial Majesty's dominions, and to declare that none of His Imperial Majesty's subjects, high or low, of whatever degree or quality, be permitted to dispose of cinnamon, pepper, wax, or elephant tusks except to the Company.

5th.—His Imperial Majesty, his Nobles, and Chiefs agree hereby, in conformity to article 10 of the said contract of 1638, that henceforth they will not allow, but on the contrary prevent, every one of his subjects, without exception, from trading or dealing, buying, selling, or exchanging any merchandise or goods in His Imperial Majesty's dominions of Ceilon with any Europeans, such as English, French, Danes, Germans, or Orientals, nor allow their ships or yachts access to the coasts of Ceilon, but order them away, and that they shall be obliged to sell, traffic, and deal only with the United East India Company in the products of His Imperial Majesty's dominions. The neighbouring subjects of the Nayk of Tansjouwer shall, however, be allowed to enter

their vessels and depart with provisions, necessaries, and trifles, without hindrance.

6th.—The Company shall be allowed to gather cinnamon according to article 3, not only in the Corles, but His Imperial Majesty shall grant them free permission to gather it anywhere that it may be found, and that no other nation shall be allowed to acquire any, nor anyone but the Company be allowed to export it. In consideration of this monopoly they engage to send a considerable royal present yearly to His Imperial Majesty.

7th.—His Imperial Majesty shall in conformity with article 12 of the aforesaid contract made at Batticaloa, grant to our factors and traders full liberty to travel unmolested in his lands, to deal and negotiate with the inhabitants, and having brought any merchandise into the interior, the inhabitants shall be obliged to procure and provide our traders, at their own expense, with beasts of burden to transport to the shore, towns, or forts, any goods bought by our traders ; it shall also be declared that the Hollanders shall be under our own jurisdiction, even as the subjects of Ceilon shall remain under that of His Imperial Majesty.

8th.—According to article 13, none shall be allowed to dispose of any goods contracted for by us to anyone else without having first satisfied our demands: any one transgressing to be apprehended and imprisoned. We should thus get our own.

We shall also be allowed to act in the same way if any one becomes indebted to us to any large amount; but we shall in either case be bound to inform His Imperial Majesty or his Governors of it.

9th.—Article 14 of the Batticaloa contract prohibits any one of whatever degree, caste, or condition from minting or making any money other than that allowed by His Imperial Majesty or the Hollanders ; still less from coining false money.

Should any one be detected in contravening these articles, be they Hollanders, His Imperial Majesty's subjects, or

foreigners, they shall receive corporal punishment, and their goods be confiscated in favour of His Imperial Majesty.

10th.—In case any Hollander is guilty of bad conduct and takes refuge in His Imperial Majesty's dominions, His Imperial Majesty or his subjects shall be bound according to article 13 to deliver them up into our hands. His Imperial Majesty's subjects fleeing to our side under similar circumstances to be delivered up to His Majesty. This also to refer to fugitive slaves.

11th.—His Imperial Majesty shall promise, according to article 16 of the contract, to prohibit his subjects from entering into correspondence, either secretly or publicly, or from making any contracts with our enemies for merchandise or anything, but on the contrary to consider them as enemies. Should they in spite of this sell any merchandise to a foreign nation, they shall receive corporal punishment as an example to others ; but if found disposing of the cinnamon shall incur the penalty of death.

12th.—That by article 17 of the Batticaloa contract His Majesty shall agree not to allow Roman Catholic monks, priests, and other ecclesiastics to domicile themselves in his dominions, they being the cause of disturbances and discord wherever they go, but to extirpate them, as their principal object is to set the subjects against the King, and by these means get hold of the lands.

13th.—In the event of any of the Company's vessels becoming wrecked or stranded in His Imperial Majesty's ports through stress of weather or any other cause, His Imperial Majesty or his subjects shall have no further claim on the stranded vessel and recovered goods than for salvage, in the same way as is practised by the Company.

The object of this draft was to make these things intelligible to His Imperial Majesty in default of his presence or that of his Ambassadors here, and to sound him as to the way he is inclined to treat with the Company, and to manage so that we may finally arrive at the wished for understanding and an unalterable treaty of peace and friendship.

During the presence of the Dewekare Mahamohotiaar at Colombo, Heer Pyl had several private conferences with him concerning peace, but without making any impression on him.

He had, on the contrary, the presumption to declare in the absence of the Governor, but in the presence of the Councillors, that the King, his master, was not indebted to the Company for anything, &c.

Meanwhile many of the Company's subjects, including coolies *(koelys)*, went to the mountains to receive titles of honour from the King, without the knowledge of the Governor. Some of the Chiefs went also, with the Company's permission, for the same purpose ; thereby showing their preference of the King to the Company ; but pretending that this was done to promote the success of the negotiations for the treaty.

In the month of September the Ambassador Alebos again returned from Candia without any success, although he had been received and entertained in a very friendly manner. He had submitted the above-mentioned conditions to His Imperial Majesty, who, after having looked into them, appointed the Gannebandar and some other chiefs to confer with our Ambassador on the matter. This they did the first thing on their visit to the Ambassador's residence, where he presented these articles of peace for their consideration, requesting them seriously to remember the heavy expenses incurred by the Company, besides the great loss of Holland blood shed in His Majesty's service in driving away and extirpating the Portuguese from these Islands, and also that they could still be of the same service to His Imperial Majesty.

Whereupon the officials, having read the document with much attention, asked the Ambassador whether these articles were construed in conformity with the old contract. He replied in the affirmative, and said that it had been followed to the extent to which it was applicable at the time, as could be ascertained by perusing every article separately. He was then asked whether the third article was also the same as in

the old contract. He answered that it was so far as it treated about the expenses, as His Majesty had promised and undertaken to reimburse them, and it was desired as compensation that they might continue in possession of the towns, lands, and forts now occupied by them, as would appear further from the aforesaid article.

The Chiefs objected to this, saying that the Company or its malicious rulers (as they called them) in the Island were the first to break the contract; neither did they keep their promises to surrender Colombo to His Majesty or to divide the spoil; further, that they had treacherously attacked His Imperial Majesty at Raygamwatte and defeated and robbed him of incalculable treasures, of far more value than the expenses the Company laid claim to.

Whereupon the Ambassador tried to prove to them that the breaking of the contract was not to be ascribed to the Company but to the King, and demonstrated, that to prevent our perishing from hunger at Colombo we were obliged to attack some rebels of His Imperial Majesty, who carried away some of the inhabitants near the gates, stripped, robbed, and burned them, and interrupted our supplies.

The Chiefs replied that there were probably causes for complaint on both sides, and it were better not to discuss them, as it led to no result and caused greater estrangement; but as their instructions were limited to the hearing of the Company's proposals, and to reporting upon them to His Majesty, they could not decide finally upon anything; that the Ambassador would receive further communications as soon as His Imperial Majesty had made himself acquainted with the points submitted to him.

These articles being to the interest of the Company, His Imperial Majesty on his part intended to propose some clauses to his own advantage.

The Ambassador observed that the proposed articles were as much to the advantage of His Imperial Majesty and his subjects as to the Company; but he was nevertheless very anxious to learn His Majesty's pleasure, and if it was not in

his power to consent to His Imperial Majesty's wishes, he would report the matter to the Governor.

The conference being ended, the courtiers left to report to His Majesty.

A few days after the Ambassador was invited to another conference with the aforesaid courtiers at the Court, and the Gannebandar being the spokesman, said that His Imperial Majesty having been informed of the deliberations of the last meeting, had, after perusing the documents handed to him, remarked that two articles did not meet with his approval. But before giving any further explanation, he entered upon a long *resumé* about the first landing of the Portuguese upon these shores, their engagements entered into with the Kings of Cotta, Sitavaca, and Candia, without, however, their acquiring any lands from them—except on their first arrival, getting from the King of Cotta as much land as would be covered by a cow's hide; adding that the Portuguese continually broke their contracts, and caused His Majesty much trouble, for which they were frequently punished; that at last His Majesty, considering the Holland nation the truest and most estimable of all, had invited them to his dominions and had made a contract with them, which several of their Governors had broken, against the good intentions of the Company, until Governor Pyl assumed the Government, and by his upright conduct gave such satisfaction to the late and also to the present King.

After this, the Gannebandaar coming to the point, said first that in article 3 mention was made of some debt due from His Imperial Majesty to the Company for expelling the Portuguese from the kingdom on behalf of His Imperial Majesty; he must maintain that His Imperial Majesty was not indebted to the Company for the following reasons :—

1st.—That the Company had been the first to break the contract.

2nd.—That they had appropriated to themselves the spoil obtained from the Portuguese by the conquest of the towns and forts, while the King was entitled to two-thirds of it.

3rd.—That His Majesty being driven away from Raygamwatte had been despoiled of inestimable treasures, &c.

4th and last.—That the Company, since their possession of the lands, had enjoyed all the income and profits from them, and His Majesty could not consent to grant them the lands mentioned.

The second objection of His Imperial Majesty was the prohibition against trading with other nations, as requested by the article 5, and the closing of his ports. His Imperial Majesty remarked that even when the Portuguese were still enemies upon these shores this had never been done, and he considered the claim very unjust and to the prejudice of the people.

The Ambassador, who had listened with patience and attention, said that he had expected this answer in writing that he might reply to it in the same manner; also to enable him to proceed in better order and obviate all misunderstanding, and to submit a correct report of their views and his answer to the Governor.

The courtiers replied that not being so ready with the pen as the Netherlanders, they desired him to inform the Governor in the usual way.

The Ambassador also said that he would in a few words answer them, so far as he was able to do at that time. Commencing with their first topic, he said that the Netherlanders had no concern with the doings of the Portuguese; they had not sent for them, but His Imperial Majesty had invited the former with many promises to expel the Portuguese and free him from their annoyances and vexations; which, under God's blessing, they succeeded in doing at great cost and much bloodshed.

That His Majesty had promised by the contract made with Admiral Westerwold, at Batticaloa, in 1638, to accept the Netherlanders as friends, allies, and protectors of his kingdom, and to repay the yearly expenses incurred by the Company in manning and equipping of ships, yachts, and smaller vessels, and for sailors, soldiers, officers, and

ammunition, &c., used on behalf of His Imperial Majesty, by cinnamon, pepper, cardamoms, indigo, wax, rice, and other valuable goods and merchandise, the products of His Imperial Majesty's dominions.

The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 8th articles of this contract, translated in the Portuguese, he caused to be read to the officials, and translated into Singalese by the interpreter, saying that the Company had never reaped that benefit, as His Imperial Majesty had not acted up to this promise, but had on the contrary after the conquest of Gale and Nigombo in 1646, called in the assistance of the Portuguese, with men and arms, against the Netherlanders, to wrest Nigombo from them, and slaying their people; thus proving that not they, but His Imperial Majesty, was the first to break the contract. It were best to pass over this unpleasant matter, as his mission was not to rake up past misdeeds, but to request His Majesty to enter into another bond of peace, friendship, and alliance, and to this end he would, in the name of his superiors, lend all his powers to give His Imperial Majesty every possible and reasonable satisfaction.

As to His Majesty's objection to the two points in articles 3rd and 5th, it was generally known that the Company went to great expense in expelling the Portuguese from His Imperial Majesty's dominions, and were still spending yearly in the maintenance of garrisons required for the protection of His Majesty's towns and forts against invasion and attack from foreign enemies.

To prove that the allegation that His Majesty was not indebted to them was untrue, [the Ambassador replied] upon the first point, that he had already shown that His Imperial Majesty was the first to violate the treaty, and not the Company.

Upon the second point, [he said] that the spoil of Gale, with the exception of some cinnamon and arecanuts already placed to His Imperial Majesty's credit, and some cannon and ammunition left for the protection of the fortress, had been equally divided between the Modliaars of His Imperial

Majesty and the Company, to which arrangement His Imperial Majesty had declared his satisfaction. That by article 2 of the old contract, as explained to His Imperial Majesty, he was not entitled to two-thirds, but only to a half share.

3. That the Company did not profit by the treasures said to have been left at Raygamwatte.

4. That, lastly, the revenues and taxes of the lands were of so little value that they would not compensate the Company a thousandth part for the expenses to which they had been put: that the Ambassador had no present power to come to a definite arrangement with regard to the absolute grant of some towns and forts, but must report further to the Governor. He requested His Imperial Majesty to write to the Governor at the same time about it.

With regard to the second point, about excluding other nations from participation in the traffic, and the closing of His Majesty's ports, that His Majesty had by article 10 of the contract of the year 1638 promised that no other nation should be allowed to deal or barter, but that the Company should be sole purchasers of all articles.

That in opening the ports indiscriminately, none would benefit more than a pack of villainous and wicked Chalias or Straits Moors. They were a rabble, who insinuated themselves everywhere to oust the Company, and who had never done any service to the kingdom, as the Company had done and could still do. Should the Company be deprived of the arecanut and cloth trade (as would certainly be the case if the ports were opened), they would not be able to maintain the trusty Hollanders for His Majesty's service, nor find them their monthly pay. Besides which His Majesty's subjects would lose great advantages, as then the free navigation from Mallabaar must be left open; while at present the exportation of arecanuts from there was prevented at great expense, thereby causing the price of Ceilon nuts to remain high, which the opening of free navigation from Mallabaar would again cause it to decline in value, and cause great loss to the people of this country. And considering the great advantage

to the community by the Company providing them with cloth and other goods (which they could do at more reasonable prices than others), they could not with justice, if their friendship is real, deprive the Company of a benefit and give it to another.

The Company had undertaken by article 6 of the contract, in consideration of having the undisturbed gathering of the cinnamon in all His Imperial Majesty's lands, and possessing the entire monopoly, to send a considerable yearly present to His Majesty. Besides, if they thought that the people could not live from the present price of arecanuts being too low, we would gladly meet their wishes to some extent, provided the nuts were only sold to the Company.

Further, should His Imperial Majesty wish to despatch annually one or two vessels to collect curiosities and provide for the wants of the Court, every facility will be given, provided notice is given beforehand: these vessels will be saluted with the usual honours and provided with passports, not only to depart and return free and unmolested; every assistance will also be rendered to them in the countries under the Company's rule. The Governor submitted all this for His Imperial Majesty's consideration, and requested the favourable assistance of the chiefs.

The only answer the Ambassador received at the conclusion of this interview, after some interruption by the courtiers, was that a report would be made to His Imperial Majesty, and a favourable conclusion arrived at; then the Governor would receive marks of great favour, and the Ambassador be allowed to depart well satisfied in three or four days' time.

The conference ended after the exchange of mutual compliments and the usual ceremonies.

The Ambassador came to the conclusion that neither the treaty of 1638 nor the new one of 1649 was in the possession of the Court, but had been lost or mislaid at Raygamwatte or at the insurrection of Nigombo, as the chiefs, although talking about sharing in the booty, either did not allude to a single article or mentioned it incorrectly; for they claimed two-thirds

for His Imperial Majesty, and listened with surprise when the Ambassador had the articles read over to them. Neither did they seem to have any knowledge of the letters of 1640 and those of a later date written by His Imperial Majesty to Colombo. It was therefore useless to argue with them, being full of pride and under the impression that everything depended on their favour.

A few days afterwards the Gannebandaar sent private information to the Ambassador, that he would be allowed to depart the next day, and that His Imperial Majesty had consented to all the points with the exception of yielding up the full possession of the lands; that the Governor will be honoured with a gold ola, conferring on him a title of honour and having engraved on it the grant of a province.

But everything turned out quite differently, when the Ambassador four or five days subsequently appeared before His Imperial Majesty requesting his dismissal.

He understood with great surprise that the King, after mature consideration, could not as yet come to a decision, but His Majesty intended shortly to visit the lowlands in order to have a personal interview with his well-beloved and trusty Governor, and His Imperial Majesty intended on that occasion to satisfy him and show him great honour and favour. Meanwhile everything could remain as though the present had already been made and the treaty already concluded, both parties living in peace with one another.

Whereupon the Ambassador complained of his want of success, and particularly that he could not get a written answer.

He was told that he might consider himself the most fortunate individual, as he had been shown the same honour as would have been rendered to the Governor, had he been present personally, and that everything would be done to the satisfaction of the Governor as promised.

After receiving some presents, he was allowed to depart.

The cause of this sudden change was ascribed to the receipt of a private ola from Colombo, the writer and

contents of which could not be discovered. All that the Ambassador could ascertain was that the Basnaike was carrying on a frequent correspondence in Colombo with the Chiefs in the mountains, and that nothing happened in the Company's lands without being divulged to them ; which proved how little the Company could depend on her own servants.

Even after the return of the Ambassador to Colombo, Governor Pyl received an ola from the Chiefs at Candia on behalf of the King, repeating the tyranny and iniquities committed by the Portuguese, and the reasons why the Hollanders had been invited in preference to other nations and a special Ambassador sent to Batavia for that purpose. His Imperial Majesty had to complain about the conduct of some officers, the injustice done by the taking of the ports, the insult to Rampot Rale sent as Ambassador to Mature, the appropriating to themselves of the spoil of Colombo, the pretended harm done to His Majesty at Raygamwatte, &c.

Permission was given for the gathering of the cinnamon, and [it was stated that] as soon as His Imperial Majesty comes down for a meeting with the Governor, a peace will be made and concluded to the effect that it may last for ever.

With this ola a separate note was received, containing the following :—

"The Ambassador, Mr. Claas Alebos, brought here a draft contract of peace, which contained several contradictory clauses. It is hereby returned to His Imperial Majesty's well-beloved and trusty Governor, for his perusal and consideration."

This cleary proved that the relations between the Empire of Candia and the Company were totally changed by the death of the late King. During his lifetime we had treated with a strong-minded King acting upon his own convictions and governing his kingdom, without allowing any interference from his subjects ; who had moreover himself concluded the original contract with the Company and

retained it in his own possession, appealed to it and pretended to keep it.

All this was an infallible argument to prove that the Company's claim against that King was not false, but free from design and deceit: thus as regards the old King they certainly had a chance of determining any differences between them and of effecting a peaceful issue.

But as the young King was only acting upon the advice of his Councillors, things were getting into a bad state, and gave promise of serious trouble to the Company; for the courtiers tried by every means to cause disorder, disputed the true meaning of the treaty, denied its authenticity, and strove to upset it.

It was considered better, for all these reasons, to maintain our rights and pretensions against all Europeans by right of conquest, should any of them attempt to disturb us in time of peace, rather than to insist on the treaty and our right of hypothec, which would be the cause of endless quarrels and disputes.

It was meanwhile resolved at Colombo to quietly evacuate the mountain Corles, which was done at once: they were taken possession of by the King's people, who elected Chiefs in all of them, with the exception of the Three Corles, which were not yet inhabited.

The Company's people still continued to go to the Court to obtain titles of honour; which had such a demoralising effect that the people of Tamblegam and Coetjaar renounced their fealty to the Company, and absolutely refused to pay any taxes.

At the end of the year 1688 a few courtiers came to Colombo from Candia with two olas, the first notifying His Majesty's intended departure for the lowlands to confer personally with the Governor. It was replied, that according to orders, as a Governor was not permitted to leave his post unless an officer of higher or at least the same rank was sent to replace him, he could not have the high honour of receiving His Majesty, or conferring with him. In the

second ola His Majesty expressed his desire that the Singalese should have the free exercise of their religion, and sought the restitution to His Majesty of the pagodas situated about the coasts, as well as the opening of the ports.

These requests gave ample evidence of the King's sentiments and purpose. In reply, delay and patience were solicited until their Excellencies could be communicated with.

At the same time news arrived from Calpetty that a vessel flying a white flag charged with a red lion, and loaded with arecanuts, was about to leave for Putulang: whereupon the officers at Calpetty were instructed to prevent its departure, as otherwise the rapacious Singalese and others would presume to navigate under the flag of the King, and would use that opportunity to export, besides the arecanuts, as much cinnamon and other prohibited goods as they desired.

It thus appeared that every effort was being made to compel the opening of the ports without making a contract, under the presumption that the Company was their vassal, notwithstanding the frequent evidence to the contrary.

As this made it clear to the Governor Pyl and his Council that these malicious Chiefs were not to be propitiated, they resolved to ask for assistance from their Excellencies.

Governor Pyl reported in greater detail to His Honour the Commissary van Rheede all that had happened before and after the mission of Alebos, on which His Honour made the following observations :—

That the evident purpose of the present Candian Court was the determination to make the Company submit themselves to their wishes, as was testified at Trinconomale and Batticaloa, and as was evident from the summoning and granting of honours to various Singalese Chiefs, the granting of the village and port of Belligam to the Basnaike, the claim to have the port of Putulang open, the export of the Calpetty arecanuts, and finally the disquieting of the whole Mature Dessavony, the unceremonious *congé* of the Ambassador Alebos, besides the little gratitude shown for the surrender of some lands and provinces.

Any further condescension on our part would only lead that vain people to treat our friendly overtures with contempt, and it would be preferable to make them believe that we felt quite indifferent, as to whether the King made peace or not. We must, however, continue to treat them with civility, but peremptorily refuse any unreasonable demand on their part, whether proposed in an indirect way or by menaces; while some soldiers should be sent from Madure and Tansjour for the protection of the cinnamon bushes and peelers under the pretext of the war declared in the Fatherland. We would not be caught asleep, but would keep strict watch upon those belonging to high families, who were treacherously inclined.

In the following year, 1689, Governor Pyl received another offensive ola from the Chiefs, reproaching the Company for their importunity for peace, insisting upon the opening of the ports, and the free exercise of religion, as well as the giving back of all their people and lands, leaving to the Company only the strongholds on the seashores.

All these endeavours of the Chiefs pointed only to one conclusion, namely, that they considered the Company as a mere vassal and subject, treacherously endeavouring to hoodwink it; nevertheless repeating their statement that they wished to keep all Europeans who were the Company's enemies away from the Island; it did not therefore follow that they would keep out Europeans who were the friends of the Company.

The Company replied to that letter that it was their intention never to give up the lands in their possession, that there was no prospect of peace according to article 10, unless all Europeans were excluded, whether friends or foes; and that the opening of the ports of Calpetty and Coetjaar would cause a great loss to the Company unless His Majesty could offer an equivalent.

Meanwhile the lowlanders who had left some time ago for the mountains returned of their own accord, having been deceived, and having found out that the Singalese were not so ready to assist them.

Governor Pyl also ascertained that his own native servants were traitors, particularly the Basnaike of Colombo, who gave every information to the Court and was in secret conspiracy with the Gannebandaar and the courtiers.

For reasons of State this conduct on the part of the native servants was passed over, but it was considered highly necessary to dismiss the Basnaike, and to replace him either by a Netherlander, a Mixtis, or a Toepas, provided he had a knowledge of the language, thereby following the policy of the wise Portuguese, Count Linhares, of filling the native offices by Europeans.

It was quite evident to the Governor, that the Singalese, as a brutal and self-satisfied people, considered it would tarnish the glory of their King and be beneath their dignity should they follow the dictates of reason and justice ; therefore any concession on the part of the Company only made them more conceited and unbearable : he could obtain far better terms by showing a bold front, and agreeing with his Council that no lands actually in our possession should be surrendered on any account ; but on the contrary, it should be negotiated to leave us the Pittigal Corle from the river of Waluwe to that of Chilauw and the maritime lands, and consequently the cinnamon, to the exclusion of other Europeans, even if the opening of the ports had to be conceded.

According to His Honour the Commissary's opinion the Company's right to these lands was based upon their conquest from the Portuguese. It was also worthy of consideration that the Candian King was not sovereign of the lowlands, nor could he be so, as shown by the testamentary disposition of the King Don Joan Perie Pandaar of the year 1580 (who styled himself King of Ceilon by the Grace of God), whereby he transferred the whole kingdom of Ceilon to the King of Portugal ; which right the Portuguese have always maintained, and have addressed the Kings of this country as King of Candia, but not of Ceilon : this is made manifest by a certain contract, made in 1633 between the King of Candia and the Portuguese, thus

demonstrating that the Company's right cannot be disputed, by virtue of their conquest of the Portuguese.

Everything remained in the same state in the following year, 1689, without any prospect of coming to an arrangement with the King of Candia. However, a rumour was spread that great preparations for war were being made at Candia for the purpose of expelling the Company from the Island altogether. It was also stated that the French Ambassador at the Court incited the Chiefs against us, and tried to induce them to despatch another vessel with arecanuts under the King's flag. A short time previous a vessel laden with 200 ammunams of arecanuts, and bound for the coast, was allowed a passport at Calpetty, and the Governor of Cormandel was instructed to afford every facility and assistance required. This was done so as to prevent the enemies of the Company at Court from increasing His Majesty's ill-will towards us.

But tidings arrived soon afterwards from the Company's officers at Calpetty, that a vessel larger than the former, flying three white flags charged with three red lions, and loaded with arecanuts, was about to leave Putulang for the coast.

Orders were given to the officers not to allow any vessel to pass without the Company's passports, and should the aforesaid vessel from Putulang attempt to pass Calpetty without calling there, they were to detain it in the canal with sloops and thonys.

This was done, and in the following year, 1690, the real owner of the vessel was discovered, as the Calpetty officers wrote to Colombo to the effect that some Singalese, sent to them by the Putulang Chiefs, requested them to let the vessel with arecanuts, whose destination was Tutucoryn, pass free. They were ordered not to comply with that request, but to adhere strictly to the rules laid down.

Not long after a vessel arrived at Calpetty from the coast, bringing some curiosities for the King from the coast; but on being searched was found to contain a large quantity of clothing, coast cloth, &c., for private persons.

The vessel was allowed to depart after the private property had been taken out.

The customary yearly present to the King was meanwhile continued, our reward being the gathering of the cinnamon; but the Singalese made no further progress with the contract, but kept fooling the Company and driving it to great expense.

The courtiers represented that it was His Majesty's wish that Governor Pyl (who asked to be relieved) should continue in his office, otherwise he would not be inclined to make peace; but if he consented to remain, some Ambassadors should be sent to negotiate a treaty.

No attention was paid to this request, as it was only considered as a trick of this treacherous people to find out what our reply would be.

The Governor, however, consented to remain so as not to place any difficulties in the way of the important matter of the treaty of peace; but this was of no effect, as the courtiers had sufficient influence with the young King to delay it by various excuses, and to keep the Company waiting the whole year.

All that could be obtained in the following year, 1691, was free permission to gather the cinnamon in the King's lands, although His Honour Commissary van Rheede expressed his opinion that it would have been preferable to have looked for it outside the Singalese territory, thus making them conscious that we could do without them: we had now put them under lasting obligations to us, but obtained nothing more than a mere license.

The present to the King also remained as before on the road, as if to show the great honour vouchsafed to the Company by its acceptance by the King, and also to show their contempt for the Company.

Meanwhile some lowlanders and lascoreens having fled to the mountains, were sent back by the King.

This was considered as a trick of the Singalese, to see whether the Netherlanders would do anything more than return their thanks, and whether they, through gratitude for such conduct, would cease from making fresh requests; when

they would again have more opportunities for showing their importance and ridiculing the credulity of the Hollanders. Their disposition showed itself at the same time in the King's pretended displeasure that no Netherlander had accompanied the present.

Governor Lourens Pyl was at last relieved and returned to Batavia. He was on January 28, 1692, succeeded by the Extraordinary Councillor of Netherlands-India, Heer Thomas van Rhee, Governor Pyl having first apprised the Candian Court of his departure for Batavia.

During the five succeeding years, under the rule of Governor van Rhee, he had the satisfaction of seeing the lands remain quiet, the King continue in good humour, and the cinnamon gathered in peace. Only in the year 1696, the greater part of the Chalias having fled to the King's lands, the courtiers gave information to the Governor of their own accord; adding that these people had said that they had run away in consequence of the harsh treatment of the overseer of the cinnamon, but that nevertheless, in consideration of the harmony existing between the Court and the Company, these Chalias would be sent back.

This being shortly afterwards done, the men had the effrontery to present themselves before the Governor and request, under various frivolous pretences, not to be again sent into the woods: whereupon the Governor had ten of the principal mutineers put in chains.

Heer Paulus de Roo was in the meantime elected Governor and Director in 1695, but died the same year, while still Commissary of Souratte.

Governor van Rhee thus continued to rule until February 22, 1697, when he was replaced by Heer Gerrit de Heere.

The change of Governors made no change in the harmonious relations between the Court and the Company. This was further proved by the unsolicited surrender, by orders of His Majesty, of some lascoreens who had fled to the King's lands. Five of the ringleaders were put in chains, and the remainder of the rabble driven away.

The Chalias gathered the cinnamon further in the King's territory than had ever been allowed, even as far as the foot of Balane hill close to Candia. But the year was not allowed to come to an end without the courtiers again giving proof of their unfriendly and deceitful subterfuges, by writing two very disrespectful olas to the Governor asking for the draft treaty; remarking concerning it that it was of no importance, as the treaty of peace would only be concluded at His Majesty's pleasure. A severe reply was sent that we would not part with the draft, so that the Chiefs might understand beforehand that we did not desire to be treated as subjects, but must be considered as allies.

In the following year, 1700, a false report was spread by some evil disposed persons, that the Company intended to commence war against the King.

This made a great sensation at the Court and in the mountains, and caused the retention of a certain Modliaar, 3 Appœhamies, and a European soldier, who had been sent with a present of four horses to His Majesty: finding this report was without foundation, they were released a year after with many protestations of His Majesty's friendship. Some escaped mutineers from the Happitigam Corle were at the same time returned by the King, but pardon was asked for them for this time.

In the year 1701 the King also delivered up at the Company's request 123 Chalias, with their six ringleaders, who had escaped at different times.

It gave general surprise that during the month of August of the same year there was no further supply of arecanuts, poultry, &c., from the King's country, neither was there any demand at Colombo for salt, cotton goods, &c., for the mountains. The report was circulated that it was the King's order for them to go and trade at Putulang, as that port belonged to His Majesty. This report was strengthened shortly afterwards, when a pointed stake was erected at each gravet, by which every one transgressing these commands was to be impaled alive.

Some merchants from Colombo having gone to Sitavaca and purchased 500 or 600 amunams of arecanuts for their town, were not only prevented from transporting them, but were not allowed even to pass the gravets.

Notwithstanding that some presents were sent to the Court by an Ambassador, the gravets remained closed, thereby producing a great scarcity of provisions and reducing the value of the Company's areca and salt trade.

Although the mountaineers came to the Company's lands in June, 1702, they brought nothing for sale ; thereby revealing that the object of the courtiers was to draw the whole of the trade in arecanut and cotton goods to Putulang and Coetjaar. The Ambassador who had gone to Candia the previous year still remained there.

In August of the same year a Modliaar in command of eleven files of lascoreens in the District of Mature went over to Candia taking his family with him ; and four of the King's chiefs, with about 300 lascoreens, many of whom were armed, came within two hours' distance of Mature, in the Company's lands, in order to escort him safely to the mountains. There was little doubt of the connivance of the King and his officials.

Our Ambassador at last returned from Candia, relating the civil treatment he had continually experienced while there.

The courtiers at the same time sent an ola in His Majesty's name to Colombo, containing many expressions of friendship; and everything had the outward appearance of our being on friendly terms with the Court.

On November 26, Governor Gerrit de Heere died, and the Political Council assumed the Government.

In the following month of December the Court Adigaar and four other chiefs arrived expressly from Candia, their specirl mission being to offer His Majesty's condolence to the Council on the death of Governor Gerrit de Heere.

At the commencement of the following year, 1703, the gravets were again opened, and the mountaineers brought a fair quantity of provisions for sale ; but Putulang still

remained the chief place for the trade in arecanuts, and not the least change could be perceived in this particular.

On the 11th May Heer Johannes Simons arrived as Governor at Colombo, and took the reins of Government from the Political Council.

On August 11 of the same year it was resolved to bring into operation the orders given by their Excellencies at Batavia regarding the free navigation of some of the ports. For which purpose these instructions were sent to Cormandel and Mallabaar, with orders that no passport should be granted except to Colombo, Gale, and Jaffanapatnam: the administrator on the Madure coast also made similar orders.

This was communicated by letter to His Majesty's courtiers in the most becoming and inoffensive way; pretending that this had not been done to cause the King any displeasure, but was considered highly necessary as their High Mightinesses the States-General of the Netherlands, being at war with the King of France, the French might attempt to surprise the ports.

From the reply to this ola it appeared that the Court did not attach much importance to the closing of the ports; for in the following year, 1704, the Court also remained quiet and did not show the least displeasure.

At the end of the year an Ambassador was sent from Colombo to Candia to inform His Majesty that a new Governor-General of India had been elected in Holland.

Meanwhile the arecanut trade was not yet restored to the Company, not one amunam having arrived from the mountains at Calpetty, which had until now been the chief place for that trade.

In the following year, 1705, the Ambassador of the past year returned from the Court, and reported that the Court felt quite indifferent to the closing of the ports, if they could only get the same price for the arecanuts—three rixdollars per amunam,—as was paid at Colombo: thus the friendly relations with the Court continued during this and the following year, 1706.

The only thing of importance during that period was the departure of some chiefs to the Court of Madure to fetch one of the Princesses of the so-called "Sun race" as a bride for the King; for whose conveyance the Company was requested to place a vessel at His Majesty's disposal. This was furnished; as also a similar one to convey two Ambassadors to that Court to arrange the betrothal between that Princess and His Majesty.

In August of the same year three Ambassadors arrived at Colombo on behalf of the King, announcing the illness of His Majesty and the election of a Crown Prince. Before the end of the month another Ambassador arrived, announcing His Majesty's death.

Thereupon an Ambassador was sent to the Court with some valuable presents: his mission was to offer the Company's condolence upon the death of the late King, and their congratulations to his successor.

The Ambassador upon his return reported the very flattering reception he had met with from the new King.

On November 8 following it was definitely decided to execute the orders issued by their Excellencies in 1703 concerning the closing of the ports. The measures taken in 1704 and 1705 having cleared the way, in order to carry them out more effectually regulations were drawn up and confirmed by the Council of Ceilon on the same date.

In the same month (November) the Governor Cornelis Joannes Simons transferred the Government to Heer Hendrik Bekker, Extraordinary Councillor of Netherlands-India, and everything remained in a peaceable state. The Company anticipated much good from the new King.

At the commencement of the following year, 1708, some courtiers came to Colombo with tidings that some of the courtiers had conspired against the life of the new King, but that their plans had not succeeded, and that the guilty had been discovered and put to death.

In July His Majesty sent information to the Governor and the Council of the day on which he intended to

assume his imperial title and be publicly crowned in the capital.

An important embassy was therefore dispatched to congratulate the King on behalf of the Company.

This peaceful state of affairs continued in the years 1709, 1710, and 1711, and there was every reason to feel perfectly satisfied with the friendly behaviour of the young King; while the respective Ambassadors exchanged expressions and assurances of friendship and good feeling.

But in the following year, 1712, the courtiers recommenced their underhand practices to effect the opening of the ports. The Governor, however, watched their proceedings closely, and ascertained the fact that the Dessawe and Modliaar of the Gate were the instigators.

The Governor at the same time intercepted an ola written by some of the principal inhabitants of Cormandel, and directed to the chiefs of the cinnamon peelers, proving that these people of the coast tried to incite these chiefs to nefarious practices highly detrimental to the most important profit and interest of the Company.

To prevent this or any further attempts, all the faithless servants in any way connected with this perfidy were immediately dismissed: thus everything was restored to its former state, and the following year, 1713, passed off quietly.

At the commencement of the year 1714 an Ambassador was sent to the Court with the yearly presents, and met with a friendly reception, but he behaved himself in an unseemly manner, giving great offence to the Court. This caused great consternation at Colombo, the more so as, to our surprise, he and his suite were neither punished nor interfered with in Candia. To counteract the effect of his unbecoming conduct, an ola was sent to the Court with our apologies and a promise to punish him severely.

The Court having accepted our apology, the following year, 1715, also ended peacefully.

But in 1716 the gravets were again closed, without our being aware of any reason for it. This, however, did not

prevent us from sending to His Majesty an Ambassador with costly presents, who was received with great cordiality. His Majesty professed ignorance of the closing of the gravets, but promised that they should be opened again, and the arecanuts and provisions be carried down to Colombo as usual.

At the end of the year 1716 Governor Hendrik Bekker was relieved of the administration by Heer Isaac Augustin Rumpf, Councillor Extraordinary of Netherlands-India. Although the gravets remained closed during the next year, 1717, the Candians brought provisions, but no arecanuts.

In 1718 the King desired that free navigation should be granted at Putulang.

In 1719 the gravets were once more opened, and free permission given to his subjects to travel to and fro between the mountains and the lowlands.

In 1720 some chiefs arrived at Colombo from Candia, strongly urging on the part of the King the opening of the port of Putulang. During the conference they were given to understand that Calpetty was the Company's seaport, whilst Putulang was the King's inner port (the former was separated by a lake); and strict orders were given by the authorities at home not to open either that or any other of the Company's ports, it being contrary to all rules of the State.

In the following year, 1721, the Governor was informed by the officers at Calpetty that the Moors of Kilkare were looking for a trading place somewhere between Koedre Male and Moddergamme, thinking by that means to be enabled to introduce cotton goods free into the King's dominions ; also that they had detained the Company's letters, and threatened to impale alive the Kangaan at Palangande, should he or his people aid in transporting any more of the Company's letters. Whereupon these servants at Calpetty were ordered to despatch another Kangaan and a corporal with six or more good soldiers well armed, to Palangande ; and at the same time to send at least sixteen men (amongst them some well acquainted with the country and perfectly trustworthy),

under the command of one of the best sergeants and two corporals, to Moddergamme, in order not only to unite with the lascoreen post stationed there, and thus prevent further interference with the Company's letters, but to find out also what were the further intentions of the Moors or Wannias.

It was also decided to have a sloop cruising near Moddergamme, to reinforce Arripo with six men and a corporal, and to send a lieutenant with thirty-four grenadiers to Calpetty. These combined measures put an end to any further interference.

In the year 1722 nothing of consequence happened except that the Candians sent some boats to the banks of Chilaw to dive for pearl oysters. This was prevented by a sloop cruising in the vicinity.

In the following year, 1723, some courtiers with a large retinue arrived at Maanboel Corle, and as they created a great disturbance a company of soldiers was stationed at Moddergamme to observe their movements and to prevent any rebellion. This precaution had such a good effect that they at once retired to Putulang, having only advanced as far as Jagerboom to view a certain pagoda without attempting anything else.

The Court remained neutral on the occasion of a mutiny that arose among the cinnamon-peelers against the native chiefs in that year.

At the end of the year Heer Isaac Augustin Rumpf died. The administration then fell into the hands of the Commandeur of Galle, Arnold Mol, and the Political Council of Colombo, until January 12, 1724, when Heer Johannes Hertenberg became Governor until his death. This took place on October 19, 1725, and the Commandeur of Galle, Heer Jan Paul Schagen, and the Political Council of Colombo, provisionally exercised authority until September 16, 1726, when Heer Petrus Vuyst undertook the administration till August 27, 1729, and then transferred it to Heer Stephanus Versluys.

During all these years nothing of moment occurred at the Candian Court, until at the end of the year 1729 our Ambassador was sent on a mission to the King.

On his arrival not only was he treated with scant courtesy, but he was only admitted once to audience by the King, while the Candians between Trinconomale and Batticaloa detained the Company's letters, drove away the lascoreens, and finally prevented the purchase of paddy. Complaint of all this being made by ola to the Court Adigar, he denied the detention of the letters, and ascribed the short supply of paddy to the exceptionally dry weather experienced in the last few years, adding that there would be no more scarcity, as the crops looked very promising.

The following years, 1730 and 1731, were again passed in peace, and the Court was in a most friendly mood.

On August 25, 1732, Heer Stephanus Versluys departed to Batavia and surrendered the Government to the Jaffanapatnam Commandeur Gualterus Woutersz, and the Political Council of Colombo, who carried it on until the arrival as Commissioner of Ceilon of His Honour Heer Jacob Christiaan Pielat, Councillor Extraordinary of the Netherlands-India, on December 2 of the same year.

Before the end of December the gravets were again closed, and all communication with and descent of the Singalese into the Company's land prevented. Some of the rebels at the three passes of Mabol, Pasbetaal, and Naklegam went to the length of erecting stakes, covered with leaves and cloth, to denote that the roads and passes were closed. The stakes were pulled down and thrown away, and the bystanders informed that it was an insult to the Company, but that we did not believe that these insults had been perpetrated with the knowledge of the Court.

At the commencement of the year 1733 some courtiers came down with an ola containing, besides many expressions of goodwill, some complaints about the great damage His Majesty had suffered since the time of the closing of the ports, and that the yearly presents to His Majesty had become of less value, &c.

That ola was replied to in the most courteous manner, and a request made for the opening of the gravets.

The only reply to this was that the Appoehamies who had taken the aforesaid ola to the Court related that the Court Adigaar had declared that none of the gravets should be opened until the port of Putulang was declared free.

To propitiate the Court, another ola was written offering an apology, and stating that the opening of the Putulang port could not be granted, but that we were willing to receive His Majesty's arecanuts at Calpetty, and to purchase them at an advanced rate of half a rixdollar.

This offer was accepted by the Court, and the King's arecanuts were accordingly purchased, but the gravets still remained closed.

The Company was requested by the Court to send up some handsome horses as a present. In the meantime the inhabitants of the Hina Corle, who had rebelled, were subdued by force of arms, after some difficulty.

On January 21, 1734, His Honour the Commissary Jacob Christiaan Pielat left for Batavia, and gave up the Government to Heer Dideric van Domburg.

In September of the same year two Candian Ambassadors came down to the limits of Mature, bringing with them some escaped lascoreen rebels from the Morrua Corle, for whom they craved pardon.

This being quite an unusual proceeding, created great suspicion, as all communications with the Company were made to Colombo, and never to Mature, They also pretended to have brought a letter from the King, which they were requested to despatch, as also the persons for whom they interceded, through the Governor of Mature, to Colombo; but if unwilling to do so, they could return andaddress themselves as usual to Colombo.

The Mature officials were at the same time ordered not to treat them with extraordinary ceremonies, or to fire any guns in their honour, and to give them no presents, it not being the custom at Mature.

This resolution having been communicated to the aforesaid Ambassadors, they nevertheless insisted on being introduced to the Dessawe of Mature in order to deliver the letter and the rebels to him personally. But the former resolution was persisted on, and the Dessawe of Mature sent them a message in polite terms, to the effect that they might leave the ola and the men with him, but that he could not grant them a personal interview ; should they object to this, they were to be told plainly that it was unusual to receive messengers at Mature, and that they must return and address themselves in the usual manner by way of Sitavaca to Colombo. A letter was at the same time sent to the Court notifying the irregular procedure attempted in the King's name.

The Ambassadors then left Mature at once, but no answer was received to the ola sent to the Court.

However, at the end of the year some Ambassadors arrived at Colombo, who, without alluding at all to the foregoing incident, said that the King had determined to open the gravets again. As this was done at the commencement of the following year, 1735, the Singalese offered a quantity of arecanuts at the usual price.

Shortly afterwards a large number of peelers, who had received their usual presents and pay, assembled at Kirimetjawe and in the Seven Corles in the King's territory, erected some huts and remained idle, under pretence of having received much unjust treatment.

The Dessawe of Nigombo was delegated to summon them before him to state their grievances. They, however, paid no attention to this ; but wrote an ola to the Dessawe complaining of their Vidaan, and insisting on his removal, after which they promised to return to the Company's service. They also sent a letter, bearing no signature, to the Council, with a series of complaints about the heavy charges and taxes to which they were subjected, amongst them the performance of *Doererobe* and *Hoekandiren* services, and complained against the Dessawe and his Modliaar and Mohandiram.

The peelers of the Three Corles had meanwhile joined the rebels of the Seven Corles. As the rebels had declared their determination not to do any work unless ordered by the Court, a letter was immediately despatched to the courtiers informing them of the state of affairs, and requesting that His Majesty would compel these unruly subjects to return to their duties.

In reply to this the courtiers stated that His Majesty having had previous knowledge of this, had already twice ordered them to return to their work, that they pretended to have received such unjust treatment that they preferred to starve rather than obey that order, but that His Majesty would through affection for the Hollanders try once more to use his influence with them.

The rebels, however, sent an ola signed by 214 marks to the Modliaar of the Gate, saying that unless they were relieved from the cinnamon money and three bundles by way of Doere-robe and Hoekandiren services, and the superintendent and his interpreter were dismissed, and further, that unless those put in authority over them, including the lowest officer, were chosen from the Bellale caste, the Company must not expect any services from them.

In confirmation of this, they sent an ola to the Dessawe with 70 signatures. Some time after news was received that the rebels were making a costly robe for presentation to the King, and intended at the same time to bring their grievances once more under His Majesty's notice.

It was strongly suspected that their continued obstinacy was due to encouragement by the King, or at least by his courtiers.

In order to bring these rebels to their senses, it was determined to dismiss the superintendent for the time being, and to put the interpreter in prison under close arrest, although both those persons had for some years performed their duties satisfactorily. They were replaced by men of the Bellale caste, in order to see what effect this alteration might produce.

A mandatory ola was also sent to the rebels in the Seven

Corles and in the Company's lands insisting on their return, but great suprise was felt by the Chalias denying that they had ever written the olas signed by marks; whilst these presumptuous people returned the aforesaid mandatory ola enclosed in another ola containing the above explanation. Meanwhile the rebel peelers tried to induce others who were still occupied in the woods of the Company's territories to join them.

The peelers of Gale and Mature took up the same cry of unjust treatment by some of the chiefs, and refused to work any longer, so that we could not satisfy the demands from the Fatherland and Batavia. But later on some gangs of peelers came to the Governor soliciting the reinstatement of their former superintendent and his interpreter, denying that they had ever been maltreated by them. Their request having been granted, they promised to make good at the later harvest that which had been lost on the principal one.

The inhabitants of Salpitty Corle now also commenced to agitate, for which the chiefs could assign no apparent cause: tidings also came of disturbances in the Raygam Corle. The rebels of the Salpitty Corle threatened those who remained faithful, that they would burn their houses and destroy their gardens if they refused to join them.

In the Hewegam Corle the rebels commenced to rob the peaceful inhabitants, plunder the wayfarers, make the roads unsafe, and commit other depredations; while an ola without signature was received from them enumerating their grievances, such as the burdens of the cinnamon service, ill-treatment, school fines, the sale of their gardens for the half, the conditions of the garden rents (*Wattebadoe*), and various other things. Whereupon the Governor despatched the Modliaar of the Attepattoe to them, to advise them to desist from further disturbance, and lay their complaints either before the Governor or the Dessawe. But the rebels, who already numbered some thousands, replied that if they are allowed to fell timber in the chenas, were freed from having

their calves seized and being obliged to deliver them up, and upon condition of the abolition of school fines, the *Wattebaddoe*, and the sale of their gardens for the half, they would be ready and willing to resume their duties as even more loyal subjects to the Company than hitherto.

To prevent the spread of the insurrection, it was therefore decided to abolish the *Wattebaddoe*, and to send an ola to that effect to them by two Appoehamies, as well as to the people of the Hina and Pasdum Corles, who had also begun to revolt. They were seriously exhorted to appreciate the favours granted to them, and to desist from further disorderly conduct, to return to their villages, and to resume their occupations peacefully: they also received a further promise that their other grievances would be redressed after careful investigation.

Notwithstanding these liberal concessions, the rebels would not submit, but plainly declared to the Appoehamies that they insisted upon their full demands. They further showed their rebellious spirit by going in great numbers across the river to the Pas Naklegam and the village Pellegore, where, after plundering several gardens, they attacked the coffee plantation "Het Hof Altydzomer," broke the fences, assaulted the Company's servants, drove away the cattle, and killed two calves, took out the spirit from the stores, and emptied it upon the ground, broke the vats, stole the iron work from them, and finally carried away as prisoners the lascoreens stationed there as guards.

A detachment of 28 soldiers under their officers was sent after them. The plunderers then retreated further into the hills about Malwane; where, being closely pursued, about 100 of them armed with sticks and knives took up a position upon a plain; and upon the soldiers attempting to surround them, they defended themselves with sticks, forcing the military to fire, when ten or eleven of them were killed.

Although this stopped the robberies and other crimes, they still persevered in their obstinacy, and refused to return to the Company's service unless all their demands were satisfied.

After this some mountaineers came down on purpose to make inquiries about the rebellion; and two olas were received from the rebels, in which they not only repeated their former requests, but also brought a series of charges, and requested that the Head Administrator should be sent to them to listen to their grievances and redress them, promising to remain peaceably and quietly in their villages in the meantime, without however serving the Company.

In order to meet the demands of these stubborn people, and to stop the rebellion from spreading, the Council in Ceilon resolved on [August 26 of the same year that the collection of the moneys on account of gardens sold should be delayed owing to the poverty of the people, and that no *Wattebaddoe* or garden rents should be again demanded.

That the fines should be collected once a year only.

That the calves, &c., required for the Governor should not be taken against the will of the owner, and anyone taking them by force should be punished as an example to others.

That they should also be allowed to cut chenas for their own maintenance, provided they apply to the Dessawe, who would grant such permission after due inspection.

That none but fit men should in future be put over them.

That they would have to perform their duties to the Company properly in future; the cinnamon-peelers would be ordered to do them no harm and the lascoreens would be properly cared for.

These favourable conclusions were proclaimed by a mandatory ola to all the Corles, but the rebels remained obstinate, with the exception of those of the Raygam, Pasdum, Wallawite, Alutkoer, and Happitigam Corles and the outposts of Caliture and Nigombo. But they were at last induced to become quiet, and most of them returned to the Company's service, and the greatest number of those belonging to the two posts aforesaid actually performed their services to the Company.

The people of the Hina, Hewegam, and Salpitty Corles, however, kept up the agitation and refused to return to their

duties. The Council resolved to be no longer importuned by misleading and impertinent olas; they therefore ordered that all missives of that nature should be burnt by the hangman.

The Governor wrote to the Chiefs informing them of the revolt of the Company's subjects, and of their declaration not to resume work without a special order from the King, and that it had been apparent that since the arrival of some messengers from the mountains, the inhabitants had absolutely refused to be pacified or to render obedience, &c. Whereupon some courtiers arrived with an ola from His Majesty to the Governor stating that the King having made inquiries as to the cause of the revolt, had been informed that it had been occasioned by some Chiefs who had been guilty of many malpractices.

It being now evident that the only chance of crushing the revolt would be to use force, it was resolved to ask their Excellencies at Batavia for the assistance of three hundred capable Baly and Boeginese [soldiers] to curb the evil-disposed people, and those malcontents who were still gathered together on the King's frontier.

In the following year, 1736, things went from bad to worse. The inhabitants of the Corles, especially those of Hina and Salpity, hardened themselves against the Company from the time they learnt that the Chalias in the villages of Bellitota, Kosgodde, and Madampe had become dissatisfied and unruly, even going the length of pompously issuing an ola to the effect that the King of Candia had taken these Corles under his own protection, and they were thereby absolved from their engagements with the Company.

The revolt spread to Gale Corle and the Gangebadde and Kandebadde Pattues: the Belligam Corles in the Mature district revolted also, and the inhabitants committed many depredations.

It was necessary that some efficient measures should be taken, and the Dessawe with two officers of police, accompanied by a company of grenadiers under their officers, and

some trustworthy native servants, were sent to Hangwelle to make a strict investigation and try to induce the inhabitants by gentle measures to return to their duty, when their complaints would be listened to and redressed ; but should they reject our friendly overtures, they were to be brought to subjection by force.

Some Commissioners, with a force of 50 soldiers under their officers, were also sent to the villages of the Chalias to curb the rebellion, and the necessary orders were despatched to Gale to bring the disturbances in the Gale and Mature districts to an end.

Upon the report that the rebels of the Hina Corle, to the number of 400, armed with weapons, had with great parade planted some stakes, and declared by ola as well as by word of mouth that the people of the Hina, Alutkoer, and Happitigam Corles were absolved from their services to the Company, some Commissioners, under an escort of 48 soldiers, were despatched to Calane, to pull the stakes out of the ground and to throw them into the woods, and to station themselves at Malwane and Attenegale, the principal strongholds of the marauders, to show that the Hina and other revolted Corles were not under the King's rule.

This decision being acted upon, the detachment of 82 men who had posted themselves at Attenegale were surprised by a large number of Candians and Singalese, and were driven away, leaving behind them two pieces of cannon besides ammunition and baggage, and were obliged to retire to Malwane.

This expedition was undertaken by the Dessawe of the Four and Seven Corles, who came down with some thousands of men to attack the small fort at Malwane, which was razed to the ground, and the guardhouse of the lascoreens burnt. This was the cause of a formal war with the Candian King and his subjects.

It was considered advisable to send a letter with a small present to the courtiers, to solicit their goodwill with His

Majesty and to pacify him with regard to the building of the forts of Attenegale and Malwane, and to obtain an audience for the Company's Ambassador, and permission to him to return, as his stay in Candia had been greatly prolonged.

Governor Dideric van Domburg having died in the meantime, the administration was carried on by Commandeur of Gale, Jan Macaré, and the Political Council.

The Dessawe of Mature and the Council there reported that the cause of the displeasure of the Candian Court was now ascertained, namely, the non-admittance into the Mature district and refusal of the usual ceremonies to two highlanders, by order of the late Governor Heer van Domburg, these messengers having been sent by the King with a letter concerning the complaints of the people.

In consequence of the return of the messengers without accomplishing anything, it resulted that His Majesty, having received more complaints from the inhabitants of the Hina Corle and the Chalias of Wellitotte and Kosgodde, is reported to have said that it would be better to provide against further complaints by guarding the shores.

It was also reported that two Singalese heathen priests were roaming the country, stirring up the people, and encouraging them to further mutiny and resistance. One of these priests had actually issued an ola to the inhabitants in the King's name containing the following :—

1. That the inhabitants of the Mature districts need not obey, or render services to, the Hollanders.

2. That they must put their signatures to a declaration acknowledging the King of Candia as their lawful sovereign.

3. A serious caution was given to those who wish to side with the Hollanders.

4. That they should collect provisions and hold themselves in readiness.

The confederates also presented an ola, signed by them, to the priests, and had done their best to force the rest of the Aracchies, Kangaans, and Lascoreens, &c., who had refused their signature, to sign it.

It was clearly apparent that the abandonment of the fort of Malwane and the retreat of the Company's forces to Colombo had much emboldened the Candians, and they ventured to come to the Pellegore garden, within an hour's distance of the Castle.

The Court, or rather the Dessawe of the Four and Seven Corles, contended that the Hina Corle having been taken possession of on behalf of the King, the garden also belonged to him as being a dependency of that Corle.

The inhabitants of the Happitigam and Alutkoer Corles claimed to be under the King's protection, and prevented the publication of a proclamation of an amnesty: they also hindered the people of Mallimande and the Baygam and Belligam Corles and the Company's servants in their occupations, especially in the loading of rice in the boats, &c.

The troubles at last grew to such a height that it became necessary to make an appeal to Batavia for the assistance of troops, as the rebels were countenanced by the King's people, who lorded it completely in the Hina, Hapitigam, and Alutkoer Corles.

But upon the arrival at Colombo, on July 23 of the same year, of Baron Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff, Councillor Extraordinary of Netherlands-India, and his assumption of the Government, everything seemed to calm down and remain quiet.

He informed the courtiers of his arrival by letter, but refrained from mentioning other matters, only requesting the speedy return of the Company's Ambassador.

He also issued a proclamation throughout the country with great ceremony, announcing his arrival and advising the people to abandon their rebellious and unruly practices, to return peaceably to their villages, and resume their lawful occupations. In order to satisfy their complaints, the farming of the fisheries of Bamberen, Koddegodde, Tengale, Dikwelle, Nielwelle, Inmoedere, and Oekewelle, and the lakes of Naklegam and Kannoekellie, was abolished, as well as the farming of chewing-tobaccos. In consequence the peelers returned to their work.

Tidings also came from Nigombo that permission to gather [cinnamon] in the King's territory had reached the gravets.

Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, deceitful conspiracies were still set on foot by the chief ministers at Court, and their creatures continued to incite the people. This caused the Governor to write to the King requesting that the four chief conspirators should be given up to him, and that satisfaction should be given for the conduct of the rebel Alangakon, and for the damage caused to the Company by the evacuation of Attenegale, and the carrying away of the Koerwe Modliaar, and other abuses, asking at the same time for permission to gather cinnamon and transport elephants.

No answer was received to that letter, but the Ambassadors returned the following year, 1737, and reported that His Imperial Majesty emphatically declared his ignorance of the occurrences in the lowlands, and that neither the King nor his courtiers were at all mixed up in them.

It was considered to be to the advantage of the Company to proclaim this official declaration publicly, so as to warn the people not to give any credence to the false tales circulated by the rebels.

The inhabitants of the Hina, Happitigam, and Alutkoer Corles, however, prevented the publication of the proclamation, alleging that they first required an intimation from the Court that those three Corles would be restored to the Company.

In order to quell this small remnant of the malcontents, some troops were sent in to the Alutkoer Corle, with the result that the chiefs of the rebels sought safety in the King's territory, and the rest remained quiet, the said chiefs being outlawed.

At the end of the year everything assumed a quiet appearance, the Court also showed a friendly disposition; and in the following year, 1738, when an Ambassador was despatched with a valuable present to Candia, he met with a cordial reception, and was admitted to an audience, notwithstanding the King's illness.

But Governor van Imhoff did not put much faith in these outwardly friendly appearances. He had thoroughly grasped the principles of the Court, and the dangerous means they were in the habit of taking to molest the Company in their Ceilon possessions. He considered the late incident of the closing of the ports in 1707 as being the third revolution of importance so far as regards the interests of the Company, and from which its then decadence could be inferred; to it could be ascribed the behaviour of the Candian Court during the rule of Governor van Domburg. This might prove even more disastrous in the future, as the Court, taking advantage of the discontent of the inhabitants at the heavy taxes and extortion of the native chiefs, and being thus ever inclined to revolt, was not only ready to protect them, but also to incite a general insurrection, and thus attain its own object. No matter how well the natives of the lowlands were treated, the Court could always find means to incite them to revolt, considering the great reverence the people naturally felt for the Candian King as their paramount lord, although they were at present subjects of the Company. This feeling could easily be worked upon by the courtiers or their subordinates in favour of the King by diverting the people from their duty. Therefore the displeasure of the Court was of the greatest inconvenience, being the principal cause of all disturbances, the source of the people's disobedience, the wheel by which all the chiefs of the Company's Corles could be moved, the support of the evil disposed, and the root of the ill condition of Ceilon, which must be eradicated and done away with. The friendly relations between the Court and the Company must therefore be re-established if they expected to derive any benefit from their presence in these Islands.

At the commencement of the year 1739 the courtiers communicated to the Governor and Council the death of the King and the succession of another, without mentioning the name or nationality of the new King.

It was decided that the Governor and Council should go

into mourning during the time the messengers remained in Colombo, according to the usual custom.

On the 12th of March, 1740, Governor Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff left for Batavia, being succeeded in the administration by Governor Willem Maurits Bruyninck.

In that year the King and some of his evil-disposed courtiers refused permission for the transport of cinnamon to the Three Corles and the Saffregam Corle ; and notwithstanding repeated requests no answer was received to them.

The consequence of this was that it was resolved that the ships returning [home] should leave without cinnamon.

In the following year, 1741, an Ambassador having been sent to the Court as usual, he was received with apparent civility, and expeditiously sent back with some small presents, but the chief purpose of his mission was a failure, as in both audiences he was strictly forbidden to submit any complaints.

Meanwhile two Candian Araachies and two Vidaans of some villages, assisted by 100 inhabitants from the Four Corles, came to Attenegale (it was presumed at the instigation of their Dissawe) and destroyed all the materials collected there for the repair of a dam, and prohibited the people from continuing the work without special permission from the King.

Some people from the Three and Four Corles also came down and plundered three houses in the village called Gallepitty Mandeme, destroyed the roofs and raided the gardens, and upon their departure robbed the Company's Vidaan at Awisawelle of all he possessed.

The inhabitants of Koerewitty Corle also, not satisfied with appropriating to themselves some lands in the Company's territories, compelled the poor natives to deliver up the money of the taxes of *Ande* and *Ottoe* belonging to the Company.

The Company's Ambassador having violently protested against this at Court, the courtiers replied that it was the King's command that the works at Attenegale should remain

as they were; and that the violence committed at Gallepitty Mandeme and Awisawelle was the fault of the Company's people, who were in the habit of clandestinely purchasing precious stones, and committing other misdemeanours.

As some people of the Happitigam Corle had in the same year received permission to erect a church and school in the village of Moergampelle, the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles sent four Candians to the Koraal of that Province, and to the Kangaan, for the express purpose of stopping the building, saying that during the Company's occupation of that place there had never been a church there, and that no church should be built now.

However unreasonable these interferences were, it was considered advisable, for various reasons, to show that we did not feel offended, and to suspend the works for the present.

In January of the year 1742 Governor Willem Maurits Bruyninck left for Batavia, and was succeeded by Governor Daniel Overbeek, Extraordinary Councillor of Netherlands-India.

During that year the Court was very friendly, and nothing of any consequence occurred. But Governor Overbeek received an impertinent letter from the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles requesting that two documents—the one to the courtiers at Arrakan and the other to Siam—should be sent to those places by the Company's own servants, and the answers received be communicated to him.

In order to please the Court this demand was so far complied with that the Dessawe was informed of the Company's inclination to forward the documents as far as Nagapattnam, but that they could not send them to their final destination by the Company's servants.

On May 11, 1743, Mr. Julius Valentijn Stein van Gollonesse, Extraordinary Councillor of Netherlands-India, arrived at Colombo, and took over the government from Mr. Daniel Overbeek, who left for Batavia.

In July of the same year the Candians had the presumption to again alter the frontier lines of the Hina Corle, and

to appropriate nine villages belonging to the Company by putting up a stake and a piece of cloth bound to it.

Some native officers were sent to investigate the affair.

The messengers stated on their return that it was true that the King's people had taken possession of seven villages and a large extent of the rice fields, to the extent altogether of 110 amunams, as well as chenas and owittes, in the King's name. Whereupon the Governor and Council resolved, whilst waiting for orders thereon from Batavia, to try and settle the matter amicably by a letter to the Chiefs; but in case no satisfaction was given, to wash their hands of any serious consequences the refusal might involve. No immediate answer was obtained, but soon after an Ambassador arrived from Candia. Remonstrances were made to him concerning the doings in the Hina Corle, and the wish was expressed to have the matter settled through his mediation.

The result was that these disturbances and unjust actions were discontinued, but not without many disputes on the part of the Candians. Meanwhile they continued their underhand work of smuggling, to the prejudice of the Company, and the Court took but slight notice of the many remonstrances and complaints addressed to it.

In the beginning of the following year, 1744, when the Company expostulated regarding the extensive smuggling carried on by the Coast Moors between Calpetty and Nigombo, the chief Court Adigaar contemptuously replied that when the Company opened the port of Putulang the smuggling would cease of itself, as the King's subjects were obliged to find an outlet for the disposal of their goods to the greatest advantage, and that the Company was continually complaining of losses, but they would possibly suffer still more if that port was not opened, as the smuggling was of much benefit to the King.

The people of Putulang also felt aggrieved that the chief at Calpetty had refused to allow the departure of fifteen boats with arecanuts and other goods from that place to Kilkare.

A certain Naiker, calling himself the King's father-in-law,

also had the presumption to arrest at Wattekandel in the King's name the Jaffanapatnam master of the horse and a Koraool with five horses, besides the Mantot Vidaan of the elephants, with the tame animals he had with him.

All this was done for the purpose of compelling the Governor and Council to allow the said Naiker to take his vessel to the coast. The Company's servants at Calpetty were instructed to lodge a protest before the Chiefs at Putulang against these actions, to patiently await the result, but to cruise meanwhile all along the coast to prevent the smuggling.

The Naiker had further the audacity to stop the Mature superintendent of elephants (*Gagenaik*) with his beasts at the river Wiletjeoje on his way to Wattekandel. This being reported to Colombo, the officers at Calpetty were ordered to refuse the Naiker passage to the coast until he released the elephants, &c.

Meanwhile two Appoehamies were sent with an ola to the Court complaining of the detention of the elephants at Wattekandel. Upon their return they reported that His Majesty condemned that action, and had given orders for the immediate release of the animals, but [considered] that the Company had also committed a great fault in detaining the Naiker, as the Court understood that the Company's Ambassador had promised him a free passage without any hindrance.

Another ola was sent to the Chiefs, worded in the strongest terms, requesting the exemplary punishment of all those implicated in the detention of the elephants.

The Governor maintained that if we were satisfied with mere restitution for such an insult, we might daily expect fresh offence from this unreasonable Court.

The Candian Court seeing that we were putting down all disturbances and preventing smuggling by cruising everywhere, moved heaven and earth, as it were, to continue it; but being unsuccessful, they pushed things to extremity, as the Naiker threatened that if his two vessels were not allowed to depart he would prevent the transmission of the

Company's letters to and from Jaffnapatnam, as he had already done with regard to provisions. Whereupon the Company's officers at Calpetty were directed to inform him that he must leave within eight days for Manaar, permission having been asked from the Court. But he would not listen to reason, and continued his evil designs against the Company, presuming to tell the messengers sent to him, that being father-in-law to the King he would be a firebrand to the Company so long as he remained there, and that he would never allow any one to search his vessels, but would rather burn the arecanuts. He also drove away the messengers, the Kangaan and lascoreens who had the vessels in charge, and the washers.

As nothing could be done with this turbulent man, a company of soldiers was sent by sea to prevent him from molesting the inhabitants: should he use force, they were to resist him with force and search his vessels.

Meanwhile the King's people had driven away the outposts stationed to prevent the escape of the peelers, and broken down the guardhouses, although they were erected upon the Company's grounds far away from the King's territory, stating that His Majesty would not allow any guardhouses to be erected on the roads. Although the Governor and Council tried every means in their power, by sending presents, &c., to obtain permission to gather cinnamon in the King's country, it was not obtained. Some of the fugitive peelers, however, came back, and about 200 able men, mostly Jagereros, offered to join in the work of peeling cinnamon, and were at once sent to the woods.

At the same time a report came that the Naiker intended to return to the Court instead of going to Cormandel, on account of the death of the Queen of Kandy. As this removed the uncertainty the Company had been labouring under with regard to his relationship to the King, it was decided to conceal somewhat the displeasure reasonably felt by the Company, and to let him choose his own time of departure, to make him some presents, and to release his two

boats laden with arecanuts, trusting by these concessions to obtain, through his influence, the repeal of the King's commands against the gathering of cinnamon in his lands.

The Chalias once more became unruly, on account of five scoundrels having been deservedly punished for disobedience by the Mahavidaan, and the discontent rose to such a height that it became necessary to despatch three companies of European soldiers, besides ten of lascoreens, to the villages Kosgodde, Wellitotte, and Madampe to subdue them: this brought them back to their duty.

In the following year, 1745, also the Court showed signs of renewed discontent by retarding the progress of our Ambassador and delaying him two months on his way to Candia.

The Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles made many unreasonable demands, and finally sent 400 men to destroy the houses and plantations of the inhabitants of the villages of the Hina Corle, pretending to the Governor the whole time that after much trouble and many presents he had persuaded the Court to remain in sincere friendship with the Company, and that he was coming down with a considerable retinue, by His Majesty's permission, to arrange for the gathering of cinnamon and the transport of elephants, and to arrange all differences. He also requested that a vessel might be got ready to convey to Pegu some courtiers who were coming with him, to fetch thence some priests of Boedoe.

The aforesaid Dessawe and other courtiers came soon after to Colombo bearing an ola, which, however, contained nothing but a request for suitable vessels to convey some messengers to Pegu.

As this was not granted by the Governor and Council, the Court, out of revenge, redoubled their aggressions in the year 1746, and seemed to use great endeavours to obtain priests of Boedoe with the help of the Company, robbed the people who came from the Mature Dessavony and Gale Corle to purchase, as usual, cardamoms from the King's lands, of their money and cloths.

The courtiers also laid claim to seven villages in the Hina

Corle, besides the nine already mentioned, and the King's Wanias at Mannaar robbed the Company's subjects and compelled them to leave its service.

The Governor and Council resolved again to send a friendly but firm letter to the Court, requesting immediate redress, and stating that should their reasonable demands not be complied with, they would repel force by force without further words.

Although no proper satisfaction was given the depredations ceased, and the Company's Ambassador returned with the King's permission to gather cinnamon on his lands as formerly, and to transport elephants by the usual route to Jaffanapatnam.

In the following year, 1747, some Ambassadors came from Candia to Colombo requesting that certain chiefs might be conveyed to Batavia and from thence to Siam, to fetch the aforesaid priests.

The granting of this request put the Court in the best possible humour, so much so that the King presented the Governor with a pike embossed with silver, a ring with six sapphires, and a knife inlaid with gold and a silver scabbard of the value of 100 rixdollars, and it seemed that the Court occupied itself with nothing but in counting the time when the aforesaid priests might be expected to arrive from Siam.

In January, 1748, the reigning King of Candia died, having nominated as his successor the eldest brother of his last consort, who ascended the throne, although only fourteen years of age.

Meanwhile the inland chiefs refused to pay the rents of their lands, and commenced to agitate ; but that movement was nipped in the bud by short and sharp measures.

During the following year, 1749, the Court continued well disposed, and our Ambassador met with a very friendly reception.

But some time afterwards the courtiers made a demand for some large-sized pearls and three mares.

This demand the Company was unable to comply with, and

as after this many of the cinnamon peelers escaped to the King's country, our frequent requests to have them delivered into our hands were not complied with, it appearing as if they sought by this means to obtain the pearls they desired.

At the commencement of 1750 some Candian Ambassadors arrived at Colombo with the following protestations :—

1. That certain elephants lately captured near Nigombo, and belonging to them, were not delivered to them.

2. That threats were used in a letter from the Governor to the courtiers that unless the peelers were given up their Excellencies at Batavia might not interest themselves further with regard to sending the Siamese priests.

3. That no previous Governor had had the temerity to address the great Court in such terms.

4. That the Court had been informed that it was intended to open a pearl fishery between Chilauw and Caymelle; whereupon the courtiers had replied, that His Majesty was going to send some boats and people thither, but that enterprise as yet remained in abeyance.

To this the following replies were made :—

1. That although the claims of the Court with regard to these elephants were quite without precedent and foundation, still the Company's elephant-keeper *(Koerwerale)* had two months ago been instructed to deliver them up, but no one had made a demand for them, and their detention was not the fault of the Company.

2. That their Excellencies had sufficiently proved their goodwill to His Majesty by the pains they had taken and the expenses they had incurred in conveying the priests, as they had ordered the Governor to despatch His Majesty's Ambassadors in a good ship by way of Malacca to Siam for that purpose.

3. That previous Governors had never perhaps experienced similar unreasonable treatment from the Court to that the present Governor had met with.

4. That the reefs between Chilauw and Caymelle had been surveyed, but that no pearl oysters were discovered.

The Candian Court now became more and more unreasonable, and tried under various pretences to pick a quarrel. The cause of this was apparently the question of the pearl fishery.

This became clearer, when on our Ambassador's arrival at the Court, two Mohandirams came to him and informed him in the King's name that His Majesty intended to have the reefs of Chilauw and Caymelle surveyed.

This project was actually carried out: two principal chiefs came down with a number of armed men and twenty-one boats, and were diving at Chilauw for two or three days, but not finding a single oyster they departed greatly disappointed.

Shortly after this the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles informed the Governor by ola that His Majesty had thought fit to send down with him a sick chief priest, who wished to put himself under the treatment of the Dutch doctors at Colombo. The said chief priest shortly after came down quite unexpectedly through the Hina Corle, accompanied by 32 inferior priests and a considerable escort of lascoreens, standard bearers, and drummers, with music and flags, and took up his abode with the Ambassadors present at that time at Colombo. He requested that suitable accommodation might be provided for him and his retinue at Calanie, as he had chosen that place for his residence.

This request was, however, refused, under the pretence that the inhabitants of that place might perhaps treat this priest with disrespect. He was given instead a convenient residence on the road to the Pas, as we apprehended difficulties in getting him away when once settled at Calanie; for at that place there was a heathen Pagoda, and the Holland doctors had given their unanimous opinion that the chief priest was in perfect health, and was only simulating illness.

The Chiefs continued their unfavourable attitude towards the Company, with the exception of the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles, who in a very civil letter to the Governor promised to assist in amicably settling the differences with the Court; in consequence of which a favourable

turn took place, and the Court seemed most friendly disposed during the close of the aforesaid year and the following, 1751.

Governor Julius Vallentijn Stein van Gollenesse being promoted to Batavia as Director-General of Netherlands-India, departed on March 6 of the same year, and was succeeded in the Government by the Councillor Extraordinary of Netherlands-India Gerard Joan Vreelant.

Everything remained in a perfectly satisfactory state during that and the following year, 1752; but in the month of February of the latter Governor Vreelant died. The administration was then carried on by the Jaffanapatnam Commandeur Jacob de Jong and the Political Council, until the arrival at Colombo, on September 10, of the Councillor Extraordinary of Netherlands-India, Joan Gideon Loten, who then assumed the Government.

In the following year, 1753, the Candians showed some displeasure. They protested that the survey of the pearl banks of Chilauw and Caymelle had been extended too far into the King's dominions. To this the Company replied that the precedent of former years had only been followed; but that no fishing should take place without permission from His Majesty.

The Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles came down as Ambassador from the Candian court in December, and tried his utmost to gain for His Majesty participation in the elephant trade.

He was informed by Governor Loten that this had been submitted to Batavia, but that no reply had as yet been received. This seemed not to satisfy the Ambassador, who kept on urging the point. He was then told it would immediately be referred again to Batavia; this apparently satisfied him somewhat.

The Governor wrote at once to their Excellencies at Batavia on the subject, and asked the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles to solicit His Majesty's patience until a reply was received.

Tidings came in the year 1754 that some Candians had been put to death by order of His Majesty, and that some chiefs and their suites had come down to the village of Helele on the frontier for the purpose of execution.

The Company's officers at Gale and Mature were directed to get some information secretly about this incident. They did so later : it was stated that four Candians, having with them a peeler who had conducted them to Mature, appeared before the Dessawe to claim some of His Majesty's people who had escaped to the Company's lands, and to deal with other matters.

The aforesaid officers were told that these men, who, without doubt, fled to the Company's territory to save their lives, could not be handed over on the bare statement of four Candians, but that this would readily be done after further investigation by the highest chiefs. The officers were then told to punish the peeler who had shown the way, according to his deserts ; whereupon nothing further took place.

At the commencement of 1755 Captain Castelijn, who had gone up as Ambassador to the Court, was asked by the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles whether no answer had as yet been received concerning participation in the elephant trade. He seemed to doubt whether the Governor had referred the matter to Batavia, and tried to convince the Ambassador of the reasonableness of the request, stating that the Company would reap greater benefit if they assented to His Majesty's proposals ; the Ambassador was later admitted to an audience at the Court.

The Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles wrote an ola a short time afterwards to the Maha Modliaar of the Governor's Gate, that the Interpreter and Mohotiaar Leander de Saram, who had accompanied the Ambassador to Candia as interpreter, had been presented with a gold chain and the title of Moediance bestowed on him on account of his being held to be an honourable man by them.

He was soon after appointed Maha Modliaar of the Governor's Gate, and furnished with some secret instructions

to impart to the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles; also to tell him that an answer had lately been received from Batavia concerning the proposal of the Candian Court with regard to the elephant trade, to the effect that their Excellencies felt themselves (for various important reasons, fully set out in the letter of instructions) compelled to refuse the application.

But the aforesaid Maha Modliaar wrote later on that having had no opportunity of conferring with the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles on the subject, he had employed the royal letter-carrier and Koraal of Hewagam Corle, Don Louis Rasnaike, to communicate to the Dessawe the contents of the letter of instructions, but that the Dessawe still insisted on the fulfilment of his desires.

Although their Excellencies had indicated in their letter the means by which the elephants could be transported at moderate expense by native vessels, without being obliged to ask permission from the Court for a free passage or expose ourselves to a refusal, it was not considered advisable to make use of that suggestion at present as the Court was friendly, and the innovation might disturb the present peaceful state of affairs.

In the month of May of the aforesaid year, the Tamblegammers, close to Trinconomale, committed all sorts of depredations, but on complaint thereof to the Court they were put a stop to. The cinnamon-peelers and chiefs of the Mahabadde jointly complained against the Vidaans of Anganmonne and Caltura; but on a careful investigation their complaints were found to be groundless. The aforesaid chiefs were therefore severely reprimanded, and ordered never again to make such unreasonable complaints.

In October of the same year the Lieutenant-Dessawe Keller received a letter of complaint written by a number of the inhabitants of the Hina Corle, containing amongst other charges the following:—

That during the administration of Governor van Imhoff, Modliaar de Saram was banished to Tutucoryn on

account of having caused great damage to the Company, with the assistance of the inhabitants of the Corles, upon the advice of his father the Basnaike; that he and his father the Basnaike were again intriguing at the Candian Court, advising them of the means by which they might attain commercial benefits and a free port, and inciting the inhabitants of the Corles to revolt for that purpose, erecting magazines all through the country, throwing up some dams in the rivers, and distributing arms and ammunition amongst the people, &c.

In the following year, 1756, the Candian Ambassadors once more demanded, in the King's name, a share in the profits of the elephant trade, if only once in two or three years.

This unpleasant demand was again politely refused by the Governor, according to his instructions from their Excellencies at Batavia.

Notwithstanding this refusal, [the demand] was repeated again in May and refused as before; but the Governor promised to again communicate with their Excellencies. This he did, adding for the information of their Excellencies that the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles had, after the last audience, declared through the Modliaar of the Gate that the last requests had been made at the instigation of insinuating Malabars, Naikers, or relations of His Majesty at the Court, who were always intent upon their own interests and on depriving the Company of its prerogatives and benefits.

At the same time a Naiker at Jaffanapatnam made himself conspicuous by his arrogant behaviour, and refused to go back to the Court, although he was often urged. He even arrested the Modliaar, Aratchies, and lascoreens who brought him paddy, and maltreated them. The Commandeur was obliged to send a sergeant with twelve soldiers to obtain their release.

The Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles was advised of this, and requested to institute inquiries, and to prevent a repetition of acts so much to the prejudice of the Company; but no answer was received to this message.

In the month of July of the same year, the peelers, notwithstanding the permission given by the King for free peeling, were not only molested in their work, but cruelly beaten and illtreated, particularly in the Oedepalle Corle and Kadoetoewane, and the gathered cinnamon was destroyed or carried away.

The Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles and the Court Adigaar having been remonstrated with about these proceedings, the Dessawe replied that the Adigaar had issued the order that the cinnamon gathering should not be interfered with, and he did not know why that command had not been obeyed, as it had been before.

At last, in the month of August, a letter was received from their Excellencies at Batavia with instructions to try and dissuade the Court from insisting on their demands, and if they still persisted in them, to give a decided refusal.

At the same time orders came that Governor Loten was to leave for Batavia, and was to be succeeded by the Councillor Extraordinary Heer Jan Schreuder, who arrived at Colombo on September 27 following.

At the commencement of 1757 the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles, accompanied by two other chiefs, came down to Colombo as Ambassadors from the Court, and repeated in the first and second audience their troublesome demands concerning the elephant trade, and the transport of arecanuts to Putulang. Whereupon the two Governors expressed their regret at being obliged to refuse, as they had received the positive commands of their Excellencies to make no alteration in the arrangements, and to keep to the old privileges and conditions which the Company had enjoyed for more than one hundred years.

The two Governors reported the result of the conference to their Excellencies in all its details on January 27.

On March 17 following, Governor Loten left for Batavia, and surrendered the administration to Governor Schreuder, under whose rule, in consequence of the last and positive refusal to the two-fold demand of the Candians, an insurrec-

tion broke out in the year 1760 in the Dissavonies of Colombo and Mature, as also in the Gale district, which was continued in the most desperate and violent manner, as will be found in greater detail in the separate history relating to it compiled by order of the Governor.

---

This is a compilation made by me from the printed and written papers deposited at the office of the Political Secretariat at Colombo.

(Signed) W. VAN DAMAST LIMBERGER

*(Sworn Clerk).*

## NOTES.

Abbreviated explanations of some titles, offices, &c., mentioned in the text (from Valentijn's "Old and New East India," vol. V., part I.).

| | |
|---|---|
| Adassing, Adassyn | ... Of royal blood |
| Basnaike | ... Chief interpreter |
| Gagenaike | ... Chief of the elephants' stall at Matara |
| Apohami, Apoehamy | ... Gentleman |
| Mohotirale, Mohotiaar, Mahamotiaar | ... Secretary of the Court |
| Dessawe | ... Governor, chief of a district |
| Adigaar | ... Second in command next to the Dessawe |
| Coraal, Koraal | ... Superior headman of a corle |
| Vidaan, Maha Vidaan | ... Village headman |
| Majoraal | ... Minor headman of a village |
| Corle | ... District |
| Modeljaar, Modliaar, Maha Modliaar | ... Captain, head of three or four bands of soldiers |
| Mohemdirem, Mohandiram | ... Head of two bands of soldiers |
| Araatje | ... Sergeant, head of one band of soldiers |
| Cangane, Kangaan | ... Corporal |
| Lascaryns, Laskoryns | ... Native soldiers |
| Nantje, Rantje | ... Squad of twenty-four soldiers |
| Chittys | ... A class of traders |
| Bellalis | ... A class of peasants |
| Chaliassen, Chialiassen | ... Cinnamon peelers |
| Tyffedoors | ... Men who earn their bread by tapping trees [toddy drawers] |
| Jagereros | ... Those who tap palms for sugar (*jagery*) |
| Tamblinjeros | ... Players on the *tamelyn*, a kind of musical instrument |
| Coelies, Koelis | ... Porters |
| Nely | ... Rice in the husk |
| Wattebadoe | ... Garden rents |
| Ande | ... Tithes of agricultural produce |
| Ottoe | ... Half of the produce of the land |
| Ammunam | ... A measure for arecanuts, 24,000 to 28,000 = 232 lb. to 240 lb. |
| Bhaar | ... A *bhaar* of cinnamon = 510 lb. |

## APPENDIX.

(*a.*)

There is still in existence in the *Ryksarchief* the Journal containing the Daily Register of everything that happened with the fleet while under the command of Heer Hulft, written by his Secretary, Cornelis Valckenburg ; but it ends with Heer Hulft's death.

There is also a Daily Register, from the time His Honour started to go to the King of Candia, written by his Chamberlain Jan Volckertsz., from which the following extract is taken :—

"On April 11, 1656, Jurgen Bloem (Interpreter) left the camp to go to Candia and announce the death of his Honour to His Majesty. This news so affected His Majesty, that he had all the silver drapery taken down throughout his palace, and replaced by black cloth.

"He threw himself down on his face and wept bitterly ; he did not make his appearance or see anyone for three or four days, and directed the Dessawes not to let anyone come near him, unless dressed in mourning. His Majesty also sent two Dessawes to the camp to view the body, and they shed bitter tears at the sight.

"I, Jan Volckertsz., stood by the body the whole time to cover it, according to the usual custom when people die young, with all kinds of fruits and flowers.

"On the 12th of April the body was taken, under the escort of Lieutenant Johannes Hartman, Jan Volckertsz., and 21 soldiers, to St. Cruz de Gale ; where it was received on the 15th with great honour by the citizens, and brought to the Governor of the place, Heer Adriaen van der Meyden. But the body being a stout one, and decomposition beginning to set in, Sr. Croon had the coffin enclosed in a thick and air-tight outer one. On the 17th it was deposited in a small chapel near the church and built up with masonry.

On the 20th I left Gale for the camp, full of sorrow and affliction for the one I had left behind."

Besides some verses* in praise of Hulft composed by H. G. Schenk, there is the following acrostic :—

*Pulchrumque Mori Succurrit In armis.*
*Epithaphia.*

* The first letters of the lines in the original poem spell the name "Gerrard Hulft."—J. H. de Vos.

"Upon the unfortunate and fatal shot fired at 7 o'clock in the evening of the 10th of April, 1656, against the Honourable and valiant Heer Gerard Hulft, Ordinary Councillor, Director, Captain-General, and Admiral over the whole army and fleet before Colombo. In most honourable memory.

The Lord hath plucked a fair young flower,
The friend of all, a whole world's dower,
Rests a sainted hero, bitter tears bestow,
Curse to the cruel curse that laid him low—
Grant Heaven prove gracious in the future days—
A beacon light his memory, our everlasting praise :
A hero good at need, full ready to command,
To us for ever lost—a corse beneath the sand :
His body in the dust—but what boots earthly clay,
The soul soars free to realms of endless day!
Come one, come all, upon him look your last,
His worth your hearts to strengthen and hold in memory fast.

*Dum Spiro Spero.*

The loss of Hulft was a great blow to the Company.

The Governor-General and Council of India gave vent to their feelings in a Despatch to the Directors in Holland :—

"Returning on the 9th to the Netherlanders' camp before Colombo, His Honour went on the following day as usual to examine the works, and having reached a place under the bastion called St. Jan, it appeared that he exposed himself rather carelessly, and was hit in the breast by a musket ball, and so fatally injured that he sank down and expired immediately, the surgeon being of opinion that a vein of the heart was severed.

"This was sad news, as the Company by that fatal accident lost a loyal, zealous, and able officer and servant, who without doubt but for that misfortune might have done the Company much more good service.

"The body was brought by land to Gale by day, accompanied by some of the principal officers, and temporarily placed in the church to be afterwards buried after the siege is over, with all the ceremonies becoming his rank. To the salvation of his soul at the day of resurrection."

Letter, 18th July, 1656.

(*b*.)

It appears from the under-mentioned documents that the soldier Henricus van Bystervelt volunteered his services and actually departed for the Court on the 22nd of February, 1671. See the details of his adventures in the Journals, vol. V., part I., page 3.

Probably the copy which was at the Secretary's Office at Colombo has been lost. The original was sent to Batavia.

There is still a copy in existence among the papers of the "East India Co." in the State archives.

The Governor-General and Council of India wrote to the Directors in their letter of the 19th December, 1671, about this Bystervelt :—

"Of Raja Singa and his Court the reports are seldom to be relied on, as the news which reached Colombo was of such a nature that but little dependence could be placed on it. However, upon the return on the 28th October of the soldier Bystervelt, who volunteered to go to Candia, we were able to ascertain the true state of affairs; but being too elated with his safe return to give a verbal report, he undertook to furnish a written one comprising all his adventures, which we expect to receive shortly.

"Mr. van Goens mentions in his journal of correspondence dated October 29th, that that individual was handsomely dressed in the Singalese style with two gold chains, a silver hilted sword on the left side and a knife with a golden hilt on the right, and that he was escorted to Gourbeville by 40 highland lascoreens, &c."

Van Goens was much pleased with his conduct, as appears from his letter of the 19th of December, 1671, when sending Bystervelt's promised report. He says :—

"We announced in our last to your Excellencies the return of our soldier Bysterveldt, and his promise to send in a written report, which we hereby enclose.

"Your Excellencies will perceive therefrom that we have not mistaken Raja's disposition, and it has never been made so clear to us as it is now what we may expect from him.

"The soldier, who was promised an ensignship if he could procure the release of our prisoners, seemed to have been made of better stuff than any other messenger we had sent previously to Candia. He courageously and boldly told the King and his false courtiers the truth; and managed at the peril of his life to obtain his liberty and return to us in spite of the machinations of the courtiers to ensnare him into some offence, an example of which your Excellencies will find in his report."

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# 1889.

VOLUME XI.

No. 39.

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* Wrongly printed in the text as pages 1, 6, 10, 17, and 22, respectively. The first 32 pages of this Journal should read 151 to 182.

# ERRATA.

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The first 32 pages have been wrongly numbered. They should read 151 to 182.

Page 186, line 33, *omit* "and **N.**"

Plate facing page 186, *for* type "**O**" *read* "**N.**"

Page 204, line 29, *for* "labial margin" *read* "orbital margin."

Page 209, line 20, *for* "1.—Visible" *read* "1.—Distinct."

Page 209, line 21, *for* "2.—Visible" *read* "2.—Indistinct."

Page 230, headline, *for* "Vol. X." *read* "Vol. XI."

In the alternate headlines of pages 263–277, *for* "No. 39.—1891" *read* "No. 39.—1889."

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

# CEYLON BRANCH.

## A VISIT TO RIṬIGALA, IN THE NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE.

By A. P. Green, Esq., F.E.S.

(*Read December 28, 1888.*)

THIS isolated mountain is a conspicuous object from many of the tanks and bunds of the North-Central Province; and is especially noticeable from the great embankment of Kaláwẹwa, forming a fine background to the beautiful view eastward over the tanks and forest. Its position is between the two main roads which diverge near Dambulla to Trincomalee and Anurádhapura respectively, and it may be reached from either of them by minor roads from Habarenna and Kekiráwa.

Our visit was made in July last year, and we found the country suffering from the effects of a long spell of dry weather, which considerably diminished our hopes of making a good collection of plants and insects. We left Kekiráwa in the afternoon, the little-used road taking us northward for some four miles, with the mountain well in front all the way. We then turned eastward, skirting its southern side

for about four miles more, arriving at the village of Galapiṭigala at nightfall after a very hot walk.

Some preparations had been made for our reception, the Arachchi, at the head of most of the inhabitants, turning out to meet us, and we found a house lined with white cloths set apart for our use. The village seems an interesting one, and is prettily situated,* standing about a hundred and fifty yards from the road, whence it is approached by a small jungle path, and about the same distance on the other side from a large but nearly empty tank, which serves to irrigate a few small paddy fields. Cotton is grown by the villagers, and rough cloths made from it by the women, who were good-looking, and appeared much more intelligent than the men.

Early the next morning we started for Riṭigala, and after skirting the tank we passed for some two miles through the usual low scrubby jungle below the eastern side of the mountain. We then turned westward so as to reach the northern side, from which point alone it can be ascended; and after about a mile through higher forest we arrived at the foot.

Extensive ruins are here met with, of which we first became aware by crossing the bund of a large pokuna, now breached and nearly empty. This is faced throughout with large chiselled stones arranged stepwise, and much of it is in good preservation. Ascending from this, on an elevation immediately above, are the remains of several buildings. One which stands in a compound with a wall of hewn stone round it is 65 ft. long by 48 ft. in breadth. The work of this and the other buildings is quite plain and entirely without ornamentation.

From this group of buildings there runs up the hill for nearly a quarter of a mile a straight causeway, 5 ft. wide, well paved, with large flags, and bordered by kerbstones, at

---

* These measurements are from a report by Mr. D. G. Mantell, made in August, 1878.

the top of which one comes upon a second group of buildings called by the natives the "*máligáwa*." The highest of these ruins is the smallest and in the best preservation; it is 28 ft. square, and built to face the points of the compass. The stones of which it is constructed are very massive: we measured one, and found it to be 17 ft. long by 3½ ft. broad and 2 ft. in thickness. A very strong water-course (at the time of our visit nearly dry) conducts a stream to the pokuna at the foot of the hill.

We found that huts had been prepared for us among the lower groups of ruins, and after a breakfast here and a rest we started for the summit. The villagers were evidently much surprised at our going further, and it was difficult to persuade them to accompany us, the hill having a bad reputation for both bears and evil demons. But a guide was necessary, as the path is very slightly defined; and we eventually succeeded in obtaining a few of the bolder sort to venture among these dangers.

For nearly half-way up the ascent, mainly through a valley covered with huge boulders and under high forest, was not difficult; the latter half, however, is very steep, though nowhere dangerous; and we found ourselves at the summit in the evening after about two hours of pretty stiff climbing.

On a small level space just below the actual top, on the east side, and well protected from the south-west wind, which blew furiously, we found a few sticks, the remains of the surveyor's hut, which we repaired and soon converted into a comfortable shelter with the aid of some talipots.

The temperature was delightfully cool, and the view from the trigonometrical pile magnificent in every direction, the large tanks of Minériya, Kaláwewa, and the Nuwarawẹwa at Anurádhapura being plainly made out; but the wind, which was felt here with terrific force, soon made us beat a retreat to the more pleasant shelter of our camp. The height of the pile is given as 2,506 ft. Round the rock on which it stands are the remains of a solid stone platform. The mountain forms two masses with a valley between, and we found that

we were on the southern portion. The sides are everywhere covered with dense forest, and the way we came is said to be the only access to the top. A drawback to our position was soon found to be the fact that the only water obtainable was 500 ft. lower down, where the Déwa-ela takes its rise. The villagers reported that the place was guarded by bears, and our coolies in consequence evinced great reluctance to visit such dangerous quarters, and would only venture accompanied by an armed escort. Of course no bears were found, though the tracks of a recent visitor were pointed out by our guide. The water lay in a small muddy-looking pool overhung by rocks and bushes. Lighted by the blaze of several large fires, with the dark forest in the background, our little camp looked quite picturesque, and if any sleepy inhabitants of the villages in the plains below noticed the glare on the summit, they probably thought the demons of the hills were making a night of it.

A cool night, and a refreshing sleep in spite of the hardness of the ground, determined us to stay another day in this delightful climate, and we spent it most agreeably in collecting plants and insects. Coolies were sent down for provisions, and many of the villagers finding no harm had come to us, joined the party, so that by nightfall there was quite a gathering on our little piece of ground. The fires were again lighted and rice cooked, and there was much singing and talking far into the night.

A fair collection of the smaller kinds of insects, principally beetles, was made, some of which have not yet been identified, but most of them are identical with species belonging to the lower hill country of the Mátalé and Kandy Districts, though not found in the intervening plains. Three species of *Cicada* were taken, two of which have been sent to Calcutta for identification.

The next morning all went down leisurely, and the foot of the hill was reached before midday. The afternoon was spent in examining the ruins and in chasing the large and beautiful butterflies, which flew in numbers up and

down the bed of the stream at the bottom of the pokuna, many of which, extremely rare elsewhere, appeared quite common in this spot. Especially were we delighted to see the lovely *Killima philarchus* joining in this gay crowd, at times spreading wings to the sun on a stone or large leaf—a blaze of glorious blue—and anon alighting with closed wings on some twig in the position so closely resembling a dead leaf as almost certain to deceive the eye even when gazing full upon it.

It is a weird and melancholy spot to pass a night in. The lofty forest trees overspreading the ruins make the place dark and gloomy, and the night, though hot, was very rough, with high and gusty winds, which treated our frail hut of sticks and dry leaves with scant respect.

The little pool remaining at one corner of the pokuna was visited by elephants during the night.

A good dinner somewhat relieved the feeling of oppression in the place, but we slept but little, and were glad to leave early the next morning and make our way back to Galapiṭagala and Kekiráwa.

# NOTE ON THE BOTANY OF RIṬIGALA.

By HENRY TRIMEN, Esq., M.B., F.R.S., &c.

(*Read December 28, 1888.*)

THE main object of my ascent of Riṭigala was to investigate its vegetation and collect specimens of its plants. I had often, during my journeys along the North road, looked with interest at the striking outline of this fine hill, and determined to take the first opportunity that offered of examining its flora, which I knew had never yet been seen by botanically trained eyes, and at length I availed myself of some leisure in July, 1887, and of Mr. Green's companionship. Unfortunately, owing to the prolonged drought for several previous months, vegetation was then in a very torpid state. Many trees and shrubs were dried up and nearly bare of leaves, and very few were in flower or seed; thus some were undeterminable, and the present notes give doubtless but an imperfect account of the flora. Another visit is needed soon after rains to complete our knowledge of the botany of this hill, but so far as it goes the following may be considered to convey an accurate idea of the subject.

Though actually itself of no great altitude, Riṭigala is the highest ground intervening between the central mass of the Ceylon mountain system and the very similar hills of Southern India. From its complete isolation and abrupt rise on all sides, directly from the low-country, it presents a more imposing appearance than would be expected from its real height (2,506 ft.); and this is always over-estimated by those endeavouring to fix its altitude by the eye alone.

The nearest ground of equal height is to the south, about 40 miles, in the foot-hills of North Mátalé, where, however,

the hills run up to over 4,000 ft. and thus enter our real mountain zone. None of the numerous other hills which stand up out of the great forest-covered plain of central Ceylon attain so great a height as Riṭigala; the peak called "Friar's Hood," in the Eastern Province (2,147 ft.), being the nearest approach. The hills known as "Westminster Abbey" (1,829 ft.) and "Gunner's Quoin," in Tamankaduwa (1,736 ft.) come next; and the better known ones, Dambulla, Sigiri, and Míhintálé, are all much below this last elevation.

Now, though the botany of these lower rocky hills is often very interesting, and they are the home of many curious, rare, or very local species, the general character of their vegetation does not differ in type from that of the great dry forest tract spread out around their bases; and it was one of the principal points of the ascent of Riṭigala to find out whether, as reported, there occurred any vegetation of a different character at its summit. It was the confirmation of the rumour, that the cap of Riṭigala really does present a characteristic little oasis of vegetation distinct from the dry-country type surrounding it, that has made it worth while to write this botanical addendum to Mr. Green's Paper.

The interest of this remarkable little flora lies in its very small extent. It all occurs, I suppose, within 100 ft. of the summit, and though I am unable to give its actual area, it cannot be many acres, as the ascent is steep. In this small space are found a number of species belonging to the flora of the wetter districts of Ceylon, and it is obvious that their existence here must depend on an atmosphere often heavily charged with moisture. The complete isolation of this summit causes it to be frequently surrounded with and bathed in mist, especially during the south-west monsoon, which is a time of drought over the country below. It is indeed striking evidence of this to observe that, at this comparatively low elevation, the branches of the stunted trees are draped with pendent masses of *Meteorium* moss and lichens, like those on our high mountains.

It would scarcely be expected that at 2,500 ft. the trees

themselves would be actually *montane* species, and accordingly we find that the components of the forest round the trigonometrical pile on the summit are representatives rather of the flora of the upper zone of the moist low-country tract—*e.g.*, of the hills in the neighbourhood of Kandy—than of the higher hills ; still they are, for the most part, different from those of the low-country round. An euphorbiaceous tree, *Cleistanthus pallidus*, and a myrtaceous one, an *Eugenia*, apparently a variety of *E. amœna*, are especially abundant, both also occurring in the North Mátalé hills. Another eugenia, *E. zeylanica*, is also common, along with *Walsura Gardneri*, *Erythroxylon obtusifolium*, and *Pittosporum zeylanicum*.

But if the trees are those to be expected at the elevation where they grow, the smaller plants associated with them are of a type one is accustomed to find usually at greater heights in the hill districts. This is particularly the case with the orchids, which are plentiful on the branches of the trees. Of these I noted *Dendrobium Macrœi*, *Eria Lindleyi* and *E. muscicola*, *Saccolabium niveum* and another species, a variety of *Cirrhopetalum Macrœi*, *Sarcochilus serrœformis*, and of ground orchids *Disperis zeylanica* and the "Wanaraja," *Anœctochilus regalis*. Several low-country species were also observed. The humidity of the spot is further evidenced by numerous ferns, but among them is nothing of much interest. Two filmy-ferns, however, were collected : one, *Hymenophyllum Neesii*, occurring in large sheets ; *Lastrea Blumei* seemed the most abundant fern.

Though several of the plants collected presented certain local peculiarities, I met with one only which appears to be certainly new to the Ceylon flora. This was a species of *Coleus*, which grew straggling over some steep rocks near the summit. It presents no great beauty, but is, I believe, hitherto unknown to science, and I propose describing it under the name of *Coleus elongatus*.* A remarkably small-

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* Described in Journ. Bot., XXVII., p. 165. (London, 1889.)

flowered variety of *Thunbergia fragrans* also occurred in several places on the summit, which I have not met with elsewhere, and have named var. *parviflora*.*

The general vegetation of the forest-covered sides of the mountain presents no features of special interest. There are some magnificent specimens of wild mango *(Mangifera zeylanica)* at the lower part, and some fine trees of *Ficus infectoria* and other figs. Aralu *(Terminalia Chebula)*, Wewarane *(Alseodaphne semecarpifolia)*, Hampirila *(Mallotus philippinensis)*, Galkaranda *(Canthium didymum)*, and *Diplospora Dalzellii* were some other trees noticed; and, by the ruins at the foot, *Balsamodendrum caudatum*. A remarkable feature in the undergrowth for the greater part of the ascent was the vast abundance of the rubiaceous shrub *Lasianthus strigosus*, not an unfrequent plant in our forest land and with a general tendency to occur gregariously, but never before seen in such quantity. Other plants worth notice on the ascent were "Binkohomba" *(Munronia pumila)*, *Excœcaria crenulata*, *Rhipsalis Cassytha*, and a "Nilu" *(Strobilanthes)* with an ill-smelling leaf, but not in flower and thus not to be determined.

At the very summit of the hill, among the stones at the base of the trigonometrical pile, I collected a plant, not in flower, of the *Acanthaceæ* Order, which I am not at present able to determine. Plants were however successfully brought to Péradeniya, and are growing vigorously here; they may be expected to flower in due time, and may prove to be another addition to our flora.†

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* Described in Journ. Bot., XXVII., p. 165. (London, 1889.)

† These have not yet (November, 1891) flowered in the Gardens, though they have attained a large size.

# ETYMOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES ON RIṬIGALA.

By D. M. DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE, Esq.

(*Read June 19, 1889.*)

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IT is established on the authority of the "Mahá-wan̥sa" and of other histories of Ceylon that the locality known under the name of *Riṭigala* was one of the principal places of abode of the aborigines of Ceylon, the *Yakku;* and that it is of equal antiquity with other stations, Lag-gala, Log-gala, Dumrak-gala, &c., traditionally connected with them. But whether the locality was known as Riṭi-gala at the time of the Wijayan settlement, or whether it was so named by the Áryan immigrants, is a question for determination.

If we suppose that the mountain and its neighbourhood were known as Riṭigala at the date of Wijayo's landing, it follows that Riṭigala was a word belonging to the language of the aborigines, not to the invaders.

I am not aware of the existence of any writing to prove this supposition, though in old Sin̥halese works, such as the "Kuvéni Asna," the name of the mountain is given as *Riṭigala.* Had we the Sin̥halese *Aṭuwá*, from which the authors of the "Maháwan̥sa" and "Dípawan̥sa" took their historical materials, we could probably arrive at the truth.

The name, as it is written at present, admits of three derivations, all of which tend to show that it is a compound of two words—one traceable to an Áryan origin, the other either to a Dravidian or an Áryan source.

The first derivation is as follows:—The Sin̥halese word *riṭi*, some suppose to be a *tat-bawa* (derivative) from the Páli *ariṭṭa:* others suppose it to be a native *nipan* word. In

either case it means "long pole." *Gal* is said to be taken from the Tamil *kal*, "rock." It seems, however, to be cognate to the Áryan word *giri*, "rock." The name would mean then "the rock (as steep and erect as a) long pole." The steep aspect of the insulated rock rising out of the flat country makes it probable that the ancients gave this locality the simple rustic name of Riṭigala. Thus Kuruṇégala was called *Hasti-ṣaila-pura* ("elephant-rock-town") from a rock resembling an elephant which overlooks the town.

The second derivation suggested is, that the rock received its appellation from *riṭi* trees *(Antiaris innoxia)* then growing upon it. As an instance of similar formations of names, a recent example may be given. The Siṉhalese commonly call a museum *Kaṭu-gé.* Why? Not because the *gé*, "house," is made of *kaṭu*, "bones," nor because it is as white as bones, but because it contains bones. This may be taken as a fair example, showing clearly the natural tendency of the mind of the uneducated to give obvious names to things.

The third derivation to be considered is this:—The Siṉhalese word *riṭi* may be derived from, or be kindred to, the Páli *ariṭṭha*, "dreadful," *gala* coming from the Tamil *kal* or Sanskrit *giri*, "rock." In this connection we have the authority of Mahánámo, the compiler of the first part of the "Maháwaṉsa," who calls this mountain *Ariṭṭha-pabbata*, "dreadful rock" (chap. X., 63), and of the author of the "Samantakúṭa Varṇaná," who gives it the name of *Ariṭṭha-ṣéla*, "dreadful rock."

Whence then did Mahánámo get this name? It is admitted that he derived almost all the materials for his "Maháwaṉsa" from the more ancient records, such as the Siṉhalese *Aṭuwá*. Hence, considering that he speaks at length of Páṇḍukábhaya's encampment on the mountain, it must be presumed that the writings from which he collected his information alluded to the mountain by name. It seems, therefore, possible, not to say probable, that the name of the mountain was then, as it is now, *Riṭi* joined to some word meaning

"rock" or "hill", and that Mahánámo translated it by the Páli word *Ariṭṭha*, meaning "dreadful" joined to *pabbata*, the Páli word for "rock," *ariṭṭha* being the word in the Páli most nearly approaching the original in sound and possibly in meaning.

All this tends to show that *Riṭigala* is one of the oldest historical words in the Siṃhalese language, and hence of great importance from a philological point of view.

I do not know enough of the Dravidian languages to enable me to say whether or not the word *riṭi* is derived from a Dravidian source. But in the absence of proof of such a derivation I would adhere to the opinion that the word *Riṭigala* has an Áryan origin. And, if so, as the word seems to be of pre-Wijayan date, it follows that the so-called *Yakku* of Laṃká had an Áryan element in their language.

In describing the position of places in Ceylon, a "Kaḍaimpota" and a newly-discovered "Rájáwaliya" (lately added to the Colombo Museum Library) call this place *Riṭigaldanawuwa*, and class it as an ancient and important town in the Ruhuṇa (?) division of the Island.

That the ancients knew of the botanical and mineral wealth of the place may be inferred from the superstitious account given of it in the above-mentioned "Kaḍaimpota," as quoted below:—

රිටිගල් නම් පර්වතයෙක. කලුකොහොවිල පොකුණක් ඇත. එහි පුරා තන පූඩාවෙක් රත්රන් වමාරන්නේය. එම රිටිගල සත්රුවන් උණ පඳුරක් ඇත. තුදුස්මහරට කඩඉමට ලක්ෂයක් අක්ෂර කෙටූ ශිලාස්තම්භයන් සිව්දිග පිහිටුවනලද්දේය.

Riṭigal nam parwatayeka. Kalukohowila pokuṇak ẹta. Ehi purá tana púḍáwek ratran vamárannéya. Ema Riṭigala sat ruwan uṇapaňdurak ẹta. Tudus maha raṭa kaḍa imaṭa lakṣhayak akshara keṭú ṣilástambhayan siwdiga pihiṭuwanaladdéya.

[There is] a rock by name *Riṭigâl*, wherein is a pond containing *kalu-kohowila* [a species of *aracæ* ?].

A leech in it formerly disgorged gold. In the same *Riṭigala* there is a bush of golden bamboo. At the four quarters are planted monoliths, which are inscribed with a *lac* of characters, for the purpose of marking the boundaries of the fourteen great territories.

As I said at the beginning that Riṭigala was one of the principal seats of the aborigines previous to the arrival of Wijeyo, I cite the following passage from the "Samantakúṭa Varṇaná," which describes some places (amongst them *Riṭigala*) where the original inhabitants, called *Yakkus*, resided at the time of the first visit of Gautama Buddha to Ceylon in the ninth year after his attainment of Buddhahood [*circa* 569 B.C.].

රමෙම තදා රතනදීපවරමහි ලඞකා
ලොකාභිධාන හරිඛණ්ඩකයකඛදාසෙ
ඔදුඹරෙ සුමනකූටක තඬුලෙය්‍යෙ
සෙලෙසු මාරගිරි මිසස කරිඨනාමෙ.

යෙඤෙඤපි සනති ගිරයො වනරාමණෙයයා
ගඞගානදී ගිරිගුහා සිකතා තලාච
තත්ථා වසනති රභසාඵරුසාතිරුදදා
පාණාතිපාත නිරතා සඨකූටයකඛා.

Rammê tadâ Ratanadípa waramhi Laṇká
Lókábhidhána Harikhaṇḍaka Yakkha dásé
Ódumbaré Sumanakúṭaka Tañḍuleyyé
Sélésu Máragiri Missaka Riṭṭha námé

Yeññépisanti girayó wanaráma ṇeyyá
Gaṇgá Nadí giriguhá Sikatá taláca
Tattha wasanti rabhasá phar usá-tiruddá
Páṇátipáta niratá saṭhakúṭa yakkhá.

At that time the Yakkús, who were wicked, abusive, very cruel, and cunning, and who were continually engaged in taking away animal life, haunted the mountains Laṇka [Lag-gala], Lóká [Log-gala], Harikhaṇḍaka [Hirikaḍa], Yakkhadásé [Yakdessa], Odumbaré [Dimbula], Sumana-kuṭa [Samanalakanda], Taṇḍuleyya, Máragiri [Maragala], Missaka, Ariṭṭha-séla [Riṭi-gala], and such other rocks which grace the woods; and [they also haunted] rivers and streams, caves and sandy plains, of the delightful Island of Gems [Ceylon].

Besides these notices of the antiquity, the mineral and botanical wealth, and the situation of Riṭigala, we have in the "Maháwaṇsa" (chapter X.) a graphic description of a battle which took place on it between Pándukabháya and his uncles about 437 B.C. The following is Turnour's translation of the passage referred to:—

Conducting her [Chétiyá, the widow of Jútindharo, a Yakkho, who was killed in a battle fought at Siriwatthúpura] to the Dhúmarakkho mountain, he [Pandukabháya] obtained a great accession of warlike power, by making her his battle steed. There, at the Dhúmarakkho mountain, he maintained his position for four years. Departing from thence with his forces, he repaired to the mountain Ariṭṭho [Riṭigala]. There preparing for the impending war, he remained seven years.

Leaving two uncles (Abhaya and Girikaṇḍaka), the other eight uncles, uniting in hostility against him, approached that mountain Ariṭṭho. Throwing up a fortification at Nagaraka, and conferring the command (on the person selected), they surrounded the Ariṭṭho mountain on all sides.

The prince having consulted with the Yakkhini, in conformity with her advice he sent forward a strong party (in the character of a deputation), placing in their charge his insignia of royalty, as well as the usual offerings made as tribute, and his martial accoutrements; and enjoined them to deliver this message (from him): " Take all these things: I will come to ask your forgiveness."

When this party had reached its destination, shouting "I will capture them, forcing their camp," mounting his yakkha mare, and surrounded by his whole army, he (the prince) [Pándukábhaya] threw himself into the midst of the fight. The Yakkhini set up a loud shout. His (the prince's) army without, as well as (the deputation) within (the enemy's camp) answered with a tremendous roar. The whole of the prince's army having slaughtered many of the enemy's men, as well as the eight uncles, they made a heap of their (decapitated) heads. The commander (of the enemy's army) having fled, and concealed himself in a forest, from that circumstance that forest is called the Sénápati (commander's) forest.

Observing the skulls of his eight uncles surmounting the heap of heads, he remarked: "It is like a heap of Labu (fruit)." From this circumstance (that place) was (from Nagaraka) called Labugama.

" Thus this Pándukábhaya, the victorious warrior, from thence proceeded to the capital of his maternal great uncle Anurádho."

The *Yakku* of Riṭigala were afterwards much favoured by the king for the assistance they rendered him in his wars. He conferred high offices on the *Yakku* chiefs, and treated them respectfully. With his death the *Yakku* seem to have lost their influence and to have been gradually driven even from their habitations by the increasing Siṃhalese population. Thus, in later days, when Buddhism was firmly established in Ceylon, Riṭigala, from which the *Yakku* had

already been ousted, was selected as a suitable spot to build viháras on.

The king Suratissa, who reigned between 247–237 B.C., erected the "*Lanka Viháré*" at the foot of the Ariṭṭha mountain ("Maháwansa," chap. XXI.).

The following century, it is recorded that the king Lajjitissa (109–119 B.C.) built another, and called it the "*Ariṭṭha Viháré*" (*Ibid.*, chap. XXXIII.).

Nearly a thousand years later Sena (838–58 A.D.) added to the Riṭigala sacred buildings :—

> And the king Silámégha (Séna) built, as it were by a miracle, a great vihâre at *Arriṭṭha pabbatta*, and endowed it with great possessions, and dedicated it to the Pansukulika* brethren. And he gave to it also royal villages and honours, and a great number of keepers for the garden, and servants and artificers. (Chap. L., 63, 64.)

Even at the present day the ignorant villagers in the neighbourhood of Riṭigala believe that the mountain is inhabited by *Yakku*, and hence they dare not take anything away from the place through fear of incurring the wrath of the *Yakku*.

It is said that one day a man from a village close by lost his way, and was benighted in the jungle just below the mountain. Seated under a tree he was surprised to hear the barking of dogs, the crying of children, and all the bustle of a busy village. A little while after a *Yaká*, in the form of a man, came to him with a *chulu* light in hand and offered him a large quantity of rice and curry with plantains, oranges, &c. The *Yaká* then told the man to eat his fill, but enjoined him, rather fiercely, to depart before dawn of day in the southern direction, and take nothing away from the spot. The man, through sheer fright, could not then eat the ample repast laid before him, but afterwards, when he was left alone and his fear had subsided, he ate as much of the food as he could. Before daybreak he got up and, as was directed, took a southern direction,

* An order of bhikkus who strictly follow the theory regarding the dress of Buddhist monks, that it should be made of dirty rags taken from a dust or refuse heap or from a cemetery, and pieced together.

which brought him back to his village. He related all that had happened to him the previous night to villagers, and there was much alarm that day in the village lest some evil might befall them.

The following interesting account, by Mr. C. A. Murray (when acting as Government Agent, North-Central Province), of a trip to Riṭigala, as given in his Diary for October, 1889, is inserted by permission :—

*October* 29, *Tuesday.*—Made an early start, riding for the top of Riṭigala. We were able to take our horses for three miles to the ruins of the large pokuṇa. This pokuṇa is situated at the base of the hill, and is made out of a natural hollow formed by three hills. The open side is banked up. It covers almost four or five acres, and must have been 30 ft. deep when full ; the sides are stopped with long dressed stone, almost all in position, but the lines are uneven. A fine clear stream flows through it. At one entrance to the pokuṇa there is a large platform all covered with trees. From the pokuṇa there is a fine paved footway, 3 ft. broad, about quarter of a mile long, leading to the site of a palace, the ground plan of which is still plainly visible in the large slabs of stone. Broad slabs raised 2 ft. from the ground mark where the verandah was, with a flight of four stone steps leading down, in a good state of preservation. * * * *
On the slope of the hill above the pokuṇa is a large "*Galge*" with a broken image of Buddha, and close by is a pit containing a quantity of old flat tiles kept as a reserved stock to be drawn on when required.

From the pokuṇa to the top of the hill is a mile and a half, and the new path has been made within half a mile of the top. The new path, from the commencement where it branches off from the village road, is three miles long. It was easy climbing up to where the path was finished, but after that it was a case of swarming up the face of rocks and climbing over huge boulders. We reached the flat surface where the bungalow is to be erected, commanding a fine view of the country.

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# PADDY CULTIVATION CEREMONIES IN THE FOUR KÓRALÉS, KẸGALLA DISTRICT.*

By H. C. P. Bell, Esq., C.C.S., *Honorary Secretary.*

## Threshing and Measuring Paddy.

WHEN the paddy crop is ripe and is ready for the sickle, a lucky hour is named, and the cultivator *(goyiyá ; andakárayá)*, after bathing and putting on a clean cloth and eating *kiribat*, enters the field, and at the set time cuts three ripe ears of paddy.

These, with a scrap of iron, are wrapped in three *divikaduru* leaves and are carried on his head to the threshing-floor (*kamata*).

A hole is there dug in the centre of the *kamata*, about three or four inches in depth, and the three ears and iron are buried in it. Over the hole is placed a round stone (called *mutta*) or a "king cocoanut" *(ran tẹmbiliya)*, and the *kamata* cleared of grass with a mamoty.

The crop is then reaped and stacked on the dam of the field *(kẹṭakandu-goḍakaraṇawá)*. If the corn cannot be threshed

* The subject has been so fully dealt with in previous Papers printed in the Society's Journal that this Note may appear superfluous. It is inserted merely to supplement the information contained in Mr. R.W. Ievers' Paper in the Journal for 1880, covering ground not touched therein. The Papers already written for this Society on "Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies," Siṇhalese and Tamil, will be found in Journal R. A. S., C. B., Vol. VI., No. 21, 1880 (Ievers) ; Vol. VIII., No. 26, 1883 (Bell), and No. 29, 1884 (Lewis). See also a Paper in the Journal of the R. A. S. of Great Britain, Vol. XVII., new series, p. 366 (Le Mesurier), and the "Orientalist," Vol. 3, pp. 99–103 (Bell).

the same day for want of a lucky hour, a small dam (*liyadda*) in the field which is not damp is selected, the cocks (*keṭa-kandu*) are removed there, and heaped into ricks or stacks (*waṭa-malu*).

At the lucky hour for threshing (which always occurs in the evening) the paddy is taken from the *waṭa-malu* and tied into small bundles, and carried on the head to the *kamata*. Sometimes the paddy is put on the *kamata* in semi-circular shape, or, as the natives say, "like a rainbow or half-moon" (*rẹ́na-kanda-ekatukaraṇawá*); and sometimes heaped in the centre (*koléṭa-ekatukaraṇawâ*) after a diagram has been drawn with ashes on the threshing-floor.*

The paddy is then tossed and mixed together with hands (*kola-waḍanawa*). But if it is a large stack two "teams" of buffaloes (*dekẹrẹlla*) are yoked together to thresh the paddy: otherwise one team suffices. The boys who are employed to drive the buffaloes over the paddy (*kola-maḍawanawá*, *goyan-maḍawanawá*) are first fed. Should the animals void their dung whilst being driven the boys are taught to take a little straw and hold it on both the upturned palms of the hands to the sterns of the buffaloes (to prevent the dung falling on the straw and fouling the paddy), and to throw it over the other side of the *wáriya-kaṇda*. They are very particular in this respect until the whole threshing is over.

Two or three *pẹ́* after first driving the buffaloes over the paddy, what has worked to the edge of the threshing-floor is tossed with the *ḍeti-goyiyá*, or flail, on to the heap in the centre (*waṭa-kaḍanawa*), and the buffaloes again driven over it.

After threshing for some time several men (according to the number of men employed), picking up a little straw on their flails, and placing them on their shoulders, walk round repeating the *kalawiṭi-kíma* or threshing-floor refrain ("*Ḍeti ḍeti kumana ḍeti*," &c.), whilst the buffaloes are moving.

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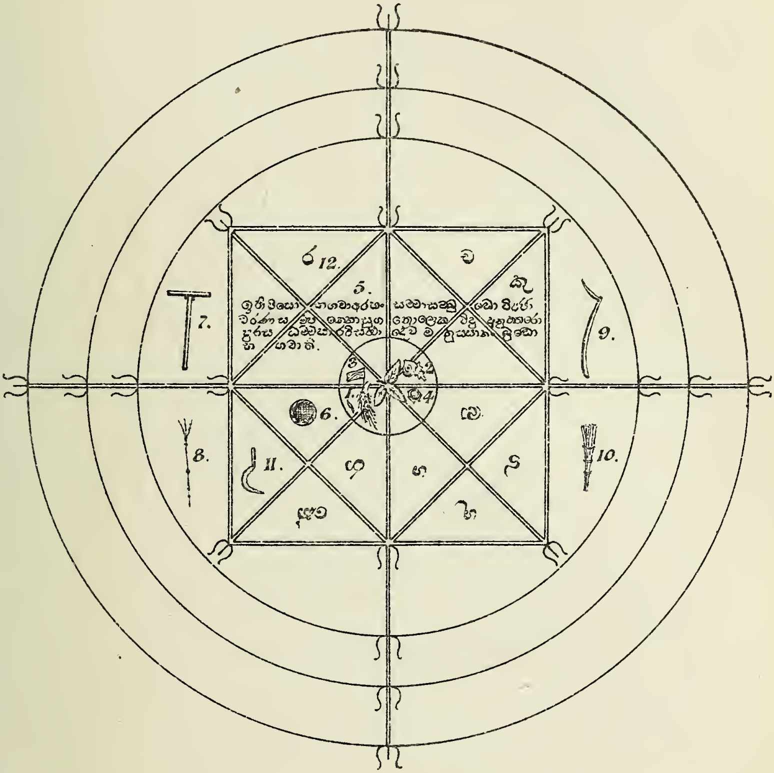
* Plate I.—This diagram differs from that given by Mr. Ievers chiefly in having only *three* concentric circles instead of seven. Three seem so universally the number drawn that it is possible Mr. Ievers may have been misled in making his diagram contain more circles.

## No 1.




# FOUR KÖRALÉS, KÉGALLA DISTRICT.

1. Divikaduru kola (3) Goyankaral (3) Yakadakeli (1) in arakwala
2. Kaṭu Hakgediya
3. Kohomba lélla } at the centre.
4. Muṭṭa
5. Navaguna-gátháwa
6. Laha or Goyiya
7. Goyi-leḷla
8. Manatta
9. Uknunudeṭta alias Deṭigoyiyá
10. Bola atta
11. Dékeṭta or Liyannáwa
12. First letter of each of the 9 planet names.

O. Saldin. Lith: H. C. P. Bell del.

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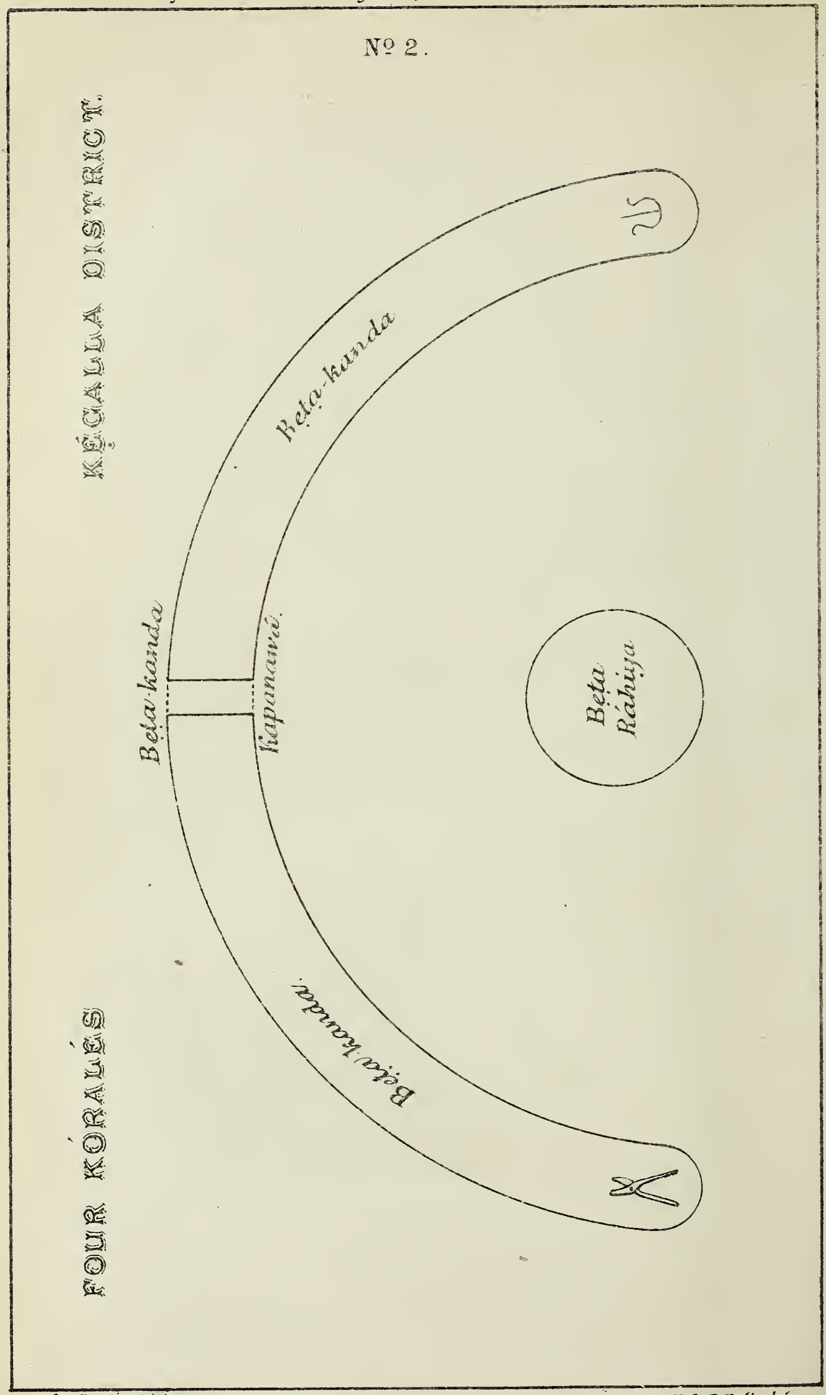
NATURAL HISTORY.




O. Saldin Lith:

H.C.P. Bell del

When this is over the paddy on the borders of the threshing-floor is tossed again on to the centre heap with flails, and the buffaloes a second time driven over it *(anbaruwan-dakkanawá)*, so that the corn may be threshed well. When the corn is sufficiently threshed, straw is tossed with flails *(meḍuwan-halabánawá)* on to the bank round the threshing-floor *(wáriya-kanda)*.

The unthreshed corn which still remains in the centre is then finally threshed *(goyikama-lánava)*, and the straw thrown on to the *wariya-kanda*. If it is a large stack there are three *meḍuwan* or preliminary tossings of the straw before the *goyikama* or threshing ; if an ordinary stack two *meḍuwan;* if a very small stack one *madun* only.

After the *goyikama* the buffaloes are untied and driven away, and the paddy fanned with a *katupilla* branch to remove the chaff and other rubbish.

Next with the *poró-lẹlla* the paddy is heaped up in the centre of the threshing-floor *(ráhi-karaṇawá)*, and a twisted rope made of straw is put round the heap of paddy *(ráhiya)* A small quantity of ashes, small chips from the *ból-atta*, from the *deti-goyiyá*, and from the *goyi-lẹlla* or *póruwa*, and a small quantity of hair from the tails of the buffaloes *(anba-ruwó)*, are taken and wrapped in a little straw called *áṇḍiya* and kept on the top of the heap of paddy *(áṇḍiya-tiyanawá)*, and the heap of paddy covered with straw. The same day (if there is no *rikta* or unlucky hour), or the next day, the *ráhiya* is uncovered and the paddy grains spread on the *kamata* to dry, and again heaped up.

At the lucky hour the cultivator takes the winnow *(yatura)* into his hand, bows down six times before the heap of paddy, kneeling on two sides of it, and at each bowing three times *(nawamudun-waṇdinává)*. After taking paddy from the *ráhiya* into the winnow he then spreads it on the *kamata* *(bẹta-garanawa)* in a line, called *bẹta-kaṇda*,* "in the shape of a rainbow or half-moon" *(bẹta-kaṇda-bandinawá)*, and

* Plate II.

two other persons, one on each side, pass backwards and forwards down the line of paddy thus spread and winnow off chaff and dirt. Each time fresh paddy is brought and spread by the *goyiyá* on the line the fanning is repeated by the two men.

When the *ráhiya* is exhausted, with the *póruwa* the paddy on the edges of the *beta-kanda* is heaped up to the top of it *(beta-mudun-karanawá)*, and other good paddy scattered about near gathered with the *póruwa* and put on it *(beta-kanda bolatiyanawá)*, the rubbish and chaff being gathered and heaped separately *(ahakata bol-tiyanawá)* on the *kamata*.

After that, upon the first end of the *beta-kanda* the shape of *anduwa* (pair of pincers) is drawn on the paddy with the corner of the winnow, and at the other end a trident *(súlama ; tri-súlama)* is drawn with the same corner of the winnow. Then taking the measure *(laha goyiyá)* into his hands, the cultivator goes to the place where the *ráhiya*, or heap of paddy, was and bows three times, and from there to the first end of the *beta-kanda*, where he again bows three times, and thence to the other end, bowing three times finally.

When this is over, holding the measure with one hand so as to just touch the paddy in the *beta-kanda*, and taking a handful of paddy in the other hand, he drops a few grains upon the *laha* measure whilst carrying it round the *beta-kanda* from the first end *(beta-yállanawá ; andun-nawanawá)*.

When this is finished he cuts a passage with the *goyi-lélla* through the centre of the *beta-kanda* and through it throws *bol-atta*, *man-atta*, *pórúlélla*, *katu-atta*, *ukunu-detta*, ashes, and water, from the outside ; then passing through, he bows three times on either side of the passage through the *beta-kanda*, and further three times at each end of it, and commences to measure the paddy. Going to the first end of the *beta-kanda* a *laha* of paddy is measured and covered up with the winnow so that its broad part may touch the *beta-kanda*. Leaving it there he again sweeps the *kamata*. After that the *laha* measure of paddy is uncovered and set apart for the gods *(deyiyanta-tiyanawá)* and the remaining paddy is measured and heaped up.

From this heap the "seed-paddy" is measured at first. Thus, if one *pẹla* extent was sown, twelve *lahas* of paddy will be measured and set apart as "seed paddy." Next the Government tithe is measured: the remaining paddy is then divided between the landowner and the cultivator. From the cultivator's share another three *lahas* of paddy have to be measured and added to the twelve *lahas* of "seed paddy," making in all fifteen *lahas*. The *laha* measure of paddy set apart in the commencement is given over to the man who charmed *(ken-kara-sorá)* the paddy field.

If the land was cultivated in *aṇda*—*i.e.*, for half-share—the cultivator must do all the work, including transplanting. If cultivated jointly with the landowner, the landowner should do half of the work, including half of the transplanting. If the cultivator alone transplants the paddy of the whole land he is entitled to get from the landowner half of the "seed paddy" sown on the land.

Thus, if the extent of the land is one *pẹla*, the cultivator, for transplanting the whole, would get five *lahas* of paddy, besides vegetables, curry-stuffs, &c.

These charges are usually paid to the cultivator by the landowner whilst the transplanting is going on, though occasionally kept back to be given after the crop is threshed.

The chaff heaped up in the *kamata* goes to the cultivator. The straw is entirely at the disposal of the landowner.

# ESSAY ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF ZOOLOGICAL TABLES, WITH A TABULAR DIAGNOSIS OF THE SNAKES OF CEYLON.

By AMYRALD HALY, Esq.,

*Director, Colombo Museum.*

*(Read January 26, 1888.)*

"The only possible check I can see to the progress of Science is, that the works on it are becoming too voluminous; it is becoming scholastic; life will be too short to learn it, and no time will be left for discoveries."—Mr. JUSTICE GROVE, *Speech at the Royal Academy Dinner, 1881.*

## ON COMBINATIONS OF STRUCTURES.

IN the mountains north of the Cape there is an animal known as the brindled gnu, thus described by Cuvier in the "Régne Animal":—"A monster composed of different animals. It has the body and crupper of a small horse, covered with brown fur; the tail is furnished with long white hairs like that of a horse, and on the neck is a handsome straight mane, white at the bottom and black at the end of the hairs. The horns, approximated and enlarged at the base like those of the buffalo of the Cape, descend outwardly and turn up at the point. The muzzle is large, flat, and surrounded with a circle of projecting hairs; under the throat and dewlap is a second black mane. The feet have all the lightness of those of the stag."

This combination of the head of the ox, the tail of the horse, and feet of the stag, can scarcely fail to strike any one on seeing a good figure of this animal or a mounted specimen in a museum. I believe, however, this impression of

monstrosity, as Cuvier terms it, in this particular instance arises solely from the fact that we are all familiar from childhood with horses, oxen, and deer. The brindled gnu is by no means an inharmonious combination, and if we were not so familiar with the above-named animals it would strike no one as being a monster; in fact, it is no more so than any other species. *All animals are combinations of structures; indeed, if they were not so, a zoological diagnosis would be an impossibility.*

Take the case of a species made up, so to speak, of other species, with which people in general are not so familiar; say, any species of the genus *Brotula* amongst fish. Many would probably think the fish an ugly one, but would neither regard it as a harmonious or inharmonious combination. Show one of this genus, however, to an Ichthyologist, and he would at once recognise the union of the body, vertical fins, and scales of the sole, with the head and barbels of a catfish and the jugular ventrals of the cod.

These combinations are frequently dwelt upon by John Hunter. It is thus he describes the capybara:—"This animal is about the bigness of a half-grown sheep; the hair is thin and strong, like that of the agouti or of the hog; the head is like the head of the guinea-pig; the ears are those of the same animal; the toes are strong and broad like those of a stork; the spleen is very near the shape and situation of the human; the pancreas is more like that of the human than in most animals."

Cuvier and Valenciennes, speaking of the barbel, say:—"Le genre des barbeaux va également nous montrer la même puissance dans les combinaisons diverses avec lesquelles la nature a su travailler les êtres nombreux qu'elle a placés sur notre planète." ("C. et V.," vol. XVI., p. 90.)

In classifying flies, Latreille adopted various plans of arrangement, varying according to the different weight that may be attached to the different characters. At one time he is chiefly guided by the antennæ, at another by the mouth parts, at another by the nature of the metamorphoses, and

with each different arrangement different families are at one time brought into close connection and at another widely separated.

Alexander Agassiz, in speaking of the sea-urchins, says :—"The sum of possible combinations is so great that it would take no less than twenty years, at the rate of one new combination a minute, for ten hours a day, to pass them in review. We have not more than 2,300 species actually representing for the *Echini* the results of these endless combinations."

## CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE FOLLOWING TABLES ARE CONSTRUCTED.

Linnæus chose an easily-seized character on which to found his main divisions. Thus, in classifying fish he arranged them in orders according to the presence or absence and the position of the ventral fins. When the ventrals were placed forward on the throat, as in the cod, they were said to be jugular; when on the breast, as in the perch and great majority of spinny-finned fishes, thoracic; and when on the belly, as in the carp, abdominal. In the eels they are wanting.

Cuvier, following Artedi, divided the bony fish into two orders: the spiny (*Acanthopterygii*) and the soft-finned (*Malacopterygii*), according to the character of the vertical fins.

Agassiz proposed another character, that of the scales, and in this way divided the bony fish into two groups: those with scales having a serrated edge and those with scales having a smooth edge, *Ctenoid* and *Cycloid*. Now it is evident that if the bony fish are arranged on any one of these systems, the student, on consulting a list of them, would at once have a definite piece of information; if they were arranged on the Linnæan system he would see at a glance what fish had the ventrals in the same position; if on either of the other systems he would be equally able to see in what fish the fins are spiny or soft, or the scales ctenoid or cycloid.

Let us suppose the thoracic ventrals to be represented by the letter *a*, the abdominal by *b*, the jugular by *c;* the spiny vertical fins by *a*, the soft by *b;* the ctenoid scales by *a*, the cycloid by *b;* then we could see the relationships of all known bony fish to each other, with regard to these particular characters, by constructing a table like the following :—

| | Ventrals. | Vertical Fins. | Scales. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Perch ... | *a* ... | *a* ... | *a* |
| Wrasse ... | *a* ... | *a* ... | *b* |
| Gray Mullet ... | *b* ... | *a* ... | *b* |
| Carp ... | *b* ... | *b* ... | *b* |
| Cod ... | *c* ... | *b* ... | *b* |

The letter *a* might, however, represent far more than the mere position of the ventrals: it might stand for those in which the membrane is supported by one spine and five branched rays placed on the thorax ; *b* for those which have the same character but which are placed on the abdomen, and so on. And the same principle can be applied to all the other parts, external or internal, of fish or any other animals. This is the application of the "Natural Method" to the parts of animals considered separately. The "Natural Method" is thus defined by Cuvier :—"There is but one perfect method, which is the natural method. We thus call an arrangement in which beings of the same genus will be closer together than those of all other genera, genera of the same order than those of all other orders, and so on."

The theory of the construction of such tables is perfectly simple. The student, having provided himself with a collection of some group of animals, either from all parts of the world where they are found or from some particular locality, studies first one part, such as the wing in birds or ventral fin in fish, and groups those species together which agree in having those parts of the same character ; he then proceeds to the consideration of the other parts, one by one, until he has exhausted all the characters employed in the diagnosis of the particular group he is describing. Then, as in the little table above, each different type of wing or fin, or any

other part, is expressed by a suitable formula, and these formulæ are arranged in vertical columns.

## ON THE UTILITY OF ZOOLOGICAL TABLES.

"I believe," says Professor Babbage, "my early perception of the immense power of signs in aiding the reasoning faculty contributed much to whatever success I may have had." Such is the testimony of one of the greatest of mathematicians to the power of signs. Professor Owen long ago pointed out the need in which the anatomist stands of using formulæ :—"The entomologist has long found the advantage of such signs as ♂ ♀, signifying male and female, and the like, and it is time that the anatomist should avail himself of these powerful instruments of thought, instruction, and discovery, from which the chemist, the astronomer, and the mathematician have obtained such powerful results."

Formulæ are used by Zoologists to a certain extent. As Professor Owen has said, it would be almost impossible to compare the descriptions of the teeth of mammalia without them. Of late years attempts have been made by various authors to extend their use, more especially by the late Professor Garrod.

My object in the following table is four-fold :—(1) To reduce the size of our zoological treatises; (2) To show at a glance the range of any particular structure in any given group; (3) To show what combinations of these structures are found in nature, and the relationship of these combinations to the food, habits, and geographical distribution of the species which exhibit them; (4) To place a powerful weapon in the hands of the Taxonomist for the determination of species.

With regard to the first point it is unnecessary to dwell on the great size and expense of our zoological works, which the traveller cannot carry or the poor student afford. In such works as Nicholson's "Indian Snakes" and Beaven's "Freshwater Fishes of India," laudable attempts have been made to furnish students with cheap and handy

text books, but in these it is by the omission of details to a large extent that the reduction in bulk is gained.

With regard to the second point, characters that serve at one time to characterise a family, in another family are merely generic, in some genera merely specific, and in some species they vary in individuals. Their range cannot be learnt, therefore, from ordinary diagnostic treatises without much research.

My third aim can of course be only carried out by some sort of table, and I suppose no one would deny its utility, if it is only possible to accomplish it.

The fourth point to many may seem to be of little moment, but the science of Zoology depends upon the correct determination of specific names. As Linnæus pointed out in his preface to the "Systema Naturæ":—"Methodus anima scientiæ, indigitat primo intuito, quodçunque corpus naturale, et hoc corpus dicat proprium suum nomen et hoc nomen quæcunque de nominato corpore beneficio sæçuli innotuere ut sic in summa confusione rerum apparenti summas cospiciatur naturæ ordo."*

## On Numerical Columns.

Before considering what formulæ to employ and what signification to attach to them, it will be well to see how much can be expressed by simple numbers. These can be understood at once by all, however ignorant they may be of the technicalities employed in describing the species of the group they may be desirous of studying.

Upper labials :— $\frac{8}{345}$ shows that there are eight upper labials, the third, fourth, and fifth of which enter the eye.

P O $\frac{1}{2}$ shows that there is one præ-ocular and two post-oculars.

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* Method, the soul of nature, points out at first sight any natural body whatsoever, so that the body may be called by its own proper name, and this name tells us whatsoever things have become known concerning the body named, for the benefit of future generations, so that amidst the utmost apparent confusion the perfect order of nature may appear.

V $\frac{125-161}{50-79}$ shows that there are from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and sixty-one ventral shields, and from fifty to seventy-nine sub-caudals, in the species.

Dr. Gunther uses the formula 1+2, 2+2, &c., to express the arrangement of the temporal shields, meaning that there is one temporal behind the eye, followed by two others, &c.

The number of transverse rows of scales is shown in another column, and the average length attained by an adult in the last.

By placing all that can be expressed by simple numbers in vertical columns in this way, great condensation is gained, as well as facility of comparison. Expressed in words, as they are at present, these numerical characters in the rat-snake (24) run as follows:—There are 17 transverse rows of scales, and from 190 to 208 ventrals, and 95 to 135 sub-caudals. Two præ-oculars and two post-oculars; eight upper labials, the fourth and fifth entering the orbit. Two temporals immediately behind the orbit, succeeded by a second pair.

It is frequently possible to determine a species of a genus by means of these numerical columns only; thus, in the case of the four species of *Tropidonotus* found in Ceylon the following points can be seen at a glance by referring to the table:—One præ-ocular and nine upper labials, the fourth and fifth of which enter the eye, and nineteen transverse series of scales serve to indentify *T. asperrimus.*

*T. stolatus* has only eight upper labials, the third, fourth, and fifth of which enter the eye.

*T. ceylonensis* has two præ-oculars and eight labials, of which only the fourth and fifth enter the eye.

*T. plumbicolor* has also two præ-oculars, but only seven upper labials. It is also at once distinguished from the preceding by having twenty-three to twenty-seven transverse series of scales.

## On the Formulæ to be adopted, and their Meaning.

No sooner is an attempt made to classify a series of natural objects than two great difficulties are encountered : the subtlety of nature and the difference of opinion amongst different observers as to the degrees of likeness and unlikeness between different species or groups of species. The first is well expressed by Cuvier. Speaking of his division *Dentirostres* in the *Passerine* birds, he says :—"The genera are distinguished by the general form of the bill, strong and compressed in the shrikes and in the thrushes, depressed in the fly-catchers, fine and pointed in the warblers ; but the passage from one to another is so graduated that it is difficult to fix the limits of the genera."

Here we have an attempt to classify bills only, and he divides them into four types : the Shrike, the Thrush, the Fly-catcher, and the Warbler type, but finds gradations between them all. And it is almost always the same with every part in every group of the animal kingdom, the difficulty increasing with the length of the series chosen. This was well understood by Linnæus, and expressed in his celebrated maxim.*

This difficulty might be lessened if naturalists could be brought to agree as to degrees of likeness and unlikeness between different forms : but birds have been united into one and divided into thirty-two orders. The classification of every part, and of the whole animal kingdom, is incessantly changing according to the views of different great authorities, and the new lights thrown on the subject by fresh discoveries in every department of Zoology. Nor is the individual mind free from this difficulty. The bill that appears to the student on one day to be most like the thrush's he will be more inclined to class with the fly-catcher series on another, and even with the shrikes on a third, and

* "Natura non facit saltum."

still he is unable to separate it from them clearly and satisfactorily, and form it into a new type.

Only the individual, as Agassiz pointed out, really exists in a material form. Species, genera, orders, classes, and other divisions used by Zoologists are but groupings together of certain series of facts by the human mind,* and the same observation applies to the parts of animals considered separately. It would be no doubt desirable, if it were possible, in constructing zoological tables to take a definite series of types : for instance, the eagle's wing, the swallow's wing, and the plover's wing, and call them respectively *a*, *b*, and *c*. Then the student, having become thoroughly acquainted with their respective characters, would, on seeing *a*, *b*, *c* in the wing column, be provided with a mental picture of the kind of wing the species possessed opposite whose name the letter stands. But this aim is too high ; the idea of a type at first sight so precise and clear is really of the most evanescent kind when a long series of animals is studied. Take the case of the head shields in snakes.

In No. 24, *Zamenis mucosus*, the head is entirely shielded above. There are a pair of internasals and a pair of frontals ; the nasals are small and lateral, and there is a mental groove with chin shields. All these characters are of wide generality and easy to determine, being points that make a strong impression on the eye. The two genera *Simotes* and *Oligodon*, species 20 to 23, agree with *Zamenis* perfectly in these characters ; but the rostral shield is much larger, and the internasals greatly reduced in size. When first taking up the study of Ophiology the student will not be struck with these differences ; but when he learns how alike are the head shields of all those species that I have arranged under letter *a*, although belonging to such widely different groups,—ground-snakes, tree-snakes, water-snakes, snakes diurnal and nocturnal, poisonous and non-poisonous,—he will not fail to be struck by the strong

* Introduction to "The Natural History of the United States."

alterations in the proportions of the shields in this little group (the old family *Oligodontidæ*), although there is no structural difference.

In No. 33, *Helicops schistosus*, there is only a single internasal. This strikes the attention at once, and is a strong structural character deserving undoubtedly strong expression; but the question is, are the proportional changes in the head shields of the *Oligodons* of equal value? Whilst some minds would be more inclined to dwell on the points of likeness between *Simotes* and *Oligodon* and *Zamenis*, others would be more inclined to dwell on the peculiarities that characterise the head shields of the two former genera. There is also the subject of convenience to be considered, which depends much on the formulæ employed. These formulæ should be as simple as possible. Complicated formulæ, such as $aa\frac{1}{1}$, $aa\frac{1}{2}$, $ab\frac{1}{1}$, $ab\frac{1}{2}$, are neither easy to compare, to read, or to remember. In the following table the formulæ consist of a single letter and an index figure.

For many years I have attempted to make the letters expressions of absolute types that should at once appeal to the eye and also agree in their structural characters, and hoped that the index figures would serve to complete the descriptions of the sub-divisions, so that all parts may be referred to by the same letter and figure; that is to say, all head shields under *a* shall be really exactly alike. But there is no likeness in nature. Not only do individuals differ, and the same individual at different ages, but the same individual in itself. In many snakes, especially in sea-snakes, the shields differ on the two sides of the head.

Moreover, different authorities do not take the same views. The characters used by Dr. Gunther in the "Snakes of India" are not those used by Dr. Boulenger in his "Reptiles of India and Ceylon."

The letters and figures therefore merely serve to combine characters together that I trust may prove useful to the student: the letters the more important characters and the figures the minor characters.

The head shields of species Nos. 16, 25, 26, 29, 30, and 31 all carry the formula $a^2$, but I do not mean to say that there are no differences between them: far from it, there may be, and indeed are, many, but I look upon them as too small to be of service in helping the student to identify the several species.

But although I cannot always carry out my original hopes, I by no means abandon aiming at them as much as possible. Thus, I do consider that the head shields included under $a$ are really of the *Zamenis* type, that all the species agree closely with the rat-snake in this particular character.

On the contrary, I do not pretend that in the column headed "Form" that all forms under $a$ belong to the rat-snake type. I can find no satisfactory classification of this group of forms, and have therefore contented myself with uniting them under some easily understood characters.

The way in which I have attempted to treat the subject will be best understood by a short analysis of my classification of each of the parts.

## Form.

The cobra (No. 45) is undoubtedly the best known snake in Ceylon, and one of the commonest, but as it is rather of an abnormal form I shall take the rat-snake, No. 24, as my type.

Now, as regards the form of this species (No. 24, *Zamenis mucosus*) there is nothing remarkable about it. The body is not very elongate, and the head and tail are not distinguished by any peculiarities in their form or proportions. A general description of its form would read thus:—Body of moderate length, rather slender, sides somewhat compressed, belly flat; head distinct, with a flat crown and somewhat depressed muzzle; tail long, cylindrical, tapering to a point. Passing on to more or less closely allied species the differences in these points are endless, and the combinations also. The body may be more cylindrical or more compressed than in the type, the belly flatter, the head more or less distinct,

the tail long, moderate, short, or very short; and it is frequently difficult, especially with specimens preserved in spirits, to decide how this or that particular should be described. There is thus an endless gradation of forms all blending into one another. However, there are some groups that stand out in bold relief. There is the cobra itself with its expansible hood, otherwise quite a normal snake form; then the little *Calamaridæ* (Nos. 10 to 14), in which the head with its pointed snout is quite continuous with the perfectly cylindrical body. These lead to the perfectly worm-like forms, such as *Typhlops* (Nos. 1 and 2), and a near relation of the cobra, *Callophis trimaculatus* (No. 42). In the tree-snakes, *Dendrophis* and *Chrysopelea* (Nos. 27, 28, and 39), we find very slender bodies with keeled bellies. In the whip-snakes (Nos. 37 and 38) the bodies are extraordinarily slender, with round bellies. In yet another form of tree-snake, *Dipsas* (Nos. 35 and 36), the body is equally elongate but strongly compressed. By another series of transitions through such forms as No. 40 (*Cerberus rhyncops*, type *d*) and No. 34 (*Chersydrus granulatus*, type *l*) we are led to the sea-snakes with their oar-shaped tails (Nos. 46 to 56, type *m*). All these forms are easily distinguishable, and form quite distinct types; but in all important respects, or, rather, in such characters as can be easily expressed, there is nothing to separate No. 23 (*Oligodon subgriseus*) and No. 3 (*Python molurus*) from type *a*, No. 24 (*Zamenis mucosus*). Yet no one could say that there is any likeness between these three forms. But if an attempt is made to define these forms by the comparative length of the snout or tail, or distinctness of the head, it will be found that all these characters fail, as other species show every gradation in these respects.

It is probable that if all the animal forms, past, present, and to come, were to pass before a Zoologist in a vision, that he would find that the animal kingdom is like the French Republic, one and indivisible; and that there would be no lines of absolute demarcation to be found anywhere from the jelly fish to man. And the same of course would apply to

the parts of animals considered separately: in fact, the gradations in form would be perfect from any known snake to any other, from the little worm-like burrower to the oar-tailed sea-snake. There is a *Tropidonotus* (Nos. 29 to 32) that shows such an inclination to develop the hood of the cobra that it suffers largely by its resemblance.* But these tables are only concerned with facts as they exist: when a type can be defined it is represented by a letter; when it cannot, the letter stands for a combination of useful characters.

## VENTRALS AND SUB-CAUDALS.

Besides the form, the other characters used in the diagnosis of snakes are the scales, mouth, nostrils, eyes, teeth, and colour. In normal snakes, however, the scales can be treated of under three distinct heads: the shields on the belly, the scales on the back and sides, and the shields of the head. The ventral shields are of great importance, as they are the organs of locomotion in snakes, taking the place of limbs in other animals. A reference to the explanatory part of the following table will show in how small a space, and with what clearness, a full description of these shields can be given for all Ceylon species.

In the rat-snake (No. 24) the sub-caudals are two-rowed, in the poisonous *Bungarus* (Nos. 43 and 44) simple. This is a distinction that at once strikes the eye; but striking and important as this character generally is, the great snake-eating snake of India (*Ophiophagus*) has them sometimes partly two-rowed and partly simple. Another character that does not immediately strike the observer, but which is very easily seized and very important, is the character of the last ventral or anal shield, whether it is simple or bifid.

The ventrals may also be either smooth or keeled, and when the keels are strongly developed we have another well-marked type.

These important characters give for Ceylon snakes five

* See Gunther's "Reptiles of British India," p. 262, pl. XXII., fig. C.

well-characterised types: *a* (No. 24), the rat-snake type; *b* (No. 45), the cobra type; *c* (No. 27), the tree-snake type; *d* (No. 43), the *Bungarus* type; and *e* (No. 16), a union of types *c* and *d* in *Lycodon carinatus.*

In this little table I consider my ideal as nearly as possible attained; I know of nothing more, or at least of nothing useful, that can be said of the ventrals of the cobra than is said under $b^1$, *i.e.*, well-developed, broad, smooth, sub-caudals two-rowed, anal entire; and the other six species have their ventrals and sub-caudals exactly the same. Here the letters and figures express, as they should always express if possible, exact identity in all particulars that cannot be expressed by numbers; and at the same time refer to full descriptions.

## Scales.

In the rat-snake (No. 24) the scales are confined to the back and sides; they are imbricate, polished, and but partially or feebly keeled, and the form may be characterised as lanceolate. Most of the species grouped under *a* have the scales quite smooth. In others there are apical pits on the scales, and some or all of the scales may be feebly keeled, minute particulars, generally requiring a lens to make them out.

Many snakes have the scales more or less keeled. These form section *b*, and in *Tropidonotus asperrimus* the scales are very strongly keeled; but there is every gradation between this form and that of the rat-snake, in which some of the scales are very slightly keeled. In *Bungarus* (No. 43) the scales are smooth, but there is a larger vetebral series. In the whip-snake (No. 37) the scales are very imbricate and narrow.

This character is combined with a larger vertebral series in the tree-snakes, such as No. 35 and 36, *Dipsas.* In the remaining snakes there are no true ventrals; in all the burrowing snakes the scales are highly polished; in the *Uropeltidæ* (Nos. 5 to 9) there is a rough disc at the end of the tail; in the sea-snakes the scales are always unpolished, sometimes

imbricate and sometimes tesselated, with every gradation between the two extremes; in the curious *Chersydrus* (No. 34) the scales are merely rough warts thickly set over the head and body.

## THE HEAD SHIELDS.

The description of the head shields of *Zamenis mucosus* under letter *a* is a very full one: all the most important characters are given, and when a snake differs from this species in any of these characters I consider that these differences ought to be expressed by a new letter. There appear to me to be thirteen quite distinct types of head shields in Ceylon snakes, expressed by the letters *a* to *n*. By means of the index figures it would be possible to extend these descriptions to any length. Following Dr. Gunther, No. 24, *Z. mucosus*, $a^1$, might read thus: "Rostral broader than high; two nasals; three loreals · upper labials all reaching the labial margin; internasals more than half the size of anterior frontals, pointed in front; one præ-ocular reaching to the upper surface of the head; frontal five-sided; basal margin shorter than lateral, which are slightly concave; posterior margins converging to a point; supra-ocular projecting;

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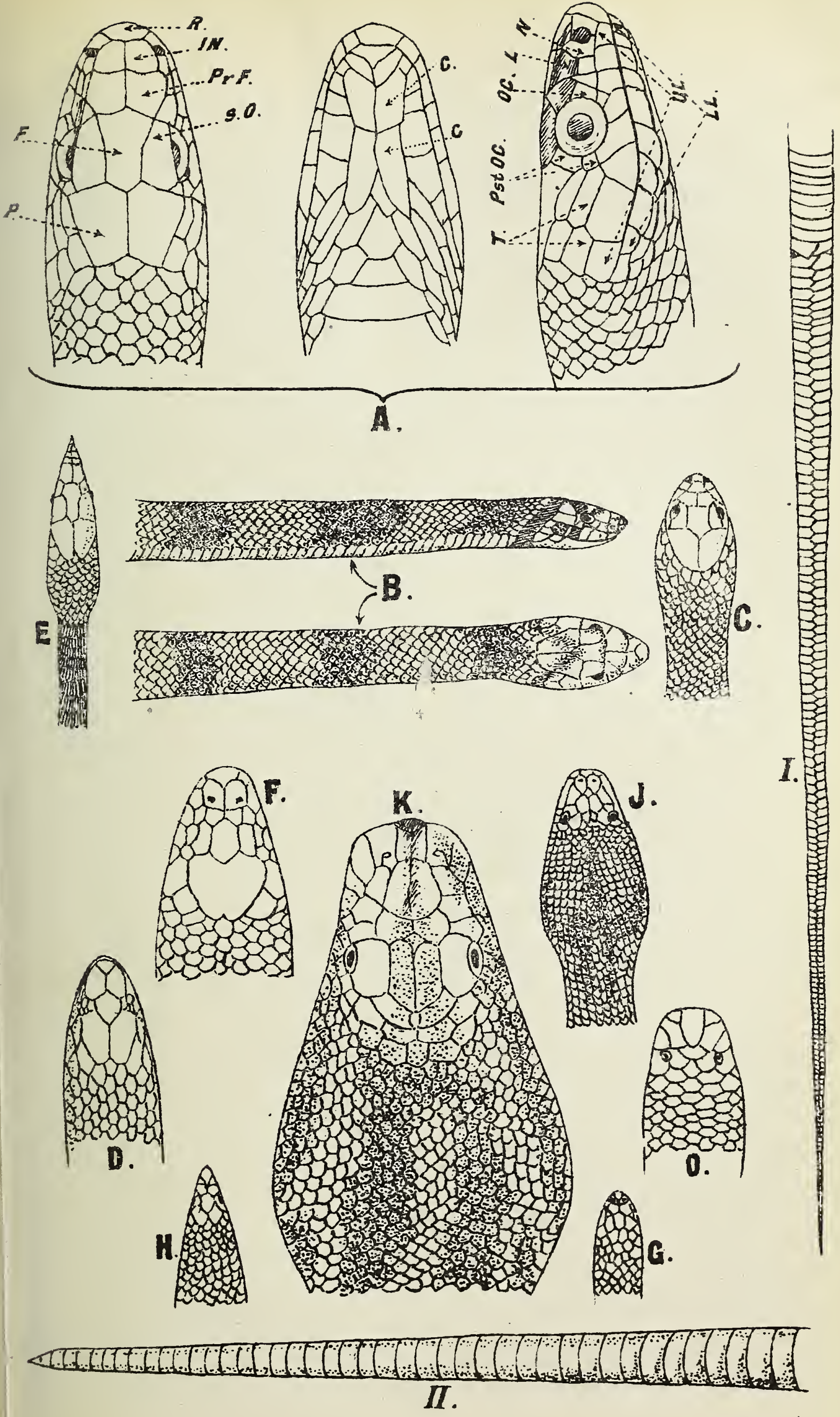
*Explanation of the Plate.*

### A = HEAD SHIELDS OF THE *a* TYPE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| R. | = rostral. | Pst OC. | = post-oculars. |
| IN. | = internasal. | T. | = temporals. |
| PrF. | = præ-frontals. | UL. | = upper labials. |
| F. | = frontal. | LL. | = lower labials. |
| S.O. | = supra-ocular. | C. | = chin shields. |
| P. | = parietal. | *I.* | = ventral and caudal shields of the $a^1$ type. |
| N. | = nasals. | *II.* | = ventral and caudal shields of the *d* type. |
| L. | = loreal. | | |
| OC. | = pre-oculars. | | |

Types **L, M,** and **N** are not given, as they can be easily understood from the description. Type **G** is much like **F**, but the front margin of the orbit is formed by the præ-frontals.


R.
IN.
PrF.
S.O.
F.
P.
C.
C
N.
L.
OC.
PstOC.
T.
UL.
LL.
A.
B.
C.
D.
E.
F.
G.
H.
I.
J.
K.
O.
II.

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parietals not much longer than frontal, in contact with postoculars; temporals regular, elongate; posterior chin shields longer than anterior.

Then, No. 30, *Tropidonotus stolatus*, might stand as $a^2$. Repeating no characters that are the same as in $a^1$, the full description would run thus: One loreal, large, square; internasals less than half the size of posterior frontals; supraocular not projecting, parietals rounded behind; superior præ-ocular reaching upper surface of head.

Or, following Dr. Boulenger, the three following species would read thus:—

$a^1$, *Z. mucosus.*—Rostral a little broader than deep, visible from above; internasals about as broad as long, the suture between them shorter than that between the præ-frontals; frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout, as long as the parietals, or slightly shorter; usually three loreals; five lower labials in contact with the anterior chin shields, which are shorter than the posterior; the latter in contact anteriorly.

$a^2$, *T. stolatus.*—Rostral just visible from above; internasals much narrowed anteriorly, sub-triangular, with the anterior angle truncated, the suture between them nearly as long as that between the præ-frontals; frontal longer than its distance from the end of the snout, as long as the parietals; a single loreal as long as deep, or deeper than long; five to six lower labials.

$a^3$, *T. asperrimus.*—As in $a^2$, but the rostral is visible from above; frontal sometimes a little shorter than the parietals; loreal nearly as long as deep; five lower labials.

And so the descriptions might be carried on through all the snakes of Ceylon or of the world that have head shields of the type *a*. But are these minute details of any use to the student, or of any real interest?

In the great "Historie Naturelle des Poissons" of Cuvier and Valenciennes the description of the common perch is given with the most precise minuteness, even to the curves of the profile; but the system is only fitfully carried out.

It would be impossible to compare the upper profile of the perch with all other fish of the same family or of the same type of form, nor is it easy to see what use there would be in doing so. In point of fact the greater number of the descriptions in this work are as short as those given in the "British Museum Catalogue of Fishes," although by no means so precise.

There are only sixty species in the following table. In treating of the birds of Ceylon (320 species), or of the fish (between 800 and 900 species), even giving separate tables for such groups as may be characterised as Orders, the omission of minor details would be an absolute necessity if the requisite compression of space is to be obtained.

The index figures, therefore, under head shields are only used to point out the more striking characters, and those most useful for the purpose of identification. There are many differences between Nos. 16, 25, 26, 29, 30, and 31, but as in all the nasal is completely divided into two, the loreal single and squarish in form, and all the labials reach the labial margin, and the supra-ocular does not project, they are arranged under $a^2$.

In the case of No. 32, *Tropidonotus plumbicolor* (head shields $a^3$), the index figure only points to a tendency to vary, not to any absolute character always diagnostic of that species. Such licenses must be allowed if an attempt is to be made to follow the endless variations, gradations, and combinations to be found in any long series of animals.

## EYES, NOSTRILS, MOUTH, TEETH.

The eyes, nostrils, and mouths of snakes vary little; when they do they give the student easily-seized points for finding out what is before him. The visibility or invisibility of the rudimentary eye in the little species of *Typhlops* will furnish him with important aid in the most difficult task the Ceylon Ophiologist has to encounter, viz., name these little worm-like snakes. Finally, he has to examine the teeth. This is best done by carefully cutting out the jaws and palatine

bones of one side, or, if not a rare species, cutting off the head of a spirit specimen and skinning it, then drying it hard in the hot sun. Prepared in this way the gums will shrivel and the teeth protrude, and none will be lost. It will be seen that the gums are crowded with teeth, the more advanced ready to take the place of those in use. Thus, the cobra seems at first sight to have several fangs, but only one on each side is united with the bone, and in actual use.

The teeth in No. 27 *(Dendrophis pictus)* and No. 39 *(Chrysopelea ornata)* are identical, or almost so to the eye; but in No. 39 some of the last teeth in the upper jaw (posterior maxillary) are grooved. This is a very slight character, and difficult to demonstrate. Schlegel took no uotice of this distinction, and united Nos. 27 and 39 in the same genus, *Dendrophis*. Boie places *D. ornata* in another genus, *Chrysopelea*, in which Dr. Gunther follows him, keeping *Dendrophis* and *Chrysopelea* in the same family, *Dendrophidœ*. Professer Huxley, in his "Anatomy of Vertebrates," divides the order *Ophidia* into sub-orders according to their dentition. In the *Aglyphodontia* none of the maxillary teeth are grooved, in the *Ophisthoglyphia* some of them are; hence the genera *Dendrophis* and *Chrysopelea* are at once widely separated. Dr. Boulenger does not consider the *Ophidia* as an order, but only a sub-order, and three of Professor Huxley's sub-orders are merely sections of the family *Colubridœ*. This, however, makes no change in the relative positions of the above-named genera: they belong to different sections.

Whether this difference really separates these two very closely allied species so widely is not a subject for consideration here. I have only to consider how the teeth are to be treated, considered apart from their other characters; and I think there can be no doubt that they do belong to different types.

We find a series of types *a* to *h* including all the species from 1 to 34, in which grooved teeth never occur; and another

including the species from 35 to 41, in which one or more of the last teeth in the upper jaw are grooved, Both series include types of different appearance to the eye. We may therefore look upon type *j* as an imitation of type *a*, but differing in a fundamental point of structure. The same order of relation is of constant occurrence in the animal kingdom. Thus, many marsupial mammals are externally, in some cases exactly, like species belonging to orders very far removed by their anatomical characters. All such cases of difference of structure disguised by similarity of appearance should be expressed by a letter.

## HABITS AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

These subjects have been so little worked out that the student must consider the tables as mere sketches to show that they are susceptible of the same treatment as the actual material facts expressed in the animals themselves. The anatomical characters can of course be tabulated in the same manner; but in order to do this a complete collection of skeletons and specimens showing the myology, splanchnology, and neurology of Ceylon snakes would be required.

## COLOUR.

Colour, in the limited number of snakes found in Ceylon, is scarcely susceptible of a natural classification. I think, however, that in all cases—even if treating of the birds of the world, for instance—that the plan adopted in the following table would be an advantage. An artificial key is given by arranging the species according to the colour of the belly, which is either white or yellow, immaculate, or more or less spotted with black, or of much the same tint as the rest of the body, or, in a few cases, darker. Then the general ground colour and the position of each tint is given, commencing with the black and going through to the white in the order of their intensity. This plan admits of great condensation of the descriptions, and by observing the black marks alone many species can be identified with

certainty. In the case of birds this system would, I believe, be invaluable. The great "British Museum Catalogue of Birds" now extends to eleven volumes, and is not nearly finished, and there are no descriptions given of either orders, families, or genera: the work is almost entirely occupied with descriptions of colour and with the synonomy. Now I find that it is possible to shorten descriptions of 250 words to 80 or 90, and no particulars omitted; but if minute differences of tint are omitted, and brown made to include blackish-brown, pale-brown, and rich-brown, for instance, a still further compression could be effected; and if closely allied birds are compared, and their differences from the first in the list only expressed, in many instances very few words would suffice. The section under which the colour is described is given in the colour column. The tyro should try this character first and learn the rest afterwards.

## Classification.

With the classification of snakes this table has nothing to do; the student can adopt any classification he likes from that of Linnæus to the present day. The arrangement followed is that of the latest authority, Dr. Boulenger, in the "Fauna of British India." Whatever may be the merits or demerits of this classification, it is far too advanced for the beginner. I will therefore give the synopsis of it, and then give a modification of it founded on that in Dr. Gunther's "Reptiles of British India," which will be much more easily understood:—

Order III.—*Squamata.* Quadrate bone free distally; no lower temporal arch; ribs single-headed; no plastron; teeth not implanted in alveoli; anal opening transverse; copulatory organ present, paired.

Sub-Order III.—*Ophidia.* Nasal bones bounding nasal apertures; vomers distinct; mandibular rami connected by ligament; no trace of pectoral arch; tongue flattened and bifid at the end, and sheathed at the base.

**A** = No transpalatine; pterygoids not extending to quadrate or mandible; no supra-temporal; præ-frontal forming a suture with nasals; coronoid present; vestiges of pelvic arch.

*a* Maxillary vertical, loosely attached, toothed; mandible edentulous; a single pelvic bone. Family *Typhlopidæ*, Nos. 1 and 2. The *Glauconiidæ* are not found in Ceylon.

**B** = Transpalatine present; both jaws toothed.

*a* Coronoid present; præ-frontals forming a suture with the nasals.

$a^1$ Vestiges of hind limbs; supra-temporal present.

$a^2$ Supra-temporal large, suspending the quadrate. *Boidæ*, No. 3.

$b^2$ Supra-temporal small, intercalated in the cranial wall. *Ilysiidæ*, No. 4.

$b^1$ No vestiges of hind limbs; supra-temporal absent. *Uropeltidæ*, Nos. 5 to 9.

*b* Coronoid absent; supra-temporal present, suspending the quadrate.

$a^1$ Maxillary horizontal; pterygoids reaching quadrate or mandible.

$a^2$ The *Xenopeltidæ* are not represented in Ceylon.

$b^2$ Præ-frontals not forming a suture with nasals. *Colubridæ*.

Series A.—*Aglyphia*. All the teeth are solid, not grooved; harmless.

Sub-Family I.—*Colubrinæ*. Post-frontal bone not produced over supra-temporal region; scales imbricate; head shields and ventrals large. Nos. 10 to 33.

Sub-Family II.—*Acrochordinæ*. Post-frontal bone produced over the supra-orbital region; scales not imbricate. No. 34.

Series B.—*Ophisthoglypha.* One or more of the posterior maxillary teeth grooved. Suspected as poisonous to a slight degree.

Sub-Family III.—*Dipsadinæ.* Nostrils lateral. Nos. 36 to 39.

Sub-Family IV.—*Homalopsinæ.* Nostrils on upper surface of head. Nos. 40 and 41.

Series C.—*Proteroglypha.* Anterior or maxillary teeth grooved or perforated; poisonous.

Sub-family V.—*Elapinæ.* Tail round, caudal; hypapophyses short. Nos. 42 to 45.

Sub-Family VI.—*Hydrophinæ.* Tail compressed, caudal; hypapophyses long. Nos. 46 to 56.

$b^1$ The *Amblycephalidæ* are not represented in Ceylon.

$c^1$ Maxillary vertically erectile; perpendicular to transpalatine; pterygoids reaching quadrate or mandible. Family *Viperidæ.* Nos. 57 to 60.

In Dr. Gunther's work the *Ophidia* are considered as an order; by Lankester, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," as a sub-class with four orders (1888). In 1887 Dr. Boulenger uses the term *Squamata* in the Zoological Record to include the *Lacertilia* and *Ophidia*, without, however, stating the rank of these divisions. I think that there can be little doubt this is the natural statement of the facts. The lizards and snakes are too closely allied to be looked upon as equivalents of the turtles and the crocodiles. The student then will do well to consider the snakes as a sub-order of the order *Squamata*, equivalent to the old orders of the *Lacertilia* and *Ophidia.*

Sub-Order *Ophidia.*—In cases where the lizards are limbless they can be distinguished from snakes by their flat unsheathed tongue; the true snake tongue is found in the Ceylon monitor and iguana (*Varanus bengalensis* and *salvator*), but these lizards have powerful limbs.

Family *Typhlopidæ* (Nos. 1 and 2).—Agrees with Dr. Gunther's family of the same name. They are worm-like snakes without mental groove or ventral shields.

Family *Boidæ* (No. 3).—Dr. Gunther's *Pythonidæ*, but placed in a very different position, being removed from after the *Colubridæ* to a place in front of them. They possess vestiges of hind limbs.

"In the *Typhlopidæ* rudiments of hind limbs are hidden beneath the skin." (Gunther.) "A single pelvic bone." (Boulenger.) And in the *Tortricidæ* (Gunther), *Ilysiidæ* (Boulenger), "rudiments of hind limbs are hidden in a groove each side of the vent." (Gunther.) "Vestiges of pelvis formed of three or four elements as in the *Boidæ*, and terminating in a claw-like spur usually distinguishable on each side of the vent." (Boulenger.) The python is well known to everybody. It has teeth on the præ-maxillary bones, and its tail is prehensile.

Family *Ilysiidæ* (No. 4).—The *Tortricidæ* of Dr. Gunther. Worm-like snakes with a mental groove, but no ventrals and rudiments of hind limbs.

Family *Uropeltidæ*.—The same as Dr. Gunther's family of the same name. Worm-like snakes with truncated tails, generally terminating in a rough naked disc (Nos. 5 to 9).

Family *Calamaridæ* (Nos. 10 to 14).—As far as this, with the exception of the displacement of the *Boidæ* or *Pythonidæ*, Dr. Gunther's and Dr. Boulenger's families agree, and the termination *idæ* is used for groups that almost all Zoologists recognise by the name of families; this name expressing anatomical identity, together with outward likeness. Thus, as Agassiz says, any child can tell at sight a skipjack, a devil's coach-horse, a bombardier, a *Scarabæid*, or a weevil amongst beetles, and they are scientifically known as *Elateridæ*, *Staphylinidæ*, *Carabidæ*, *Scarabæidæ*, *Curculionidæ*, and so on. If, however, we are to follow Dr. Boulenger and consider the termination *idæ* as defining an anatomical group, founded, as in his *Colubridæ*, entirely on the characters of the skull, under which the most heterogeneous forms to

the eye may be grouped, such as rat-snakes, tree-snakes, wart-snakes, and sea-snakes, then all previous zoological arrangements and nomenclatures will have to be abandoned throughout the animal kingdom. Nor is it possible to see the reason for this course. Family VII., *Colubridæ*, might just as well have been called a series, or *cohort*, or *legion*, or received a simple letter or number, and the old family names as far as he considered them natural, retained.

There can be no doubt that the *Calamaridæ* are a thoroughly natural family, forming a transition between the burrowing, snakes and the ordinary forms. Their muzzles are pointed, and the head forms quite a part of the body. The tail, however, tapers, and ventrals are present ; there are two parietals.

*Lycodontidæ*, Nos. 15 and 16.—As in ordinary snakes, the body is flexible throughout, which, with the exception of the python, is not the case in the previous families. Ventral shields are developed, there is a mental groove, and no rudiments of hind limbs ; but they have a fang-like tooth in front of the maxillary, and there is no elongate posterior tooth. No. 16, *L. carinatus*, seems to me to belong to quite a distinct genus to No. 15, *L. aulicus*. As the table shows it is a very peculiar form. Dr. Gunther placed it in the genus *Cercaspis*.

*Colubridæ*, Nos. 17, 18, 19, 24 to 26, 29 to 33.—Ordinary snakes, with no fang-like teeth in front or middle of upper jaw. The dentition of No. 19, *A. calamaria*, is very peculiar, and may possibly make it necessary to found another family for it ; but I do not know to what extent this dentition extends amongst snakes. No. 33, *H. schistosus*, has a single internasal, but it is so obviously and closely related to Nos. 30 and 31, *T. stolatus* and *T. asperrimus*, that it cannot be separated from them. It is a link between the *Colubridæ* and the *Homalopsidæ*.

*Oligodontidæ*, Nos. 20 to 23.—Small colubrids, rather rigid, in which the rostral is very large and produced backwards. A perfectly natural family, and easily recognisable.

*Dendrophidæ*, Nos. 27 and 28.—Very slender, long-headed

snakes, with round pupils and no fang-like teeth. Tree-snakes. No. 17 is a transitional form between this family and the *Colubridæ.*

*Acrochordidæ*, No. 34.—Wart-snakes, instantly recognisable. Forms so peculiar that they may be placed almost anywhere. Most nearly allied perhaps to the sea-snakes. Boulenger's *Acrochordinæ.*

*Dipsadidæ*, Nos. 35 and 36.—Very elongate, compressed snakes, with short triangular heads. They are tree-snakes, generally with viperine heads, and are probably more or less poisonous.

*Dryophidæ*, Nos. 37 and 38.—The well-known whip-snakes; body excessively slender, with long heads and tapering snouts; pupil horizontal.

*Chrysopelidæ*, No. 39.—For *C. ornata*, placed by Gunther with *Dendrophis*, to which it is most closely allied, see section "Teeth." This is a case of imitative resemblance, in which one of the *Ophisthoglypha* series imitates one of the *Aglypha.*

*Homalopsidæ*, Nos. 40 and 41.—The same as Dr. Boulenger's *Homalopsinæ.* They have their nostrils on the top of the snout.

*Elapidæ*, Nos. 42 to 45.—The same as Dr. Boulenger's *Elapinæ.* Includes the cobra and its allies. The loreal shield is always absent; the venom fang is grooved along its front.

*Hydrophidæ*, Nos. 46 to 56.—Sea-snakes with oar-shaped tails. It is curious that not one of the three common and widely spread species of *Platurus* included in this family has yet been recorded from Ceylon. They are not true sea-snakes, but simply cobras modified for an aquatic life, and are found sometimes a long way from the water.

The *Viperidæ* and their sub-divisions agree with Dr. Gunther's classification:—

*a* Snakes with a long perforated erectile fang on the maxillary, which is extremely short; without other teeth.
*a*¹ Loreal region flat, without pit. *Viperidæ.*
*a*² Loreal region with a pit between eye and nostril. *Crotalidæ.*

## On Snakes recorded from Ceylon either not included in this Paper or in Dr. Boulenger's Work.

There is no specimen of *Rhinophis punctatus* (Boulenger, No. 293) in the Colombo Museum, nor can I find one of No. 298, *Silybura melanogaster*. No. 393, *Oligodon ellioti*, was accidentally given as Ceylon. The only specimen known in the British Museum is from Madras.

No. 419, *Dendrophis bifrenalis*, is not represented in the Colombo Museum collection. I maintain that *Dendrophis gregorii* (Haly, Taprobanian, vol. III., p. 51, 1888) is a perfectly good species. It is however now too late to insert it in the table. No. 445, *Dipsas barnesii*, is wanting in the Museum collection. No. 471, *Gerardia prevostiana*, is an undoubted Ceylon snake, a specimen having been capturéd by Mr. H. F. Fernando in the Kelani. No. 474, *Callophis trimaculatus*, has been found at Hambantota and Trincomalee. Any of the sea-snakes mentioned in Dr. Boulenger's work may be found off Ceylon. I have only described Museum specimens. No. 522, *Echis carinata*, has as yet only been obtained from Mullaittívu.

The old *Tropidonotus quincunciatus* of Schlegel and Gunther, the *T. piscator* of Dr. Boulenger, No. 435, has since been re-described in the "Annals and Magazine of Natural History"* as "*T. asperrimus*, Boulenger, Ceylon." I cannot accept this separation of our Ceylon specimens as forming a distinct species. I do not see that the characters given by Dr. Boulenger make at the most more than an Island variety, if even that. There is a very fine specimen in the Museum with the quincuncial spots as in Indian specimens. I therefore advise the student to alter No. 31, *T. asperrimus*, to—"*T. piscator*, Boie. India, Ceylon, Burma, S. China to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago."

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* Annals and Magazine of Nat. Hist., March, 1891, p. 281.

## FORM.

**A** = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Body of moderate length, more or less cylindrical; belly flat, more or less rounded; head rarely very distinct from neck, with a flat crown, and more or less depressed muzzle; tail cylindrical, tapering to a point.

1.—Head elongate, distinct from neck; snout obtuse, slightly projecting. 24 Z. mucosus.

2.—As in $a^1$; snout curved and prominent. 25 Z. fasciolatus.

3.—As in $a^1$; snout not projecting. 26 C. helena; 29 T. ceylonensis; 30 T. stolatus; 31 T. asperrimus.

4.—Head very distinct from neck; body stout, viperine aspect. 32 T. plumbicolor.

5.—Head slightly distinct from neck; body rather stout. 33 H. schistosus.

6.—Head short, not distinct from neck; tail very short. 20 S. arnenis; 21 O. templetonii; 22 O. sublineatus; 43 B. ceylonicus; 44 B. cæruleus.

7.—As in $a^6$, but tail longer. 23 O. subgriseus.

8.—Head short, scarcely distinct from neck; tail moderate. 18 P. subpunctatus; 19 A. calamaria; 41 G. prevostiana.

9.—Head scarcely distinct from neck; snout much depressed, with swollen lips, spatulate in the adult. 15 L. aulicus.

10.—Head long and broad, very distinct; snout long; tail very short, prehensile. 3 P. molurus.

**B** = 45 NAIA TRIPUDIANS.

As in *a*, but the neck is extensible, forming a hood when spread out.

**C** = 10 ASPIDURA BRACHYHORROS.

Body cylindrical; head not distinct from neck, subconical; snout pointed.

1.—Body stout; tail rather short. 10 to 13, Aspidura, all species.

2.—Body slender. 14 H. ceylonensis.

**D** = 40 Cerberus rhyncops.

Head with elevated crown; snout high; body stout; tail rather compressed at root.

**E** = 27 Dendrophis pictus.

Body elongate, somewhat compressed; head elongate, distinct; belly keeled; tail long.

1.—Body very elongate and slender. 27 D. pictus; 28 D. caudolineatus.

2.—As in $e^1$, but the snout is depressed, truncated. 39 C. ornata.

3.—As in $e^1$, but the body is moderately elongate. 17 H. nympha.

**F** = 37 Dryophis mycterizans.

Body and tail exceedingly elongate; body compressed; head long, very distinct from neck; snout produced into an elongate flexible appendage; sides of muzzle deeply grooved. 37 D. mycterizans; 38 D. pulverulentus.

**G** = 35 Dipsas ceylonensis.

Body and tail exceedingly elongate; body compressed; head very distinct, with a short blunt snout. 35 D. ceylonensis; 36 D. forstenii.

**H** = 57 Vipera russellii.

Body robust; head very distinct from neck; snout triangular.

1.—Snout obtuse; tail short. 57 V. russellii.

2.—As in $h^1$, but snout slightly turned up, with a sharp canthus rostralis. 59 A. hypnale.

3.—Snout very short; tail moderate, prehensile. 60 T. trigonocephalus.

J = 58 ECHIS CARINATA.

Body robust; head scarcely distinct from neck, thick and high, with a very short snout; tail short. 58 E. carinata.

K = 16 LYCODON CARINATUS.

Body much compressed posteriorly; belly keeled; head with short and blunt snout; tail compressed. 15 L. aulicus.

L = 34 CHERSYDRUS GRANULATUS.

Body much compressed; belly compressed to a central keel; head scarcely distinct, with high square snout; tail strongly compressed, tapering to a point. 34 C. granulatus.

M = 47 HYDRUS PLATURUS.

Tail strongly compressed; oar-shaped.

1.—Body short. 47 H. platurus.

2.—Body short and stout. 46 E. curtus.

3.—Head moderate; body stout. 52 D. stokesii.

4.—Head rather small; body moderately elongate. 48 H. spiralis.

5.—Head short with a declivous pointed snout; body moderately elongate. 53 D. jerdonii.

6.—Head moderate; body moderately elongate. 54 D. robusta; 56 D. ornata.

7.—Head moderate; body elongate. 55 D. cyanocincta.

8.—Head very small; body long, with an extremely slender neck. 49 H. fasciatus; 50 H. gracilis; 51 H. cantoris.

N = 42 CALLOPHIS TRIMACULATUS.

Body worm-like, being cylindrical, of nearly equal thickness throughout; very slender; tail not distinct, ending in a blunt point.

**O** = 4 Cylindrophis maculatus.

As in *n*, but the body is stout. 4 C. maculatus.

**P** = 1 Typhlops braminus.

As in *n*, but the head is quite undistinguishable from the body; the snout is slightly depressed and rounded.

1.—Snout moderate, projecting; diameter of the body 35 to 55 times in the total length. 1 T. braminus.

2.—As in $p^1$; diameter of body 43 to 60 times in the total length. 2 T. mirus.

**Q** = 6 Rhinophis oxyrhyncus.

Body cylindrical; head conical; snout pointed; tail not distinct, more or less truncated.

1.—Snout acutely pointed; diameter of body 37 to 39 times in the total length. 6 R. oxyrhyncus.

2.—As in $q^1$; diameter 24 to 34. 7 R. planiceps.

3.—As in $q^1$; diameter 26 to 30. 8 R. trevelyanus.

4.—As in $q^1$; diameter 22 to 32. 9 R. blythii.

5.—Tail obliquely truncated as if cut with a knife; snout acutely pointed; diameter 20 5 U. grandis.

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## VENTRALS.

**A** = 24 Zamenis mucosus.

Ventrals well developed, smooth, or slightly keeled; sub-caudals two-rowed; anal bifid.

1.—Ventrals broad, smooth. 15, 18 to 25, 29 to 33, 37 to 42.

**B** = 45 Naia tripudians.

As in *a*; anal entire.

1.—Ventrals broad, smooth. 26, 35, 36, 45, 57, 59.

2.—Ventrals very narrow. 3.

3.—Ventral preceding anal deeply notched. 60.

**C** = 27 Dendrophis pictus.

As in *a*; ventral keeled. 17, 27, 28, 39.

D = 43 BUNGARUS CEYLONICUS.

As in *a*; sub-caudals simple; anal entire. 10 to 14, 43, 44, 58.

E = 16 LYCODON CARINATUS.

Ventrals keeled; sub-caudals simple; anal entire. 16.

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## SCALES.

A = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Scales confined to the back and sides, imbricate, polished smooth, or but partially or feebly keeled.

1.—Scales moderate, with apical pits, feebly keeled in the posterior part of the back. 24.

2.—With apical pits. 17, 25, 39.

3.—Feebly keeled on the posterior part of the body and tail. 26.

4.—Smooth. 10 to 13, 15, 18 to 23, 41, 42, 45, 60 (or feebly keeled).

5.—Smooth, very small. 3.

B = 31 TROPIDONOTUS ASPERRIMUS.

As in *a*, but the scales are distinctly keeled.

1.—No serrated keels. 14, 16, 29 to 33, 40, 57, 59.

2.—Keels on lateral scales serrated. 58.

C = 43 BUNGARUS CEYLONICUS.

As in *a*, but with a larger series of polygonal vertebral scales. 43, 44.

D = 37 DRYOPHIS MYCTERIZANS.

Scales very imbricate, quadrilateral (rhombic on the anterior part of the body). 37, 38.

E = 35 DIPSAS CEYLONENSIS.

As in *d*, but with a larger series of polygonal vertebral scales. 27, 28, 35 to 39.

**F** = 4 Cylindrophis maculatus.

Scales surrounding the whole body (*i.e.*, there are no true ventrals), smooth, highly polished, slightly imbricate.

1.—A series of ventral scales slightly larger than the adjoining ones. 4.

2.—No large ventral series. 1, 2.

**G** = 6 Rhinophis oxyrhyncus.

As in *f*, but there is a rough naked disc on the end of the tail.

1.—Caudal shield as long as the shielded part of the head, extending to lower surface of tail; obtusely rounded caudal scales, smooth. 6, 7, 8.

2.—Caudal shield less than half the size of the head; asperous, scarcely ridged in the centre; faint traces of keels on some of the final caudal scales, and sometimes on terminal upper. 9.

3.—Caudal shield forms a large flat rough disc; very faint traces of keels on terminal sub-caudal scales. 5.

**H** = 47 Hydrus platurus.*

Scales unpolished, surrounding the whole body; the ventral series as a rule distinguished in some way from the rest; never strongly imbricate and frequently tessellated.

1.—All the scales more or less hexagonal, tessellated; smooth in the females and young, with one to three tubercles in the male; no larger ventral series. 47 H. platurus.

2.—As in $h^1$. Scales feebly tubercled or keeled; those on the lower surface in the male with a strong spinose tubercle; ventrals larger anteriorly, with two spinose tubercles in the male. 46 E. curtus.

3.—All the scales imbricate, smooth in the young, with a central tubercle in the adult; ventral series feebly enlarged. 48 H. spiralis.

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* The scales of sea snakes are counted round the neck: they are more numerous round the middle of the body.

4.—As in $h^3$. Scales of neck smooth, those on the body with a tubercle or short keel. 49 H. fasciatus.

5.—Scales imbricate anteriorly, elsewhere hexagonal, tessellated, each with two or more tubercles; feeble in the female; ventrals hardly enlarged. 50 H. gracilis: 51 H. cantoris.

6.—All the scales imbricate, keeled, or tubercled; ventrals enlarged anteriorly, further back in pairs. 52 D. stokesii.

7.—Scales slightly imbricate, strongly keeled; ventrals feebly enlarged; bituberculate. 53 D. jerdonii.

8.—Much as in $h^7$, but the scales may be smooth or have a tubercle or short keel. 54 D. robusta.

9.—Much as in $h^7$; the keel may be broken up into tubercles, and the ventrals may be smooth. 55 D. cyanocincta.

10.—Much as in $h^5$; scales in the young smooth, in the adult with a tubercle or keel. 56 D. ornata.

J = 34 CHERSYDRUS GRANULATUS.

Scales very small; rough, round warts, each with a small tubercle Those occupying the medium ventral fold have a very short keel ending in a minute point. 34.

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## HEAD SHIELDS.

A = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Head entirely shielded above; rostral not produced or enlarged; a pair of internasals and præ-frontals; the internasals never much reduced in size; anterior frontals neither in contact with the labials nor forming part of the labial margin, which is formed by many shields; nasals small, lateral; a mental groove; chin shields symmetrically arranged.

1.—Two nasals; two or three loreals (three generally); all the upper labials reach labial margin; supra-ocular projecting. 24 Z. mucosus.

2.—Two nasals; one loreal, which is never much longer than broad; all the upper labials reach labial margin. 16 L. carinatus; 25 Z. fasciolatus; 26 C. helena; 29 T. ceylonensis; 30 T. stolatus; 31 T. asperrimus.

3.—As in $a^2$, but the loreal is liable to become fused with the lower præ-ocular. 32 T. plumbicolor.

4.—As in $a^2$, but the loreal is elongate. 27 D. pictus; 28 D. caudolineatus; 39 C. ornata.

5.—As in $a^2$; nasal subdivided; loreal fused with lower præ-ocular. 17 H. nympha.

6.—As in $a^2$; a single nasal fused with the loreal. 19 A. calamaria.

7.—As in $a^2$; seventh and ninth upper labials exclude the eighth from the labial margin; the eighth looks like a temporal. 18 P. subpunctatus.

8.—As in $a^2$; the posterior nasal more or less deeply concave. 35 D. ceylonensis; 36 D. forstenii.

9.—As in $a^2$; loreal very large, twice as broad as long, received into a notch between the internasal and anterior frontals. 15 L. aulicus.

10.—As in $a^2$, but the loreal is entirely wanting. 42 C. trimaculatus; 43 B. ceylonicus; 44 B. cæruleus; 45 N. tripudians.

**B** = 20 Simotes arnensis.

As in $a$, but the rostral is large and produced backwards, reducing the internasals to narrow transverse shields.

1.—All the labials reach labial margin; two nasals; the loreal liable to be fused with præ-frontal. 20 S. arnensis.

2.—As in $b^1$; loreal sometimes absent. 22 O. sublineatus.

3.—As in $b^1$; loreal present. 23 O. subgriseus.

4.—As in $b^1$; loreal longer than deep, entering the eye (fused with lower præ-ocular ?); fifth and seventh labials excluding sixth from labial margin. 21 O. templetonii.

**C** = 33 HELICOPS SCHISTOSUS.

As in *a*, but only a small single internasal.

1.—Frontal of the usual form. 33 H. schistosus.

2.—Frontal elongate, with concave sides. 41 G. prevostiana.

**D** = 10 ASPIDURA BRACHYHORROS.

A single internasal ; anterior frontals in contact with the labials ; nasals placed on front margin of snout.

1.—Two nasals, no loreal ; præ-frontals separated from the eye by a præ-ocular. 10 A. brachyhorros ; 14 H. ceylonensis.

2.—As in $d^1$ ; no præ-ocular ; præ-frontal enters the eye. 11 A. copii.

3.—As in $d^1$ ; præ-ocular very small ; præ-frontal enters the eye. 12 A. guentheri ; 13 A. trachyprocta.

**E** = 37 DRYOPHIS MYCTERIZANS.

As in *a* ; rostral produced into a flexible nasal appendage ; anterior frontals in contact with the labials. 37 D. mycterizans ; 38 D. pulverulentus.

**F** = 47 HYDRUS PLATURUS.

A pair of very large contiguous nasals cover the snout ; no internasals.

1.—Chin shields absent, or merely larger scales ; temporals small, numerous. 47 H. platurus.

2.—Chin shields indistinct or very small ; two or three superimposed temporals ; parietals broken up into small shields generally, although sometimes only divided in two (in one specimen parietal on one side is only notched). 46 E. curtus.

3.—A single anterior temporal ; frontal as long as its distance from rostral ; two pairs of subequal chin shields in contact. 48 H. spiralis ; 49 H. fasciatus.

4.—As in $f^1$ ; frontal very small, hardly as long as distance from rostral. 50 H. gracilis ; 51 H. cantoris.

5.—Two superimposed anterior temporals ; frontal as long as its distance from the rostral ; no chin shields ; rostral as deep as broad. 52 D. stokesii.

6.—A single large anterior temporal descending to the labial margin ; frontal nearly as long as its distance from the end of snout ; chin shields, two pairs in contact. 53 D. jerdonii.

7.—As in $f^6$ ; rostral broader than deep. 54 D. robusta.

8.—As in $f^7$ ; two superimposed anterior temporals. 55 D. cyanocincta.

9.—As in $f^7$ ; two or three superimposed anterior temporals ; posterior chin shields, if distinct, separated by scales. 56 D. ornata.

**G** = 4 CYLINDROPHIS MACULATUS.

A pair of very large contiguous nasals cover the snout, succeeded by a pair of anterior frontals, which are in contact with the labials and form anterior margin of orbit. 4 C. maculatus.

**H** = 6 RHINOPHIS OXYRHYNCUS.

Head shields scale-like or slightly imbricate ; rostral very large, produced backwards ; a pair of anterior frontals ; a single ocular shield ; no mental groove or chin shields.

1.—Rostral strongly keeled, half as long as shielded part of the head. 6 R. oxyrhyncus.

2.—Rostral obtusely keeled, not half as long as shielded part of the head. 7 R. planiceps ; 8 R. trevylanus ; 9 R. blythii.

3.—Rostral convex. 5 U. grandis.

**J** = 40 CERBERUS RHYNCOPS.

Occiput scaly ; internasals small ; nasals anterior, superior, contiguous ; lower margin of orbit formed by an infra-ocular shield. 40 C. rhyncops.

**K** = 3 PYTHON MOLURUS.

Occiput scaly; snout with irregular shields; rostral and some of the labials deeply pitted; no chin shields. 3 P. molurus.

**L** = 59 ANCISTRODON HYPNALE.

Large frontal and parietal shields, but the snout is scaly. 59 A. hypnale.

**M** = 57 VIPERA RUSSELLII.

Head almost entirely scaly.

1.—A narrow supraciliary shield; three nasals. 57 V. russellii.

2.—A pair of very small frontals; nasal subdivided. 58 E. carinata.

3.—Two front scales on snout large; nasal single. 60 T. trigonocephalus.

**N** = 1 TYPHLOPS BRAMINUS.

A large rostral projecting backwards, flanked by large nasals, covers the snout; there is a præ-ocular shield and an ocular and a few labials; the other shields are scarcely larger than the scales.

1.—No sub-ocular; ocular in contact with third or fourth labials; nasal completely divided; anterior nasal in contact with præ-ocular. 1 T. braminus.

2.—A sub-ocular separating ocular from third labial; nasal completely divided; ocular in contact with fourth labial. 2 T. mirus.

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## EYES.

**A** = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Pupil round.

1.—Large. 24, 25, 27, 28.

2.—Rather large. 29, 39.

3.—Moderate. 26, 30, 32, 33.

4.—Rather small. 18 to 23, 31, 42 to 56.

5.—Small. 10 to 14.

6.—Very small. 5 to 9.

7.—Small, placed towards the upper surface of the head. 4.

**B** = 35 DIPSAS CEYLONENSIS.

Pupil vertically elliptical.

1.—Large. 35, 36.

2.—Moderate. 15 to 17.

3.—Small. 40, 41.

4.—Very small. 34.

**C** = 3 PYTHON MOLURUS.

Pupil vertical.

1.—Small. 3.

2.—Moderate. 57 to 60.

**D** = 37 DRYOPHIS MYCTERIZANS.

Pupil horizontal ; eye rather large. 37, 38.

**E** = 1 TYPHLOPS BRAMINUS.

Rudimentary ; under the shield.

1.—Visible. 1.

2.—Visible. 2.

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## NOSTRILS.

**A** = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Simple.

1.—Lateral. 1, 5 to 32, 35 to 39, 41 to 45, 58.

2.—Latero-frontal. 1, 2.

3.—Directed upwards. 4, 33.

4.—On upper surface of snout. 3, 40.

5.—As in $a^1$, but very large, 57.

6.—As in $a^1$, but there is a deep pit between the nostril and the eye. 59, 60.

**B** = 47 HYDRUS PLATURUS.

Nostrils provided with a valve placed on the upper surface of the snout. 46 to 56.

**C** = 34 CHERSYDRUS GRANULATUS.

Nostrils placed close together high on the snout, opening forward; provided with a valve.

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## MOUTH.

**A** = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Terminal; cleft in accordance with length of head; jaws very dilatable; labial margins simple. 3 to 33, 35 to 45, 57 to 60.

**B** = 47 HYDRUS PLATURUS.

As in *a*; labial margin with a lobule in the middle of the rostral shield, and with a notch each side, through which the forks of the tongue can be protruded. 46 to 56.

**C** = 34 CHERSYDRUS GRANULATUS.

As in *a*; labial margin with a lobule in thecentre of lower lip, fitting into a notch in the rostral. 34.

**D** = 1 TYPHLOPS BRAMINUS.

Mouth inferior, very short and narrow; jaws scarcely dilatable. 1, 2.

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## TEETH.

**A** = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

All the teeth solid, none grooved, placed on the maxillaries, palate, and mandibles; conical, sharp, recurved.

1.—Maxillary teeth increasing in size posteriorly; the last not so long as some of the preceding. 24 Z. mucosus; 25 Z. fasciolatus; 29 T. ceylonensis; 33 H. schistosus.

2.—Maxillary teeth sub-equal. 19 A. calamaria ; 26 C. helena ; 34 C. granulatus.

3.—As in $a^2$ ; anterior mandibulary teeth longest. 27 D. pictus ; 28 D. caudolineatus.

4.—Maxillary teeth equal ; anterior mandibulary teeth a little the longest. 10 to 14, A. brachyhorros.

5.—As in $a^1$ ; anterior mandibulary teeth a little the longest. 17 H. nympha.

**B** = 30 Tropidonotus stolatus.

As in *a*, but the last maxillary tooth forms a distinct fang.

1.—Maxillary teeth gradually increasing in length posteriorly ; fang moderate, separate from the preceding teeth by a distinct interval and enclosed in a separate membranaceous pouch ; mandibulary and palatine teeth all of about equal size. 30 T. stolatus ; 31 T. asperrimus.

2.—As in $b^1$ ; fang very large, separated from the preceding teeth by a wide interval. 32 T. plumbicolor.

**C** = 3 Python molurus.

As in *a*, but there are also teeth on the inter-maxillaries.

**D** = 15 Lycodon aulicus.

As in *a*, but the anterior maxillary teeth are enlarged and fang-like, followed by a toothless space ; anterior mandibulary teeth enlarged. 15 L. aulicus ; 16 L. carinatus.

**E** = 20 Simotes arnensis.

As in *a*, but the teeth in the jaws few, the hinder maxillary fang-like.

1.—Teeth on the pterygoids. 20 S. arnensis.

2.—No teeth on the pterygoids. 21 to 23, Oligodon, all species.

**F** = 18 Polyodontophis subpunctatus.

As in *a*, but the form of the teeth is very peculiar :

they are very small, numerous, of equal size, cylindrical at the base, but transversely compressed towards the tip, which forms a recurved cutting edge.

G = 6 RHINOPHIS OXYRHYNCUS.

As in *a*, but the teeth are few, and none are fang-like.

1. —No palatine teeth. 5 to 9, Uropeltidæ.
2. —Palatine teeth. 4 C. maculatus.

H = 1 TYPHLOPS BRAMINUS.

A few feeble teeth in the maxillaries only. 1, 2.

J = 39 CHRYSOPELEA ORNATA.

As in *a*, but the posterior maxillary teeth are grooved.

1. —Maxillaries sub-equal, the last three longest and grooved; anterior mandibulary tooth longest. 35 D. ceylonensis; 36 D. forstenii; 39 C. ornata.
2. —As in $j^1$; the last two maxillaries grooved. 40 C. rhyncops; 41 G. prevostiana.

K = 37 DRYOPHIS MYCTERIZANS.

As in *j*, but one or two of the central maxillary teeth are much enlarged, forming fangs, and followed by an interspace; the posterior grooved; the third and fourth mandibulary teeth largest, fang-like. 37 D. mycterizans; 38 D. pulverulentus.

L = 45 NAIA TRIPUDIANS.

Maxillary teeth few, the first grooved in front forming a fang in connection with a poison gland, the poison canal terminating in a short slit.

1. —Fang followed by one to three small solid teeth. 43 B. ceylonicus; 44 B. cæruleus; 45 N. tripudians.
2. No tooth behind fang. 42 C. trimaculatus.

M = 46 ENHYDRIS CURTUS.

Maxillary with a pair of large grooved fangs, followed after a considerable interval by small solid teeth.

1.—Solid maxillary teeth, two to five. 46 E. curtus.

2.—Solid maxillary teeth, seven to eight. 47 H. platurus.

3.—Solid maxillary teeth, seven to eighteen. 48 to 51, Hydrophis, all species.

**N** = 52 Distira stokesii.

As in *m*, but solid maxillary teeth, four to ten in number, are grooved anteriorly. 52 to 56, Distira, all species.

**O** = 57 Vipera russellii.

The anterior maxillary tooth forms a powerful caniculated but ungrooved poison fang terminating in a slit; the maxillary is a short rounded bone, and being movable, the fang is carried lying back on the roof of the mouth, being erected when the viper strikes. The anterior mandibulary teeth are large; the pterygoids small, equal. 57 to 60, Viperidæ.

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## COLOUR.

### *Section* A.

Belly white or yellowish, immaculate. (Sometimes 30 T. stolatus has no spots on belly, and would then belong to this section.)

3 Python molurus.

Light gray with a golden sheen. Deep brown, lance-shaped spots on head and nape, streak from nostrils through eye to mouth, confluent with band along lower jaw, sub-triangular spot below eye, a vertebral series of large triangular spots with oblong spots either side, a lateral series of rather irregular spots with light centres.

10 Aspidura brachyhorros.

Yellowish olive. Darker, four longitudinal streaks. Brown, freckles on tail. Black, an oblique band on each side of the neck, a vertebral series of dots.

### 14 HAPLOCERCUS CEYLONENSIS.

Light brown or blackish, at times dull red. Black, a vertebral line, a lateral series of small black spots, edge of nuchal band. Yellowish, an oblique nuchal band.

### 15 LYCODON AULICUS.

Brownish gray.

### 15 and 17 LYCODON AULICUS AND HYDROPHOBUS NYMPHA.

Rounded broad brown bands alternate with narrow white ones on the anterior part of the body. In some specimens of 15, and in all of 17, they are reticulated with brown.

### 19 ABLABES CALAMARIA.

Brownish gray. Black, edges of scales each side of back, forming small irregular spots, more or less confluent posteriorly. Brown, two minute streaks at base of each scale.

### 23 OLIGODON SUBGRISEUS.

Light brown. Black, edges of head bands and numerous irregular cross-streaks formed by the edges of some of the scales. Brown, præ-ocular, occipital, and nuchal bands. White, a vertebral and two lateral lines.

### 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Belly at times brilliant yellow. Light brownish olive, darker on margins of scales. Black, margins of scales posteriorly, forming reticulations. Blackish, margins of head shields.

### 25 ZAMENIS FASCIOLATUS.

Brownish olive. Mixed black, brown, and white, cross bars on anterior half of body.

### 26 Coluber helena.

Reddish olive. Black, numerous reticulated transverse bands, enclosing ocelli; two parallel longitudinal bands above an oblique band each side of neck, a line along occipital suture, an oblique band from eye along edge of ninth labial. Brown, a broad lateral posterior band running to tip of tail. White or yellow, a double row of lateral ocelli.

### 27 Dendrophis pictus.

Bronze. Black, a band commencing behind eye and forming an edge to lateral band, sometimes an edge below. Yellow, broad lateral bands and a vertebral line anteriorly.

### 28 Dendrophis caudolineatus.

Belly pale yellow. Bronze. Black, two bands from a little behind head to root of tail, four narrow lines from posterior half of back to root of tail, a vertebral and abdominal band on tail.

### 29 Tropidonotus ceylonensis.

Belly becomes grayish posteriorly. Brownish olive. Black edges of ocelli dilated into cross bands, band from eye along neck. White or yellow, a single row of large lateral ocelli.

### 32 Tropidonotus plumbicolor (adult).

Belly dirty white. Dirty green. Black, blotches here and there, the remains of markings in the young.

### 33 Helicops schistosus.

Blackish olive as far as the lower labials and one or two lower rows of scales, which are the same as belly.

### 44 Bungarus cæruleus.

*a.*—Blackish.

*b.*—Blackish. White, dorsal streaks in pairs.

*c.*—Blackish. White, a vertebral series of spots from which narrow transverse streaks proceed.

## *Section* **B.**

Belly white or yellow, with a greater or lesser number of black spots laterally.

### 18 Polyodontophis subpunctatus.

Each ventral with a pair of black dots. Reddish olive above, pearly gray laterally, the two tints separated by a distinct punctated line. Black, a series of vertebral dots and edges of collar. Brown, upper parts of head. Yellow, a broad collar and edges of vertebral dots.

### 30 Tropidonotus stolatus.

Anterior ventrals with a pair of dots (sometimes wanting, see *Section* **A**). Black, numerous reticulated crossbars, edges of head shields, anterior margins of sub-oculars, sutures of fifth, sixth, and seventh upper labials. White or yellow, two bright longitudinal lines and lateral ocelli, præ-oculars, and post-oculars.

### 39 Chrysopelea ornata.

*a.*—Belly bright yellow, each ventral with a pair of lateral black dots. Bright yellow. Black, broad bands on the head, short dorsal transverse bands and lateral reticulations. Crimson, a series of vertebral rosettes (adult).

*b.*—Pearly gray. Black, numerous narrow bands reticulated with yellow (half-grown).

*c.*—Pearly gray, alternate bands of black and yellow (young).

## *Section* **C.**

Each scale on belly with a black central spot (no ventrals).

### 8 Rhinophis trevelyanus.

Blackish brown. Yellow, a series of triangular spots along each side of the body.

## *Section* **D.**

Belly strongly marked with square black spots.

### 21 Oligodon templetonii.

Brown. Blackish brown, a blotch on each side of neck, indistinct ocular bands, eighteen narrow short transverse bands. Light brown, a vertebral band.

### *Section* E.

Belly with three punctated streaks, tail with two.

#### 22 Oligodon sublineatus.

Brownish olive. Brown, spots below eye, nuchal blotches, numerous pairs of slightly alternating, transverse, light-edged spots on back.

### *Section* F.

Belly with blackish anterior margins to ventrals.

#### 31 Tropidonotus asperrimus.

The most variable snake in Ceylon, but has almost always two oblique streaks behind eye; when these are absent the beginner will probably be puzzled to identify his specimens.

*a.*—Grayish or brownish olive. Black, square spots arranged quincuncially in 3, 5, 6, or 7 series; two oblique streaks behind eye. Scarlet, a lateral series of spots during life only.

*b.*—The spots are dissolved into a network of black lines intermixed with white dots.

*c.*—Broad rhombic or brownish bands with darker edges.

*d.*—Almost uniform; a few scales have a black or white dot at the base.

### *Section* G.

Belly white or yellow, more or less marked with brown.

#### 57 Vipera russellii.

Belly yellow, more or less marked with brown semi-circular spots on hind margins of ventrals. Grayish brown. Black, three longitudinal series of rings: the middle ovate, the outer circular, edge of ocular spots. Brown, margins of rostrals, lateral shields, præ-ocular spots. Yellow, a line on each side of upper surface of head, two convergent lines on snout, rostral, and labial shields.

#### 58 Echis carinata.

Belly whitish, with more or less numerous round brown specks. Brown or brownish gray. Blackish brown, edges of dorsal spots. Brown, a pair of oblong spots each side of head, converging anteriorly; præ-ocular spot; post-ocular

streak; spots on dorsal bands. White, a series of ovate dorsal spots, and a wavy band each side of them.

### *Section* H.

Belly white, marbled with black.

11 ASPIDURA COPII.

Brownish, stippled with black. Black, a series of paired lateral spots, transverse spot behind angle of mouth, margin of each labial. Reddish, anterior and posterior margins of spots.

13 ASPIDURA TRACHYPROCTA.*

Brown. Darker brown, four or five series of spots or lines, which may be entirely absent; a band along each side of tail.

40 CERBERUS RHYNCOPS.

Belly with numerous confluent black blotches. Blackish. Ash, darker cross bars. Yellowish, two or three outer series of scales forming bands.

### *Section* J.

Belly with black bands anteriorly, becoming darker posteriorly.

45 NAIA TRIPUDIANS.

Very variable; black, brown, or dirty white. The spectacle marks on hood appear always to be present in Ceylon specimens.

### *Section* K.

Belly of a dark tint different from the rest of the body.

12 ASPIDURA GUENTHERI.

Belly slate colour. Shining metallic olive brown. Darker, three rows of indistinct spots. White, some irregular spots, spots behind eye, sometimes a collar.

32 TROPIDONOTUS PLUMBICOLOR (young). For adult see *Section* A.

Belly dusky. Pearly gray. Black, transverse bands. White, a collar.

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* Some varieties almost uniform blackish, the marbling on the belly covering the whole surface. Very like 12, section K.

41 Gerardia prevostiana.

Belly pale muddy. Olive, each ventral with a darker edge; back darker, the two tints divided by a pale lateral band 2½ scales broad.

*Section* **L.**

Belly white, back brown, the whole body encircled with a deep black network.

4 Cylindrophis maculatus.

As in section.

*Section* **M.**

Dull coloured above and below, more or less uniform.

1 Typhlops braminus.

Brownish, belly paler, upper shields of head with a faint crenulated paler margin.

2 Typhlops mirus.

As in No. 1; snout yellow.

5 Uropeltis grandis.

Brown; margins of lateral and ventral scales lighter. (With or without yellow spots; yellow beneath with or without dark brown spots.—Boulenger's "Fauna of British India," p. 254.)

6 Rhinophis oxyrhyncus.

Uniform brownish, each scale with a lighter margin. White, anal shield.

7 Rhinophis planiceps.

As in No. 6; sometimes a yellowish blotch near head or vent.

9 Rhinophis blythii.

Dark brown; sides with vertical yellow spots or festooned zigzag band along the anterior half of the body; a yellow ring round base of tail.

### *Section* **N.**

Stippled above and below with various dull shades.

38 DRYOPHIS PULVERULENTUS.

Belly pinkish, with three brown bands stippled with black. Brown, upper head shields and rostral band running through eye. Yellowish, broad edges of the head shields (skin between scales on anterior part of body black and white, so that when the snake expands that portion transverse bars appear).

35 DIPSAS CEYLONENSIS.

Belly yellowish. Brownish olive. Whole body much stippled with gray and black; markings exceedingly variable; generally there are black blotches on occiput and a streak from the eye to angle of mouth. Brown, a series of vertebral spots.

36 DIPSAS FORSTENII.

As in 35. Black bases of some of the scales uniting to form irregular transverse bands, which are frequently broken up to form lateral spots; bands along occiput and neck; short band each side of neck; broad band from eye to angle of mouth. (Extraordinarily variable; one specimen in the Museum has no markings, being uniform gray with a reddish tinge.)

39 ANCISTRODON HYPNALE.

Very variable, ranging from flesh colour to black; generally stippled, spotted, or blotched with various shades. The most constant markings are a dark temporal line, a series of spots, and a pair of whitish spots each side of throat.

### *Section* **O.**

Body with black and white rings.

16 and 43 LYCODON CARINATUS AND BUNGARUS CEYLONICUS.

Black bands, fainter on the belly; in some specimens the white rings are mere streaks on the back widening downwards. In the young of Bungarus ceylonicus there is a white collar, and in the very young the belly is white and the collar interrupted by a black longitudinal line.

### *Section* P.

Blackish.

34 Chersydrus granulatus (adult).

As in section.

### *Section* Q.

Black and white bands, the black pointed downwards, forming a backgammon board pattern.

34 Chersydrus granulatus (young).

As in section.

### *Section* R.

Yellow, or whitish, or greenish, more or less banded or encircled with black, or half black and yellow, or pure yellow.

46 Enhydris curtus.

Yellow. Black, transverse bands on back (in some old specimens rather indistinct) and end of tail.

47 Hydrus platurus.

*a.*—Yellow. Black, head and back, spots on tail. Brown, sides and belly. Yellow, band between the two colours.

*b.*—As in variety *a*, but black band below the yellow one.

*c.*—The black of the back becomes sinuous posteriorly and finally broken up into more or less confluent spots. Brown, irregular spots. Yellow, sides and belly.

*d.*—Yellow. Black, edges of bands, variegations on head. Brown, about fifty narrow bands extending nearly to belly, and streaks crossing belly alternating with band.

*e.*—Uniform pale primrose yellow.

48 Hydrophis spiralis.

Olive above, yellowish beneath. Black, rings round body (ventral band in young), dorsal spots between rings, head above. Yellow, a horseshoe mark on head.

49 Hydrophis fasciatus.

Yellowish. Black, head and neck, cross bands or rings, which are broadest on back. Yellowish, cross bands on neck.

### 50 Hydrophis gracilis.

Bluish black or grayish olive. Lighter, more or less distinct cross bands anteriorly. (Young : black, head and neck ; rhombic cross bands on body continued on belly, or sub-interrupted or entirely black, with a series of elliptical vertical whitish spots on each side.—Boulenger.)

### 51 Hydrophis cantoris.

Dark olive or blackish anteriorly ; olive above ; posteriorly yellowish on the sides. Blackish, a streak along the belly. Olive, vertical bars on tail.

### 52 Distira stokesii.

Yellowish. Black, broad dorsal cross bands or complete rings.

### 53 Distira jerdonii.

Olive above, yellow below. Black, cross bands or rings, sometimes spots between them.

### 54 Distira robusta.

Greenish yellow above, yellow below. Black, cross bands or rings, which are narrower than the interspaces between them ; end of tail.

### 55 Distira cyanocincta.

Greenish olive above, yellow below. Black, cross bands or annuli, broadest on back ; sometimes a band running along belly.

### 56 Distira ornata.

Olive above, white below. Blackish, cross bars tapering on sides, one or more lateral series of roundish spots. The bands may become confluent, when the specimen will be uniformly a blackish olive.

## *Section* **S.**

Green above and below.

### 37 Dryophis mycterizans.

Bright grass green, belly paler. Bronze, shade on back. Yellow, stripe each side of abdomen.

60 TRIMERESURUS TRIGONOCEPHALUS.

Green, belly paler. Black, network on head, band from eye to angle of mouth, vertebral band emitting lateral streaks. Yellow, border of vertebral band, spots on lateral streaks, tinge on lateral scales, broad margins to ventrals.

*Section* **T.**

Belly brilliantly coloured.

42 CALLOPHIS TRIMACULATUS.

Belly rich mauve graduating to pale yellow, increasing to orange crimson just before vent ; behind deep velvety black, then pearly gray to tip of tail. Golden gray. Black, head, a spot on apex of each scale, two rings on tail. Yellow, two spots on head, a few faint markings on body, variegations of caudal rings.

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## HABITS.

**A** = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Non-poisonous, diurnal, terrestrial or subarboreal, feeding principally on mammals and birds. Oviparous. 3, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26.

**B** = 30 TROPIDONOTUS STOLATUS.

As in *a*, but freely entering water. Prey, frogs and fish. 30, 31, 33.

**C** = 15 LYCODON AULICUS.

Ground-snakes, feeding almost exclusively on skinks. 15, 16.

**D** = 27 DENDROPHIS PICTUS.

Diurnal tree-snakes. Prey, small lizards and frogs. I imagine 37 Dryophis mycterizans differs but little in habits. Both species may be seen in bushes and creepers in bright sunshine. D. pulverulentus is a rare snake, and nothing is known of its habits. 27, 28, 37, 39.

**E** = 3 PYTHON MOLURUS.

Sub-arboreal, feeding on mammals, which are crushed in its coils before being swallowed.

**F** = 35 DIPSAS CEYLONENSIS.

Nocturnal tree-snakes. Prey, mammals, birds, and lizards. 35, 36.

**G** = 10 ASPIDURA BRACHYHORROS.

Ground-snakes, living under stones, trees, and turf. Prey, insects and earthworms. 4.

**H** = 1 TYPHLOPS BRAMINUS.

Burrowing snakes. Prey, insects and earthworms. Oviparous. 1, 2, 10 to 14.

**J** = 6 RHINOPHIS OXYRHYNCUS.

As in *h*, but viviparous. 5 to 9.

**K** = 40 CERBERUS RHYNCOPS.

Fresh water-snakes, at times entering the sea. Prey, fish. Oviparous. 40, 41.

**L** = 34 CHERSYDRUS GRANULATUS.

Non-poisonous sea-snakes.

**M** = 45 NAIA TRIPUDIANS.

Poisonous land-snakes. Oviparous. 45, 46, 47.

**N** = 57 VIPERA RUSSELLII.

Poisonous land-snakes. Viviparous. 57 to 60.

**O** = 47 HYDRUS PLATURUS.

Sea-snakes. Viviparous. 46 to 56.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

**A** = 24 ZAMENIS MUCOSUS.

Generally over the Oriental region. 45.

**B** = 1 TYPHLOPS BRAMINUS.

From Southern China to Arabia, all over India, Africa south of the Equator, Madagascar, and the islands of the Indian Ocean.

**C** = 3 PYTHON MOLURUS.

India, Ceylon, rare in the Malay Peninsula, and Java.

**D** =15 LYCODON AULICUS.

India, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Malay Peninsula, Java, Phillipines, Timor, Maldives.

**E** = 17 HYDROPHOBUS NYMPHA.

Southern India, Ceylon. 29, 38.

**F** = 18 POLYODONTOPHIS SUBPUNCTATUS.

India, Ceylon. 20, 23, 26, 36 (35 Western Himalayas and Western India).

**G** = 19 ABLABES CALAMARIA.

Bombay to Ceylon. 32, 59.

**H** = 25 ZAMENIS FASCIOLATUS.

Bengal to Ceylon, Province Wellesley (Malay Peninsula).

**J** = 27 DENDROPHIS PICTUS.

India, Ceylon, Malay Peninsula, and Archipelago. 39.

**K** = 30 TROPIDONOTUS STOLATUS.

India, Ceylon, Burmah, Malay Peninsula, Southern China.

**L** = 33 HELICOPS SCHISTOSUS.

Bengal to Ceylon, Burma, Malay Peninsula, Yunnan.

**M** = 34 CHERSYDRUS GRANULATUS.

Mouths of rivers and coasts of Southern India, Ceylon, Burma, Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, and New Guinea.

**N** = 37 DRYOPHIS MYCTERIZANS.

From Burma through Bengal to Southern India and Ceylon.

**O** = 40 CERBERUS RHYNCOPS.

Rivers, estuaries,' and coasts from the Indus to north coast of Australia.

**P** = 41 GERARDIA PREVOSTIANA.

Ceylon, Pegu.

**Q** = 42 CALLOPHIS TRIMACULATUS.

Bombay to Ceylon, Tennasserim, Bengal ?

**R** = 43 BUNGARUS CÆRULEUS.

India, Ceylon, rare in Burma.

**S** = 46 ENHYDRIS CURTUS.

Sea-snakes : may be found anywhere between the Red Sea and northern coasts of Australia. Their range is not yet known. 46, 48 to 56.

**T** = 47 HYDRUS PLATURUS.

From the Cape to Guayaquil and all through the Chinese, Malayan, and Indian Seas to the Persian Gulf.

**U** = 57 VIPERA RUSSELLII.

India, Ceylon, Burma, Siam.

**V** = 58 ECHIS CARINATA.

Deserts of North Africa, South-Western Asia, and India.

**W** = 2 TYPHLOPS MIRUS.

Peculiar to Ceylon. 4 to 14, 16, 21, 22, 23, 28, 31, 43, 60.

## DIAGNOSTIC TABLE FOR CEYLON SNAKES.

| | Form. | Ventrals. | Scales. | Head Shields. | Eyes. | Nostrils. | Mouth. | Teeth. | Colour Section. | Labials. | Ocu-lars. | Tem-porals. | Ventrals. | Scales. | Size. | Habits. | Geog. Distr. | Rarity. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FAMILY I.—TYPHLOPIDÆ. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | In. | | | |
| 1 Typhlops braminus, *Daud* | $p^1$ | — | $f^2$ | $n^1$ | $e^1$ | $a^2$ | *d* | *h* | *m* | 4 | — | — | — | 20 | 7 | *h* | *b* | *cc* |
| 2 —— mirus, *Jan.* ... | $p^2$ | — | $f^2$ | $n^2$ | $e^2$ | $a^2$ | *d* | *h* | *m* | 4 | — | — | — | 18 | 5, 5 | *h* | *w* | *r* |
| FAMILY II.—BOIDÆ. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 Python molurus, *Linn.*... | $a^{10}$ | $b^2$ | $a^5$ | *k* | $c^1$ | $a^4$ | *a* | *c* | *a* | $\frac{11-13}{7}$ | $\frac{2}{3 \text{ or } 4}$ | — | Shields $\frac{242-265}{60-72}$ | 60–75 | 240 | *e* | *c* | *cc* |
| FAMILY III.—ILYSIIDÆ. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 Cylindrophis maculatus, *Linn.* ... | *o* | — | $f^1$ | *g* | $a^7$ | $a^3$ | *a* | $g^2$ | *l* | $\frac{6}{3-4}$ | $\frac{0}{1}$ | — | Scales $\frac{189-201}{4-6}$ | 19 *or* 21 | 14 | *g* | *w* | *cc* |
| FAMILY IV.—UROPELTIDÆ. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 Uropeltis grandis, *Kel.* | $q^5$ | — | $g^3$ | $h^3$ | $a^6$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $g^1$ | *m* | 4 | — | — | $\frac{127-147}{6-9}$ | 19 | 18 | *j* | *w* | *rr* |
| 6 Rhinophis oxyrhyncus, *Schneid.* ... | $q^1$ | — | $g^1$ | $h^1$ | $a^6$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $g^1$ | *m* | 4 | — | — | $\frac{217-223}{5-7}$ | 17–19 | 17 | *j* | *w* | *c* |
| 7 —— planiceps, *Peters.*... | $q^2$ | — | $g^1$ | $h^2$ | $a^6$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $g^1$ | *m* | 4 | — | — | $\frac{152-172}{3-6}$ | 17–19 | 10 | *j* | *w* | *c* |
| 8 —— trevelyanus, *Kel.* ... | $q^3$ | — | $g^1$ | $h^2$ | $a^6$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $g^1$ | *c* | 4 | — | — | $\frac{190-204}{3-6}$ | 17–19 | 11 | *j* | *w* | *c* |
| 9 —— blythii, *Kel.* ... | $q^4$ | — | $g^2$ | $h^2$ | $a^6$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $g^1$ | *m* | 4 | — | — | $\frac{148-162}{4-7}$ | 17–19 | 15 | *j* | *w* | *c* |

| | Form. | Ventrals. | Scales. | Head Shields. | Eyes. | Nostrils. | Mouth. | Teeth. | Colour Section. | Labials. | Ocu-lars. | Tem-porals. | Ventrals. | Scales. | Size. | Habits. | Geog. Distr. | Rarity. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FAMILY V.—COLUBRIDÆ. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | In. | | | |
| *Series A.—Aglypha.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Sub-Family Colubrinæ.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 Aspidura brachyhorros, *Boie.* ... | $c^1$ | $d$ | $a^4$ | $d^1$ | $a^5$ | $a^1$ | $a$ | $a^4$ | $a$ | $\frac{6}{4}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1+2 | Shields $\frac{137–159}{27–38}$ | 17 | 16 | $h$ | $w$ | $c$ |
| 11 —— copii, *Gthr.* ... | $c^1$ | $d$ | $a^4$ | $d^2$ | $a^5$ | $a^1$ | $a$ | $a^4$ | $h$ | $\frac{6}{4}$ | $\frac{0}{2}$ | 1+2 | $\frac{125–150}{20–33}$ | 17 | 16, 5 | $h$ | $w$ | $c$ |
| 12 —— guentheri, *Ferg.*... | $c^1$ | $d$ | $a^4$ | $d^3$ | $a^5$ | $a^1$ | $a$ | $a^4$ | $k$ | $\frac{6}{4}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1+2 | $\frac{101–117}{19–27}$ | 17 | 6 | $h$ | $w$ | $c$ |
| 13 —— trachyprocta, *Cope* | $c^1$ | $d$ | $a^4$ | $d^3$ | $a^5$ | $a^1$ | $a$ | $a^4$ | $h$ | $\frac{6}{4}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1+2 | $\frac{120–147}{13–25}$ | 15 | 15 | $h$ | $w$ | $c$ |
| 14 Haplocercus ceylonensis, *Gthr.* ... | $c^2$ | $d$ | $b^1$ | $d^1$ | $a^5$ | $a^1$ | $a$ | $a^4$ | $a$ | $\frac{7}{4 \text{ or } 3,\ 4}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1+2 | $\frac{177–207}{42–56}$ | 17 | 17, 5 | $h$ | $w$ | $cc$ |
| 15 Lycodon aulicus, *Linn.* | $a^9$ | $a^1$ | $a^2$ | $a^9$ | $b^2$ | $a^1$ | $a$ | $d$ | $a$ | $\frac{9}{3,\ 4,\ 5}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | Scaly | $\frac{183–209}{57–77}$ | 17 | 25 | $c$ | $d$ | $cc$ |
| 16 —— carinatus, *Kuhle.* | $k$ | $e$ | $b^1$ | $a^2$ | $b^2$ | $a^1$ | $a$ | $d$ | $o$ | $\frac{9}{3,\ 4,\ 5}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 2+3 | $\frac{188–195}{53–64}$ | 19 | 26 | $c$ | $w$ | $r$ |
| 17 Hydrophobus nympha, *Daud.* ... ... | $e^3$ | $c$ | $a^2$ | $a^5$ | $b^2$ | $a^1$ | $a$ | $a^5$ | $a$ | $\frac{6 \text{ or } 8}{3,\ 4}$ | $\frac{1 \text{ or } 2}{2}$ | 2+2 *or* 3 | $\frac{200–243}{71–88}$ | 13 | 18 | $d$.? | $e$ | $r$ |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 Polyodontophis subpunctatus, *D. et B.*... | $a^8$ | $a^1$ | $a^4$ | $a^7$ | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | *a* | *f* | *b* | 9–10 / 5, 6 *or* 4, 5, 6 | 1 / 2 | 1 *or* 2+2 | 151–220 / 47–76 | 17 | In. 17 | *a* | *f* | *cc* |
| 19 Ablabes calamaria, *Gthr.* | $a^8$ | $a^1$ | $a^4$ | $a^6$ | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $a^2$ | *a* | 7 / 3, 4 | 1 / 2 | 1+2 | 130–154 / 64–76 | 15 | 16 | *a* | *g* | *xr* |
| 20 Simotes arnensis, *Shaw* | $a^6$ | $a^1$ | $a^4$ | $b^1$ | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $e^1$ | *a* | 7 / 3, 4 | 1 / 2 | 1+2 | 170-202 / 41–79 | 17 | 24 | ? | *f* | *c* |
| 21 Oligodon templetonii, *Gthr.* ... | $a^6$ | $a^1$ | $a^4$ | $b^4$ | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $e^2$ | *d* | 7 / 3, 4 | 1 / 2 | 1+2 | 135 / 31 | 15 | 10, 5 | ? | *w* | *c* |
| 22 ——sublineatus, *D. et B.* | $a^6$ | $a^1$ | $a^4$ | $b^2$ | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $e^2$ | *e* | 7 / 3, 4 | 1 / 2 | 1+2 | 136–159 / 26–35 | 15 | 10 | ? | *w* | *c* |
| 23 —— subgriseus, *D. et B.* | $a^7$ | $a^1$ | $a^4$ | $b^3$ | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $e^2$ | *a* | 7 / 3, 4 | 1 / 2 | 1+2 | 160–218 / 38–56 | 15 | 19 | ? | *f* | *c* |
| 24 Zamenis mucosus, *Linn.* | $a^1$ | $a^1$ | $a^1$ | $a^1$ | $a^1$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $a^1$ | *a* | 8 / 3, 4, 5 | 2 / 2 | 2+2 | 190–208 / 95–135 | 17 | 84 | *a* | *a* | *cc* |
| 25 —— fasciolatus, *Shaw* | $a^2$ | $a^1$ | $a^2$ | $a^2$ | $a^1$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $a^1$ | *a* | 8 / 4, 5 | 2 / 2 *or* 3 | 2+2 *or* 2+3 | 197–225 / 73–88 | 21 *or* 23 | 37 | *a* | *h* | *r* |
| 26 Coluber helena, *Daud.* | $a^3$ | $b^1$ | $a^3$ | $a^2$ | $a^3$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $a^2$ | *a* | 9, 10, 11 / 4, 5, 6 *or* 5, 6 | 1 / 2 | 2+2 *or* 2+3 | 220–265 / 75–94 | 23–27 | 50 | *a* | *f* | *c* |
| 27 Dendrophis pictus, *Gmel.* ... | $e^1$ | *c* | *e* | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $a^3$ | *a* | 8, 9, 10 / 4, 5, 6 *or* 5, 6 | 1 / 2 *or* 3 | 2+2 | 167–205 / 110–150 | 15 | 48 | *d* | *j* | *cc* |
| 28 —— caudolineatus, *Gthr.* ... | $e^1$ | *c* | *e* | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $a^3$ | *a* | 8, 9 / 4, 5 *or* 5, 6 | 1 / 2 | 1+2 *or* 2+1 | 149-161 / 124–128 | 13 | 25 | *d* ? | *w* | *c* |
| 29 Tropidonotus ceylonensis, *Gthr.* .. | $a^3$ | $a^1$ | $b^1$ | $a^2$ | $a^2$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $a^1$ | *a* | 8 / 4, 5 | 2 / 3 | 2+2 *or* 2+3 | 133–141 / 48–54 | 19 | 18 | ? | *e* | *r* |
| 30 —— stolatus, *Linn.* ... | $a^3$ | $a^1$ | $b^1$ | $a^2$ | $a^3$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $b^1$ | *b* | 8 / 3, 4, 5 | 1 / 3 | 2+2 | 139–142 / 80–92 | 19 | 18 | *b* | *k* | *cc* |
| 31 —— asperrimus, *Blgr.* | $a^3$ | $a^1$ | $b^1$ | $a^2$ | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $b^1$ | *f* | 9 / 4, 5 | 1 / 3 *or* 4 | 2+2 *or* 2+3 | 131–146 / 64–90 | 19 | 48 | *b* | *w* | *cc* |

| | Form. | Ventrals. | Scales. | Head Shields. | Eyes. | Nostrils. | Mouth. | Teeth. | Colour Section. | Labials. | Oculars. | Temporals. | Ventrals. | Scales. | Size. | Habits. | Geog. Distr. | Rarity. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32 Tropidonotus plumbicolor, *Cant.* ... | $a^4$ | $a^1$ | $b^1$ | $a^3$ | $a^3$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $b^2$ | *ak* | 7 / 3, 4 | 2 / 3 *or* 4 | 2+3 *or* 4 | 144–166 / 35–50 | 23–27 | In. 25 | ? | *g* | *r* |
| 33 Helicops schistosus, *Daud.* ... | $a^5$ | $a^1$ | $b^1$ | $c^1$ | $a^3$ | $a^3$ | *a* | $a^1$ | *a* | 8 *or* 9 / 3, 4 *or* 4, 5 | 1 / 2 *or* 3 | 2+2 | 129–151 / 55–85 | 19 | 30 | *b* | *l* | *c* |
| *Sub-Family Acrochordinæ.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 Chersydrus granulatus, *Schneid* ... | *l* | — | *j* | — | $b^4$ | *c* | *c* | $a^2$ | *p, q* | 6 / 0 | — | — | — | 100 | 40 | *l* | *m* | *c* |
| *Series B.—Ophisthoglypha.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Sub-Family Dipsadinæ.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 35 Dipsas ceylonensis, *Gthr.* ... | *g* | $b^1$ | *e* | $a^8$ | $b^1$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $j^1$ | *n* | 8 / 3, 4, 5 | 1 *or* 2 / 2 | 2+3 *or* 3+3 | 214–249 / 90–117 | 19 *or* 21 | 48 | *f* | *f* | *c* |
| 36 —— forstenii, *D. et B.* | *g* | $b^1$ | *e* | $a^8$ | $b^1$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $j^1$ | *n* | 8–11 / 3,4,5 *or* 4,5,6 | 1 / 2 *or* 3 | Numerous | 259–270 / 106–131 | 25–27 | 48 | *f* | *f* | *c* |
| 37 Dryophis mycterizans, *Daud.* ... | *f* | $a^1$ | *e* | *e* | *d* | $a^1$ | *a* | *k* | *s* | 8 / 5 | *v r* / 2 | 1+2 *or* 2+2 | 172–188 / 140–166 | 15 | 72 | *d* | *n* | *c* |
| 38 —— pulverulentus, *D. et B.* ... | *f* | $a^1$ | *e* | *e* | *d* | $a^1$ | *a* | *k* | *n* | 8 / 5 | 2 / 2 | 2+2 *or* 2+3 | 182–194 / 154–173 | 15 | 70 | ? | *e* | *r* |
| 39 Chrysopelea ornata, *Boie* ... | $e^2$ | $a^1$ | *e* | $a^4$ | $a^2$ | $a^1$ | *a* | $j^1$ | *b* | 9 *or* 10 / 5, 6 *or* 4,5,6 | 1 / 2 | 2+2 | 204–236 / 118–138 | 17 | 54 | *d* | *j* | *c* |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | In. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Sub-Family Homalopsinæ.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40 Cerberus rhyncops, *Schneid.* ... | *d* | *a*¹ | *b*¹ | *j* | *b*³ | *a*⁴ | *a* | *j*² | *h* | 10 *to* 12 / 5 *or* 6 | *irr* | — | 160–171 / 70–85 | 37–47 | 42 | *k* | *o* | *c* |
| 41 Gerardia prevostiana, *Eyd. et Gerv.* ... | *a*⁸ | *a*¹ | *a*⁴ | *c*² | *b*³ | *a*¹ | *a* | *j*² | *k* | 8 / 4 | 2 | 1+2 | 141–158 / 31–34 | 17 | 16 | *k* | *p* | *xr* |
| *Series C.—Proteroglypha.* *Sub-Family Elapinæ.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 42 Callophis trimaculatus, *Daud.* ... | *n* | *a*¹ | *a*⁴ | *a*¹⁰ | *a*⁴ | *a*¹ | *a* | *l*² | *t* | 6 / 3–4 | 1 / 2 | 1 | 258–274 / 24–35 | 13 | 19 | ? | *q* | *xr* |
| 43 Bungarus ceylonicus, *Gthr.* ... | *a*⁶ | *d* | *c* | *a*¹⁰ | *a*⁴ | *a*¹ | *a* | *l*¹ | *o* | 7 / 3, 4 | 1 / 2 | 1+2 | 224·235 / 35–40 | 15 | 39 | *m* | *w* | *c* |
| 44 —— cæruleus, *Daud.* ... | *a*⁶ | *d* | *c* | *a*¹⁰ | *a*⁴ | *a*¹ | *a* | *l*¹ | *a* | 7 / 3–4 | 1 / 2 | 1+1 *or* 1+2 | 200–220 / 40–51 | 15 | 54 | *m* | *r* | *c* |
| 45 Naia tripudians, *Merr.* | *b* | *b*¹ | *a*⁴ | *a*¹⁰ | *a*⁴ | *a*¹ | *a* | *l*¹ | *j* | 7 / 3–4 | 1 / 2–3 | 2+3 *or* 2+4 | 170–206 / 49–75 | 19–23 | 76 | *m* | *a* | *cc* |
| *Sub-Family Hydrophinæ.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | Scales | | | | | |
| 46 Enhydris curtus, *Shaw* | *m*² | — | *h*² | *f*² | *a*⁴ | *b* | *b* | *m*¹ | *r* | 7 / 4 *or* 3, 4 | 1 / 1–2 | 2 *or* 3 | 150–200 | 30–38 | 30 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| 47 Hydrus platurus, *Linn.* | *m*¹ | — | *h*¹ | *f*¹ | *a*⁴ | *b* | *b* | *m*² | *r* | 7–8 / 4 *or* 4, 5 | 1 / 2–3 | Numerous | — | 45–57 | 36 | *o* | *t* | *cc* |
| 48 Hydrophis spiralis, *Shaw* | *m*⁴ | — | *h*³ | *f*³ | *a*⁴ | *b* | *b* | *m*³ | *r* | 6–7 / 2, 3, 4 | 1 / 1 | 1 | 310–320 | 28–29 | 72 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| 49 —— fasciatus, *Schneid.* | *m*⁸ | — | *h*⁴ | *f*³ | *a*⁴ | *b* | *b* | *m*³ | *r* | 6–7 / 2, 3, 4 | 1 / 1–2 | 2 | 345–500 | 25–31 | 39 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| 50 —— gracilis, *Shaw* ... | *m*⁸ | — | *h*⁵ | *f*⁴ | *a*⁴ | *b* | *b* | *m*³ | *r* | 6 *or* 7 / 3–4 | 1 / 1 | 2 | 225–294 | 19–21 | 36 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| 51 —— cantoris, *Gthr.* ... | *m*⁸ | — | *h*⁵ | *f*⁴ | *a*⁴ | *b* | *b* | *m*³ | *r* | 6 / 3–4 | 1 / 1 | 2 | 412–456 | 23–25 | 48 | *o* | *s* | *r* |

| | Form. | Ventrals. | Scales. | Head Shields. | Eyes. | Nostrils. | Mouth. | Teeth. | Colour Section. | Labials. | Oculars. | Temporals. | Ventrals. | Scales. | Size. In. | Habits. | Geog. Distr. | Rarity. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 52 Distira stokesii, *Gray*... | $m^3$ | — | $h^6$ | $f^5$ | $a^4$ | *b* | *b* | *n* | *r* | 9 *or* 10 / 4, 5, 6 | 1 / 2 | 2 *or* 3 | 240–267 | 39–47 | 60 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| 53 —— jerdonii, *Gray* ... | $m^5$ | — | $h^7$ | $f^6$ | $a^4$ | *b* | *b* | *n* | *r* | 5 / 3–4 | 1 / 1 | 1 | 224–238 | 15–17 | 35 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| 54 —— robusta, *Gthr.* ... | $m^6$ | — | $h^8$ | $f^7$ | $a^4$ | *b* | *b* | *n* | *r* | 7 / 3, 4 *or* 3, 4, 5 | 1 / 1 *or* 2 | 1 | 310–372 | 27–31 | 72 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| 55 —— cyanocincta, *Daud.* | $m^7$ | — | $h^9$ | $f^8$ | $a^4$ | *b* | *b* | *n* | *r* | 7 *or* 8 / 3, 4 *or* 3, 4, 5 | 1 / 2 | 2 | 300–426 | 27–33 | 72 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| 56 —— ornata, *Gray* ... | $m^6$ | — | $h^{10}$ | $f^9$ | $a^4$ | *b* | *b* | *n* | *r* | 7 *or* 8 / 3–4 | 1 / 2 *or* 3 | 2 *or* 3 | 252–300 | 35–42 | 48 | *o* | *s* | *r* |
| FAMILY.—VIPERIDÆ. *Sub-Family Viperinæ.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 57 Vipera russellii, *Shaw*... | $h^1$ | $b^1$ | $b^1$ | $m^1$ | $c^2$ | $a^5$ | *a* | *o* | *g* | 11–12 / 0 | — | — | Shields 163–172 / 45–60 | 27–31 | 48 | *n* | *u* | *cc* |
| 58 Echis carinata, *Schneid.* | *j* | *d* | $b^2$ | $m^2$ | $c^2$ | $a^1$ | *a* | *o* | *g* | 11–12 / 0 | — | — | 138–185 / 21–40 | 25–29 | 24 | *n* | *v* | *rr* |
| *Sub-Family Crotalinæ.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 59 Ancistrodon hypnale, *Merr.* ... | $h^2$ | $b^1$ | $b^1$ | *l* | $c^2$ | $a^6$ | *a* | *o* | *n* | 7–8 / 0 | 1 *or* 2 / 1 *or* 2 | *irr* | 140–145 / 31–45 | 17–19 | 19 | *n* | *g* | *c* |
| 60 Trimeresurus trigonocephalus, *Daud.* ... | $h^3$ | $b^3$ | $a^4$ | $m^3$ | $c^2$ | $a^6$ | *a* | *o* | *s* | 9 *or* 10 | — | — | 147–152 / 57–67 | 17–19 | 31 | *n* | *w* | *cc* |

# JOHANN JACOB SAAR'S ACCOUNT OF CEYLON, 1647–1657.

Translated by Ph. Freudenberg, Esq., Consul in Ceylon for the German Empire.

*(Read January 28, 1885.*)*

## INTRODUCTION.

JOHANN JACOB SAAR was in his nineteenth year when he left home, on Easterday, 1644, his father sending him to Hamburg to find a situation. After spending two months at Hamburg in unsuccessful search of employment, he went on to Amsterdam. His quitting Nuremberg—then one of the foremost commercial towns on the Continent—for Hamburg, where the "Hansa" still existed, and his pushing on to Amsterdam, which, since the destruction of Antwerp, had risen to commercial eminence, suggests that it was commercial employment he desired. Saar's statement that he did not find a *condition* at Amsterdam tends to confirm this supposition, *conditionieren* being to the present day in Southern Germany an expression for holding a mercantile post.

Failing to secure an appointment after six months' fruitless effort, even at Amsterdam, Saar enlisted as *Adelpursch*—his own translation of the Dutch word *Adelborst*, "cadet." As a matter of fact, he enlisted as a common soldier, whose rise in the ranks depended solely upon military qualifications.

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* An apology is due to the translator for the great delay in passing this Paper through the press. It obviously demanded careful editing: the translator expressed his inability to annotate the text: leisure to carry to completion the requisite notes has never come to the Editing Secretary. For the greater part of the editing the Society is indebted to the erudition and ungrudging labour of Mr. D. W. Ferguson, without whose generous aid the Paper might never have seen the light.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

His social position, however (having once been admitted as *Adelborst*), entitled him to an officer's commission eventually, but he never rose beyond the rank of corporal.

The following particulars regarding the conditions of enlistment under the Dutch East India Company, and the discipline, &c., on board their fleets, are worth reproducing.

The Company sent three fleets every year to the East, one in May, another in August, and the last about the end of December.

Two months' pay was given in advance, and for every day between enlistment and sailing an additional Dutch shilling. After the fleet had been at sea for two or three days, every one received five Dutch cheeses as a present from the Company. Full pay for soldiers only commenced from the time of passing the buoys, about a mile (Dutch) out at sea; but, should the ships have had to put back owing to unfavourable winds, the two months' advance pay was forfeited. Sometimes in winter, ships were laid up altogether, and the soldiers discharged to save further expense. The pay was fixed at ten Dutch florins a month; the loss of the right eye, hand, arm, or foot, to be compensated by the payment of 600 Dutch florins; the left eye, &c., being valued at 500 florins only; whilst the loss of a finger or toe was computed at 30 florins.

On board, crew and soldiers were told off to watches, three in all, and each lasting four hours. The first watch was then called *Prinsen quartier*,—*i. e.*, "Prince's quarter,"—the second *Count Moritz*, the third *Count Ernst*, the names referring to Princes of the House of Orange of the time. Discipline on board was very strict. Of the detail Saars gives, a few may be mentioned.

When any one was wilfully injured by knife, gun, or other weapon, the aggressor had to place his hand against the mast; a knife (if possible the one with which the wound was inflicted) was then driven between two fingers into the mast, and the culprit was compelled to draw his hand down, thus completely severing it in two. For striking an officer or the captain of the ship, the penalty was "keel-hauling"—*i. e.*, being drawn three times underneath the vessel. If the

culprit should not sink deep enough, he ran great risk of having his head smashed against the keel. This occurred in one instance in Galle Harbour during 1647. Gambling, drunkenness, smoking between decks, were also punished severely.

Saar sailed, with his father's consent, in the December fleet of 1644. He had enlisted on the 25th of November, in presence of the seventeen principal officers of the East India Company. On the 30th of November he was sent to Middelburg, and embarked on board a ship of that name, of 550 lasts of 30 cwt. each, carrying 36 guns and about 450 men, crew and soldiers all told. This vessel set sail on the 8th of January, 1645.

After fifteen years' of the roughest military experience in the East, and many a wound received in the Company's behalf, Saar at length turned his thoughts homeward. He seems to have left Ceylon in September, 1658, and after another year's service in the Eastern Archipelago returned to Batavia for the last time on the 15th November, 1659. The next day the stout German soldier got his discharge. It is signed by "Burchard Koch,"* a fellow-countryman and captain in the army of the Staaten-General of the United Netherlands and the Dutch East India Company. The Governor-General of Dutch India at the time was Joan Maetsuycker. On the 14th December Saar sailed from Batavia in the ship "Princ [*sic!*] Wilhelm"†—one of a fleet of nine; on the 6th of July, 1660, he arrived at Flushing; and on the 11th of August reached Nuremberg. His fervent wish to see his father again was not, however, to be realised, for he had died eight months previously.

Saar, it appears, had kept a regular diary for a number of years, but unfortunately lost it at sea, and had to re-write his experiences from memory. He offered to give further verbal information to any reader of his travels who desired it; adding to this offer "that he heartily wished every one of his readers more fortune at home than he had."

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* *Burchart Cockx.* † *Prins Willem.*

From this remark it may be gathered that Saar's health after his return to Europe was not good,—a natural consequence of his wounds and hard service of many years in the tropics. He died young; his portrait of 1661 gives his age as 36, and in 1672 he had been dead for some time.

Saar's work was published at Nuremberg in 1662 under the title of "Johann Jacob Saars Ost-Indianische Funfzehen-Jährige Kriegs-Dienst," &c. It is an oblong volume of 12, 50, 170, 20, and 12 pages; with portrait of the author, by V. Sommer, frontispiece, and 15 plates. The work seems to have been edited by Daniel Wülffer, a clergyman in Nuremberg,* who took the opportunity to prefix a laboured and learned disquisition on the question whether it was right for Christians to engage in the conquest and subjugation of heathen nations. This edition is dedicated to the Burgomaster and Council of Nuremberg; and in an appendix the author gives additional information from memory, and quotations from other writers.

In 1671 a somewhat abbreviated Dutch translation of Saar's work (by J. H. Glazemaker) appeared at Amsterdam, the additional matter in the original being embodied in the text of this translation, which is illustrated by four plates, different from those in the German edition. The translator has also re-arranged the chapters (making 23 against 17 in the original), to which he has put sub-headings, and has omitted the prefatory matter and the index.

In 1672 a new and revised edition of the German original was published in Nuremberg in folio form, 46, 168, 16 pages. This edition was also edited by Wülffer, who substituted for Saar's dedication another, addressed to Georg Fierer, a banker in Nuremberg. Fierer, as appears from the preface, had travelled a good deal in foreign countries, had read much, and was able to suggest many of the foot-notes to the second edition. This support was the more welcome to Wülffer, as it helped to silence the mistrust of Saar's statements on

* Born 1617, died 1683.

many points, which had been expressed upon the appearance of the first edition. In this edition the additional matter of the first edition has been incorporated in the text, notes containing additional information are given in smaller type throughout the text, and the index has been amplified. The illustrations are the same as in the first edition, the portrait and the frontispiece, however, being re-engraved by J. A. Böner.

The very numerous foot-notes in the second edition (which, according to the editor who made them, doubled the size of the book) were principally culled from the narratives of Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, a Mecklenburg nobleman, and Johann von der Behr* (in India, 1644 to 1649); Jürgen Andersen of Sleswick (1644 to 1650); Volquart Iversen (1655 to 1668); Albrecht Herport (1659 to 1668); and Johann Jacob Merklein (1646 to 1653), an intimate friend of Saar's.

It is from this second edition that the following translation has been made.

Although Beckmann (Litteratur der älteren Reisebeschreibungen, II., pp. 324–7) speaks in disparaging terms of Saar's narrative, it is an interesting and valuable one, giving details not furnished by other writers. The dates given by him, however, are not reliable: this fault being due, probably, to the fact that his diary was lost at sea, as mentioned above.

## Anno 1647.

After again having spent about three months at Batavia, I was ordered in September to sail, with three hundred men, for the Island of *Ceilon*, which is distant some four hundred miles. So, trusting in God, we shook out our sails on the 4th of September: our ships were three,—the *Banda*, with the Admiral on board, and two yachts, *Lello* and *Aggerslot*.†......

On the 4th of October, after a good voyage, we arrived at

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* This writer has embodied in his book, without the slightest acknowledgment, whole passages from Saar's narrative. (See translation of his journal in *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. VI., p. 82 *et seq.*) This practice was only too common among travel writers of the period.

† *Lillo*; *Akersloot* (Dutch ed., 1671).

the harbour of *Punte de Galle*,* at that time the capital of *Ceilon* : now, however, *Columbo** is the capital.†

It is, in truth, a beautiful harbour : ships may lie there all the year round,—come in with the sea breeze and go out with the land wind ; but there are dangerous hidden rocks. Therefore, when ships arrive for the first time they have to fire three guns,—those that have been there before, fire one gun,—and after being answered in like manner must wait until a pilot comes on board to show the right passage. A pilot is always on the lookout with his crew upon a high rock in the sea, an hour and a half from the shore, where he has to hoist a big flag to a mast erected there as soon as he sees ships, to warn them to stand off until he meets them.‡

During the night the entrance should not be attempted, the danger is too great.

Overlooking the harbour is a fort, called the "Black Fort"§ originally erected by the Portuguese, under a false pretext to the king of *Candi*,‖ of which we shall speak hereafter ; but it is now well strengthened with additional bastions by the Hollanders, who took it by storm from the Portuguese in 1640.

To the left, as one approaches, is now the hospital, on the spot where formerly the Portuguese had their mint. Still nearer the town is the bastion "Aggerslot," mounting eight guns, which command the whole harbour. Further up, on

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* *Punto de Gallo ; Kolumbo* (Dutch ed., 1671).

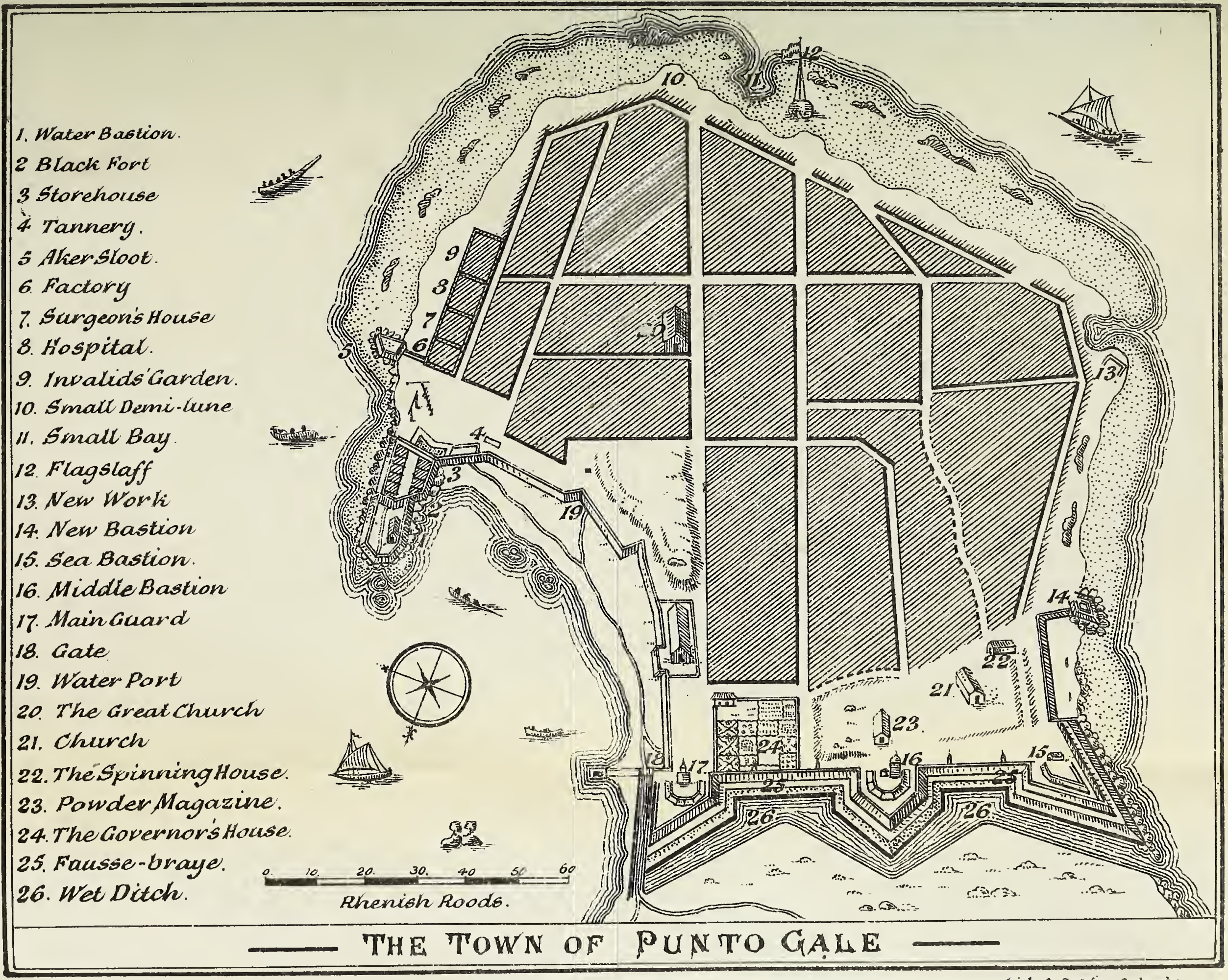
† Johann von der Behr says (p. 92) :—"On 9th Nov. [1647] 3 ships with 200 soldiers from Galle came into the roadstead off Negombo, and after anchoring, the soldiers came on shore, . . . the ships were these, the ship Bantam, the yacht Lello, and the yacht Ackersloth. On the 12th the aforementioned ships left under sail for Persia."

‡ This can only be "Pigeon Island," which is close off Lighthouse Point, and contained a cocoanut tree at least as recently as 1860.

§ Dutch *Zwart Fort*. Heydt says that it may have derived its name from the fact that it had become blackened by the smoke and charcoal of the smiths who worked there. (See *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. II., pp. 333, 340.)

‖ *Kandi* (Dutch ed., 1671).

(From Valentyn's "Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien," 1726.)




- Lith: O. Saldin. Colombo.

MUSEUM
NATURAL HIST

the shore is the above-mentioned "Black Fort," rising high; within is the arsenal, and here live all artisans and slaves.

Beneath the "Black Fort," and considerably lower, is the "Water Bulwark,"* directly facing the space where all ships must anchor. This was erected only in 1653 by the Governor of the time, Jacob von Küttenstein,† a native of Delft, and is armed with six pieces, each carrying a twelve-pound shot. On the inner side of this is a small port, called the "Water Port," through which people can be let in and out during the night. Here also are the Governor's house and the main guard (always sixty to seventy men strong); from this a kind of gallery, on posts, boarded and covered with a roof, called the "Wooden Doublet,"‡ is carried forty paces into the harbour.

To the right of this, on the land side, where the town is surrounded by strong high walls, a deep moat is dug, eighteen feet wide, and crossed by a drawbridge. Towering above is seen the central bastion,§ carrying nine or ten guns, commanding partly the main guard and partly the landward walls; and below it, moreover, a lunette. The sea-bastion‖ is the last on the land side. Here the greatest number of guns are placed, and here a corporal and six men have to be on guard every night. This place is never called otherwise than the "Crab's Hole."

Between the sea-fort and another new work near the Government store a spring of good fresh water flows out of a rock, and a step away from it the sea plays up to the rocks, so that you can stand with one foot in fresh water and the other in salt.¶

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* Dutch *Waterpas.*

† *Jakob van Kettenstein* (Dutch ed., 1671).

‡ Dutch *Houte Wambas.* (See *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. II., p. 340.)

§ The *Middel Punt* or Moon Bastion.

‖ Or Star Bastion.

¶ Valentyn has appropriated the above description of Galle, with slight modifications. (See translation in *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. II., p. 333.) He also gives a plan of the fort drawn in 1663, of which a facsimile will be found on the opposite page.

The island itself is exceeding large, and has a ruler of its own, who is styled Emperor of *Ceilon* and King of *Candi*,* a town where he resides, mighty rich in precious stones and the fairest jewels. There is likewise an open pearl bank in *Ceilon*, at a place called *Manara*.† The country is very thickly populated. I passed some eight years in it, having always been ordered back there after occasional service to other places. I shall now relate the different things I heard, saw, and experienced in the island.

The Portuguese are said to have been in the island about two hundred years. When they first discovered it, they asked the Emperor to grant them as much land as could be comprised within the limits of a cow's or bullock's hide ; for they had many sick on board their vessels, whom they were anxious to put on shore for their recovery. But when the Emperor granted the request, they cut up a bullock's hide into narrow strips, and fastening them together, enclosed a space large enough to build a fort, which they called the "Black Fort."‡

Afterwards they built the town of *S.* [*sic*] *Galle*, and, having once established themselves, added other towns and forts, such as the large town of *Columbo*,—*Jaffanapatan*, with strong intrenchments near it,—the fort of *Manara*, where, as mentioned before, the pearl bank is,—the fortress of *Nebumbo*,§

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* For the full string of titles assumed by Râja Siṇha II. (1632–1687), see Wouter Schouten's *Oost-Indische Voyagie*, Tweede Boek, 311 (3rd ed., 1745).

† Maṇṇár.

‡ The above story, which has no basis in fact, is doubtless founded on Dido's traditional subterfuge in the foundation of Carthage by Virgil, *Aeneid* I., 335–371 :—

> Devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernes,
> Mœnia, surgentemque novae Carthaginis arcem ;
> Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
> Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.

§ *Negumbo* in ed. of 1662.

*Geis** four miles from *Jaffanapatan*, to which it is in a manner the key, in mid stream, where you cross it on the way to *Patan*.

As regards the inhabitants, some of them are naked all but the private parts, round which they throw a white cotton cloth. Those who belong to the higher classes, holding the position of gentry, wear besides, on the upper part of the body, a kind of fine white shirt of cotton, with narrow sleeves, trimmed before and behind with stripes of a finger's breadth. Their feet are bare ; on them they often have their fontanels well covered with some tin and a leather strap ; others have their fontanel on the neck, and keep it open with a small silver ball.† On their heads they wear a red cap, especially those that are soldiers.‡

They generally have long black hair and full beards, which they do not trim over much, and mighty long ear-flaps, in which are inserted rings of silver and lead.

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* Kayts or Hammenhiel. This tiny fort stands on a solitary rock in the sea about half a mile from Karaittívu Island, and one-and-a-half mile from Kayts on the mainland. It was built by Antonio do Amaral de Menezes, the Portuguese Governor of Jaffna, a few years before the arrival of the Dutch, and considered " the key of Jaffna." Baldaeus gives a short account of its siege in April, 1658 : want of water forced the Portuguese to capitulate after a fortnight. (See *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. V., p. 204.) At present the fort is in a half-ruinous state, overgrown with thorny scrub, and infested with snakes: it is octagonal, the side facing Kayts being longer than the others ; walls, fifteen feet in height and not very thick ; on the ramparts some small rooms (formerly serving for a quarantine hospital), and under them a row of vaults, containing rusted cannon. (*Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. I., p. 24.)

† Dr. W. G. Van Dort kindly supplies the following information :— " *Fontanel*, an issue for the discharge of humours from the body. The practice of establishing artificial issues or sores by means of the knife, red-hot iron, or caustic medicines, and maintaining such issues by means of an irritant, such as a glass bead or silver ball inserted into the sore, was well known in ancient medicine. It would be interesting to know the nature of the disease or diseases for which such issues were resorted to as a means of cure so extensively as to attract the author's attention. Elephantiasis and goitre are the only two endemic affections, so far as I know, in which issues are used by native practitioners to this day." It is possible, however, that Saar may have mistaken the straps, &c., of sandals for coverings of fontanels ; and that the silver ball on the neck may be capable of some similar explanation.

‡ Cf. Knox, *Ceilon*, 1681, p. 63.

When we wanted the natives specially to carry the officers' wives in palanquins through the country, we used to put strings through their ear-flaps and hold on to them, so as to prevent them from bolting, if they saw a chance, and, as indeed they often did, upsetting the ladies in the open country and leaving them to their fate, whilst they themselves hid in the jungle.

The women of *Ceilon* are as well formed as any I have seen in the Indies. They dance very well to the music of bells, which they are skilled in playing; they can walk on a tight rope, or dance on it with swords tied to their feet; they whirl round and round with such rapidity as to dazzle one's sight, and you cannot see their heads, so fast do they turn: they are so quick, too, with a hoop that it baffles description.*

The children, boys and girls, especially those of social position, have, like their parents, silver rings below the calves.

The girls have a filigree silver girdle round their naked waists, and in front hangs a piece of silver, heart-shaped.

As regards boys, it is provided that none shall learn or carry on any other calling but that which the father has known and practised. For instance, if the father has been a tailor, a waggoner, a turner, or the like, the sons must follow that occupation, and no other, as long as they live.

They are clever people, and intelligent; they can make beautiful muskets, and powder, besides all sorts of cunning gold and silver work,—in particular, pretty sword-hilts, with figures of all kinds, and curiously carved buttons for clothes and mantles, albeit their tools are few and inferior. Yet, what is extraordinary but true is, that a peasant is considered of better birth and higher grade than a worker in gold and silver. An executioner is held in

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* He probably refers to women of the *Oliya* caste—one of the lowest among the Siṇhalese. By resolution of Council, December 20, 1659, the Dutch Government decided to expel all "dancing women and other useless people by which the Company suffered a loss," from the sixty villages they inhabited in the Wẹligama and Galle Kóralés. (Journal, R. A. S., C. B., 1874, p. 70.)

such esteem that he may approach the king and speak to him, and associate with him just as do the nobility of the island.

There is in the island a tribe so despised and outcast that everyone is afraid to speak to them, or to have anything to do with them. They must have special washermen to wash for them, who are not allowed to come near other washermen, especially those that wash for the nobility, who are very jealous of their privileges. Next to the penalty of death, it is considered the greatest punishment if the king degrades a man to live with these outcasts. We ourselves were reproved by him, because, being very thirsty, in exceedingly hot weather, we accepted a little water from them. They are only allowed half a roof for their houses, and must always sleep on the floor with their head in a winnower, such as is used to clean rice. In truth, it must be confessed, they stink so greatly that it is impossible to remain near them. Their trade is to make ropes of the skins of elk and deer to tie elephants with.* Despised as they are, they do not allow you, if you ask them for some water, to put the jar or the pot to your mouth ; on the contrary, you must hold it high up, that the water may fall into your mouth from a certain distance. The Moors, Persians, and the Javanese have similar customs.

The inhabitants have a queer way of killing fowls : they seize them by the head, and twist it so quickly between two fingers that the head remains in their hands, whilst the body is thrown off, and runs about for a while until it bleeds to death and falls down. When they want to kill oxen, cows, or other quadrupeds, they first cut the sinews of the hind legs, and after the animal has fallen in the way desired, they tie it up and cut the throat. They do not eat the flesh of animals killed by men of another nation. The women cook, boil, and bake dishes very nicely and cleanly ; for instance, fowls (of which you can buy thirty for a

* For an account of the outcast Ródiyás, see, *inter alia*, Knox *l.c.*, pp. 70, 71 ; Tennent "Ceylon," vol. II., p. 187.

rixdollar), eggs, good soups, many and various, deer, hogs, ducks, and the *lechaban*,* which they consider a particular good dish. This is an animal of the shape of a small crocodile ; it runs up and down the trees very quickly, and when shot hangs on until it has bled to death ; it is as dangerous for poultry as the pole-cat ; the belly greenish, feet with four claws, and the fat very good. (They eat,) too, peacocks, which are roasted and dressed with cloves. At one time, as we had nothing else, we were compelled to eat them during a whole month, so that at last they were quite distasteful. They were often found in the rice fields, but are otherwise seldom met with on the flat ground : on the trees, however, one frequently sees them in large numbers. The *Ceilonese* put the tail feathers round the hands and feet if they have sores, or have been hurt ; they also consider them very useful against infection, should one happen to meet a woman with her courses.†

Bread is exceedingly scarce, and many a year I have not tasted it more than three times.‡ They use rice instead, well cleaned in water, then boiled, dried over coals, and dished up in crystal or china cup ; and they eat a small handful along with a bit of another dish ; the taste is good and

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* Cf. Schweitzer's Account of Ceylon (English translation, London, 1700, p. 290) : "Here is another sort of beast, much like the crocodile, which is called a Caprigoy [Siṇ. *kabara-goyá*] ; but it hath neither shells nor scales on it, and its tongue is very long and pointed. Another, not much unlike this, but less yet, called a *Leguwan*, the flesh of which many people eat." Nieuhoff's Voyages (Churchill, I., p. 358, ed. 1704): "A kind of crocodile, called *legoan* by the Indians.........the meat is white, like that of our rabbits, and very well tasted." It is the *iguana* (*Monitor dracœna*, Linn.) *talagoyá* of the Siṇhalese, who, according to Knox (*l.c.*, p. 31), set great store by its flesh.

† Peacocks' feathers (Siṇ. *monara pili*), reduced to ashes, form an ingredient in Siṇhalese prescriptions for dysentery. See *Yógaratnákara*, *Yógadárané*, *Bhaisajyakalpaya*, *Bálagrahasántiya*.

‡ Johann von der Behr says (p. 58) :—" Instead of bread, which is seldom to be found among the common people, they use a root called *uffa*, which they first cook, then peel, and cut into pieces ; it is not bad in flavour." There seems to be some confusion here, *uffa* being apparently *appa* (*Anglice* " hopper ").

pleasant. When taking their meals, they sit with legs crossed upon the floor on a mat, and eat with their hands in a somewhat swinish fashion, using no spoons. Their ordinary drink is only water, and, as I said before, all dislike that we should drink out of their cups or basins, unless we do not touch them with our lips, but let the water run into the mouth from a height.* They are afraid lest we have eaten either pork or meat of a tame buffalo, which they consider objectionable.

They hold the buffalo in high esteem, and say that it does more for them than father or mother: viz., it ploughs for them, it threshes for them, they have butter and milk from it; wherefore they call it *abba*,† and they will not allow it to be harmed, or fall into our hands. Once, one of our lieutenants in a station four miles (Dutch) from *Columbo* inland, called *Malevanna*,‡ wanted to buy two tame buffaloes at the request of our preacher, but nobody would sell them. A week afterwards it appeared that a tiger§ had killed a bullock, and (for it only sucks the blood) left the carcass. As the natives had a great respect for us, the lieutenant made use of this opportunity to point out that this was a special retribution, because they had refused to let our *Pater Grande*, our preacher, have some for money, and that if they continued to be so disobliging the tiger would come more often

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* See Knox, *l.c.*, p. 87; and Pyrard (*Voyages*, 1619, p. 401) of the Malabars.

† Perhaps the Siṇ. *appá*, "father."

‡ *Malwána*, twelve miles from Colombo, in the Gaṇgabada pattu, Siyanẹ kóralé—an outpost of considerable importance in the eyes of both Portuguese and Dutch. Ribeiro says, the King of Portugal styled his Governor-General in Ceylon "King of Malvana" (*Rei da Malvana*), to please the Siṇhalese (Cap. X.), but that it was rightly speaking a sanitarium, not a fort, and had a church and resident chaplain. Schweitzer, in 1678, found "the place very strong by a river. It hath pallisados, parapets, and a ditch, and field pieces, and other necessaries, and 60 men to keep it. It was very unhealthy by reason of the thick fogs; and therefore the garrison is often relieved from Columbo." (See also C. A. S. Journal, 1887, p. 168.)

§ *Felis pardus*, or panther, usually called "cheetah" in Ceylon, though neither that animal nor the tiger are found in the Island.

and do similar damage. When they heard this they soon returned and brought two buffaloes, to free themselves of the fear of further mishap.

Of drinks they have not only that called *siere*,* which is taken from the cocoanut trees, and of which I am going to speak presently, but others too. There is first the *massack*,† which is prepared in the following way:—According to the number of those who wish to partake, they take four, five, or six gallons of *siere*, warm them, add two or three gallons of *arack*‡ or brandy, break twenty, thirty, or forty eggs into a tureen, mix them well, and then add gradually some of the warm *siere*, stirring it well the while, together with two or three pieces of cinnamon and nutmeg finely ground. When taken warm it not only has a delicious taste, but is very satiating and nutritious. Then they have *vinperle*, half water half *arack* boiled together; two or three eggs are added, citrons pressed into it, and adding sugar, cinnamon, and mace, an agreeable beverage is made. Thirdly, they have *palebunze*,§ half water half brandy, thirty to forty lemons (the seeds of which are spit out), and a little sugar; the taste is not very pleasant, and the drink not very wholesome.

Their religion, as is the case with most of the heathens, is principally Muhammadan. Their idol is *Jacka*‖ made of clay, of the size of a man, black in the face, ugly, as if he had a mask, and sometimes with horns; they keep him standing in a corner, or under the roof, and when they want

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* Skt. *sura*, "toddy," the sap, whether fermented or unfermented, of the palm. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, 663.) Siṇ. *rá*, "fermented toddy;" *mirá*, "sweet toddy."

† *Massack*; cf. Schweitzer, *l. c.*, p. 266. (See also C. A. S. Journal, 1887, p. 168.)

‡ *Arack* or *arrack* (from Arabic, *barak*, "sweat"), "which sort of drink is distilled out of the *suri* that comes off from the cocoa-trees, and they call it *Arack*."—Schweitzer, *l. c.*, p. 253.

§ So, too, spelt by Struys; Mandelslo (Dutch ed., 1658, p. 24), *Palepunzen*. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Punch."

‖ Siṇ. *Yakṣayá*, *Yakká*. See C. A. S. Journal, 1865, pp. 13-43.

to worship him carry him under a *peschar** tree (which is like a lime tree with thick leaves),† and pray, in case they are ill themselves, that he may restore them to health; or if their cows, sheep, or other animals are about to bring forth, that he would give them strength and help. They are in the habit of not carrying water from a well without first spilling a handful on the ground, and saying "This be offered to *Jacka*." For what the Chinese say of their joss, the Ceilonese likewise say of *Jacka*, viz., "God is a good man, who has created everything and hurts nobody: but, *Jacka* is malicious; to him we must make offerings that he may do us no harm." They have special priests, called *Bramanes*, who can tell, if something has been stolen, who has taken it, and can force the thief to pass a certain spot, whence he cannot move, and must either bring the stolen things back or die.‡ They also firmly believe that on a mountain which they call Adam's Mountain, Adam's foot-prints are visible, and covered by a little temple in which cocoanut-oil lamps made of yellow copper burn day and night, and whither people come every year, a distance of seven to eight miles (Dutch), bringing a little cocoanut-oil as an offering. When they want to swear to a thing, the form of affirmation is that they are made to put their hands into hot melted butter.§ If they have perjured themselves they will be scorched; if their statement is true God will not allow that even a finger should be hurt in the boiling fat.

* Skt. *Pisácha*, the demons or spirits of the dead, has worshipped in S. India and Ceylon.

† See note *, p. 252.

‡ Cf. Knox, p. 112. This is still a genuine belief among the Siṇhalese; the following *mantra* witness :—"Take some sand from a footprint of the thief, and placing it on a *mal-tatuva* (flower-offering altar) charm it 108 times at the three *yámas* (divisions) of the night; then mix it with *daḷuk-kiri* (sap of the *Euphorbia antiquorum*), cover it up and hang it over the hearth. In three *varuvas* (1½ day) one side of the thief will become lifeless, in 1½ day more his body will crack and split (in different parts), and in seven days he will die." The Máldivians have very similar charms against thieves.

§ Siṇ. *telen gomen diviruma.*

Whenever we suspected them of theft, we insisted upon this proof, and very often got the lost things back, because they were afraid of being burnt if they withheld the goods against their better knowledge.*

Marriage is a matter which they take very easy. When they get married (everybody has the right to take as many wives as he can support) they give each other a cloth, or plant a tree, and when that is torn, or this bears fruits no longer, they separate. It is not uncommon for a man to cohabit with his brother's wives, or to commit incest; and in fact marriage is liked the better the more brothers the bridegroom has. The wedding feast and the confirmation of the marriage contract consist in the bride and bridegroom eating a dish of rice together, boiled in cocoanut milk, and called *kiribath*.† This is the whole festivity, and it completes everything.

As there are high mountains and extensive forests, so there are many animals and vermin in them. The natives have a queer way of calculating distances and of hunting. A mile is counted in this fashion: they take a leaf from the spot where they start for the journey; as soon as this leaf has withered, they think they have gone a mile; as long as the leaf is fresh, they are satisfied that they have not yet travelled a mile. The hunting is done in this wise: three or four men go into the forest at night; the first carries on his head a rice winnower, with an earthen pot inside; in this pot are wood embers that glow well, but burn slowly, and herewith they drive the elephants out of the way. The second man has in his hand a bunch of small bells, which he jangles the whole time to attract the attention of the animals, but not to drive them away, for they do not fear them to such an extent. If they meet an animal, be it deer, wild pig, elk, or wild buffaloes (for, as said before, they would not hurt a tame

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* See Knox. p. 103; C. A. S. Journal, 1873, p. 12.

† Sin̥. *kiri-bat*, a kind of rice pudding made with cocoanut milk and a ittle salt. (C. A. S. Journal, No. 26, 1883, p. 48.)

one), the third man takes his gun and shoots it at close quarters. When they set out they will not allow any one to go with them, and keep everything as secret as possible.*

Every year they catch about twenty wild elephants, tame them, and sell them to Persians and Moors, principally from Mecca.† I myself had to go three years consecutively into the jungle to see elephants caught,—at one time I saw as many as two hundred together; and because at the beginning I was anxious myself to see how these huge brutes could be caught, which one describes in one way, and another in another way, I was the more pleased to go.

I will now tell how I have seen them caught by the Dutch, in this same island of *Ceilon*.

There are two places where they are caught, the one called *Kattumma*, the other *Flasmeulla*.‡ A special master of the hunt is appointed, who has to furnish a given number of elephants every year. In my time he had to provide three with tusks, and fifteen without: the latter being of considerably less value than the former. He has for the purpose thirty-six villages under his command, out of which he can take five hundred natives to help him. The best time to catch elephants is in the three months of June, July, and August, because, on account of want of water, they leave the high mountains and go into the plains towards the sea, where it rains more frequently.

Now, when the hunter wants to catch them, he orders wood to be brought, or his subordinates must fetch it in the jungle

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* See Knox, p. 26, and C. A. S. Journal, No. 26, 1883, p. 16, of the Panikkans, or Elephant-catchers.

† Ribeiro says, twenty or thirty were procured annually for the Mogul. The trade was important to the Dutch, realising from 100,000 to 130,000 guilders yearly. Colombo and Mátara furnished fifty elephants, the Wanni fifty, Mántoṭa and Viláṉkuḷam twenty to twenty-five—a net total of one hundred available for the sale at Jaffna, whence all were taken overland to find a readier market. Two kraals were held each year, that in the Mátara district being the larger. (Lee's *Rebeiro*, App., pp. 170–197.)

‡ *Kaṭuwána; Walasmulla;* both in the Hambantoṭa District of the Southern Province.

themselves : this must be wood which does not burn quickly like other kinds, but, on the contrary, smoulders and glows a long while. Knowing already whence the elephants are coming, they place it down for a distance of four, five, or six miles, as they want to drive them, and set fire to it. The animals are very much afraid of the fire, and certainly would not step over it (this was also our safeguard during the night, and we protected ourselves in making a huge fire around us), and a *kral* is put at the end, that is to say, they put on both sides strong, big trees, close together, like pallisades, and strongly supported. Here the elephants stand, wedged in, and must submit to have those picked out which are to be driven into a kind of passage at a quarter of an hour's distance. This passage is much narrower, so that an elephant once in it can neither turn round nor get out, because the end is closed with four strong bars. As soon as the one wanted is inside, it will go straight on, in the hope of getting through, but as soon as it reaches the end, the natives, who are at hand, run up with small spears, and put likewise four bars behind it, so that it can neither go forward nor backward. When eight (that is the number that can be accommodated in the passage at one time) have been driven in, the elephant-catcher reports to the commander. Then the tame elephants, which have been broken to it, are brought up by a native with the help of a goad, one on each side of the passage, with a thick rope wound four times round its neck. A similar rope is thrown round the wild elephant ; but this is very difficult to manage, and it often takes half a day before a small rope is got round it, to which the big rope is attached. As soon as it is tied in this way, a rope is fastened to one of the hind legs, and held by two hundred natives, until at the outlet the bars have been withdrawn. Then the elephant imagines that it can quickly escape, because it is free in front, but it remains firmly tied to the tame elephants. After it is thus well secured, the hind leg is set free again, and it must walk on

between the two tame elephants, just as in our country a wild bull is led between oxen.*

We now hurry to the place where it is to be tamed, and have the privilege (provided he is a tusker, otherwise it is not allowed) to claim from the peasants in all the villages passed through enough to eat and drink. Should they refuse, the natives who ride on the tame elephants take the wild one into the rice fields and thoroughly lay them waste. Therefore, if the natives know that we are out elephant-catching, they keep in all the villages some one to watch and to look out for us twice a day, near some tall tree, such as are in the villages, surrounded by stones, so that one can sit under it: they call it "*peschar*† tree," and offer to the demons under it.

When a peasant takes rice from the field, before carrying it home and eating any of it, he boils a chattyful and offers it to the demon, that he may again allow a good crop the following year.‡

As soon as the elephant reaches the place where it is to be tamed, the drivers stop at the *peschar* tree, with all three elephants, until the *billaher*§ arrive. These are two dancers in fancy dress with masks, and quite covered with bells. They dance and caper about in front of the wild elephant, and at last stand still and speak to it in their language, bidding it not to try and make believe that it was wild; instead of being forced, as hitherto, to stay in the jungle in rain and wind, it was now to stand in a house, and under a roof; instead of being compelled to go several miles for water to drink, it would now be taken twice a day to the river to drink; instead of not always finding food as heretofore, or not enough, it would now have plenty to eat every day. The

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* For full particulars regarding the present mode of kraaling elephants in Ceylon, see Tennent, *The Wild Elephant*, 1867. It may be noted that elephants are now noosed in the ordinary kraal enclosure without resorting to the narrow *cul de sac*.

† ? Tamil, *pisásu*, demon.

‡ Sin̥., *akyála*, or *deviyanné-vi* (C. A. S. Journal, No. 26, 1883, p. 55).

§ ? Port. *bailhador*, dancer.

elephant stands confused by the strange sounds and the jumping, and quietly submits, as if it was bewitched. Then they bring a big bucket full of water, pour it over the body, and christen it therewith, giving it the name of the lord of the land, or of any other noble, and take it to its stable: after that it takes six months, sometimes even a year, to become quite tame, so that it can be trusted and let free.*

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* The following interesting particulars have been communicated by C. J. Hulugala, Raṭémahatmeyá of Wanni-hatpattu, North-Western Province :—

From the day a herd has been surrounded, and the drive started, the elephants are invariably subjected to charms, either in the way of enforcing their march, or whenever they attempt to charge at the beaters, or break through the line of watchers. Certain charms used on these occasions are supposed to have dangerous or even fatal effects on the particular elephants to which they are applied, unless these effects are dispelled by counter charms employed in different prescribed forms. The form generally known and adopted by the people of this District (Kurunẹgala) is to charm a potful of clear fresh water, and sprinkle some of it on every one of the captured elephants, either before they are taken out of the kraal, or at the stable *(pántiya)*.

The "christening" spoken of by the writer is performed occasionally even at the present day, but at no particular stage, or in any set form. Originally the christening appears to have accompanied the sprinkling of the charmed water. The person who undertakes the ceremony inquires what name the elephant's owner desires it called by, and, addressing the animal by the name thus assigned, sprinkles some of the water, repeating certain appropriate incantations; but, so far as can be gathered, there would seem to be no particular phraseology used.

The elephant is supposed after this to be not only secure from the effects of the original charms, but also to be free for the future from influence on the part of the *déwatáwá*, or guardian-spirit, who is supposed to have possessed it in its wild state—there being a strong belief among the natives that every wild elephant has a *déwatáwá* to protect it, so much so, that there are special charms directed to be used only at such hours that the *déwatáwá* is believed to have supreme control over the elephant. These hours are midday, and evening between 5.30 P.M. and 6.30 P.M., and then the ordinary charms are considered to be powerless.

Every village has a prominent tree, held sacred next only to the *bó*, in some conspicuous spot, either on a bund of a tank or elsewhere, which the people believe to be occupied by the *déwatáwá*, or guardian-spirit, of the village, and at the foot of which they make different kinds of offerings in the way of milk, rice, &c. There is a "peschar" tree of this kind in every village, and it is possible that it was formerly the habit to take the captured elephants before such trees out of respect to the *déwatáwá*, as also to secure his protection for the elephant, and in order to exercise the devil

The Hollanders sell fifteen to twenty elephants every year to the Moors who come from Persia or Mecca. They are first measured with a long stick like a measuring rod. From a man's elbow to the hand (that is in our measure as much as three-fourths of an ell) is called a *gobdel*,* and the price for one is three to four hundred thalers. I have often seen elephants that were seven, eight, nine, or ten *gobdels* high; the biggest that came to my notice was even eleven *gobdels* in height.

As I have said, that, when out to catch elephants, we had to protect ourselves with large fires, which they are afraid of, I will now also describe an adventure I had on such an occasion with a big snake. There are many of them in the island of *Ceilon*. Some are very poisonous, and he who gets bitten must die, unless he applies remedies immediately. They are called *Cupre Capelle*:† some of them have a stone in the head, and he who has such a stone is in no danger even though bitten; for if the stone be held to the wound, it sticks to it, and draws the poison out, and when taken off, and put into water, the water turns a bluish colour. The stone gives up all the poison, and one can safely use it again as before.‡

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which is supposed to have had charge and care of the elephant in its wild state.

After the ceremony of sprinkling water has been gone through, and the elephant named, or "christened," it is removed to the *hiliṅguwa*. This is a sort of narrow enclosure constructed in the stable, wherein the elephant is confined to enable the tamer to approach and fondle it in the process of taming.

The dancing may have formed part of the ceremony peculiar to the Mátara District (where the writer probably witnessed it), but is not now resorted to in the Kandyan districts.

* Cubit (Port. *covado*). "An elephant is sold according to his height. The largest elephant is about 9 cubits (*códos*) high from the point of the foot to the shoulder, and being sold at the rate of 1,000 *pardaos* the cubit, he fetches about 8,000 *pardaos*; but a very large one, which has good distinguishing marks, fetches 12,000 or even 15,000 *pardaos*." (Lee, *Ribeiro*, p. 67.)

† *Kobra de kabelo* (Dutch ed.); Port. *Cobra do capello*; Sin. *nayá*; *Naja tripudians* (Merv.).

‡ See Tennent, *Nat. Hist.*, pp. 312, 313.

Now, the following happened to me with a snake. One day, when out catching elephants, two of my comrades—Vallentin Pollac,* a Pole by birth, and Henrich von Kampen§—and myself were ordered to cross the river and fetch wood to increase the fire on account of the elephants. One of the three had to hold his gun and keep guard so as to fire a shot should an elephant approach, whilst the other two collected wood and put it into the boat. My comrade Henrich von Kampen went a little too far into the forest and began to shout at the top of his voice, that I—and especially Vallentin Pollac with his gun—should come up and load with a crossbar shot, because there was a large snake that could not escape. After he had fired and killed it, we noticed that it had swallowed a young deer, all save one of the hind legs, which was still protruding. We measured the snake, and found it to be sixteen feet long, and as thick as a tree of twelve thumbs. We tried in vain to drag it into our boat. When we cut it open we found the young deer inside, and on placing it on the cinnamon scales ascertained that it weighed forty pounds. The natives wanted to eat it, but we thought that if it would not hurt them it would not hurt us, as the snake was not a poisonous one.† We took it to the river, washed it well, took the skin off, and divided the flesh; then cooked it and asked our comrades to eat with us. Some of them thought it repulsive diet, but I felt no qualms of that kind. I made four good meals of it, and asked my good friend Michael Danckwert, of Sweden, to join me. We thanked our Lord who had given it, and were well content. The fat of the snake was melted away. We took the carcass and put it upon an ant-hill, as we knew to be the way of the heathens, who adorn themselves with the bones that remain, which are made beautifully white and shining; they also use them for necklaces and hat laces.

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* *Valentyn Polak; Heindrik van Kampen* (Dutch ed.).

† He refers to the *Python molurus* (Linn.), which occasionally reaches twenty feet in length.

There are also other snakes called "rat-catchers,"* which at times, when we slept, crept over us. But they do nobody any harm, and therefore are not killed; they creep under the roofs, search for the nests of rats and mice, and eat them, as the cats do in our country. The lizards often warned us, as it were, against them, and we oftentimes said to each other: "Those lizards must think that the snakes wish to harm us, or there must be a peculiar antipathy between the snakes and the lizards." For it often happened when we laid us down, as our wont during the great heat at midday, and slept, and a rat-catcher snake was near and crept towards us, that a lizard† would run over the face or on to the neck, and scratch and tickle us till we woke and could guard against the snake; thus showing the love which it, although a lizard, felt towards men. Even if such a snake is only as thick as a child's finger it can swallow and digest a big rat. In Banda a snake is said to have been killed twenty-eight feet long, and on opening it, a servant girl, or slave, was found inside.

As I have spoken of snakes, I shall also mention other vermin of the island. It is dangerous to walk near rivers or morasses, on account of the crocodiles, called by the heathen *kümmele*, or *keyman*‡, which love to haunt those places, and lay their eggs. Once our steersman Heinrich (generally called "Lucifer") caught a small live crocodile, a span long, and kept it in a jar of fresh water. I found this jar on board at a time when I was very thirsty, and not knowing that the reptile was inside, I took a deep draught out of it. The draught, thank God, did me no harm, but all who heard of it were very much alarmed; a few days afterwards, however,

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* *Ptyas mucosus* (Linn.).

† *Hemidactylus maculatus*, or *Peripia peronii*, both geckos commonly found in houses.

‡ Sin. *kimbulá*. (On *kaiman*, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Cayman.") There are two species in Ceylon. See Tennent, *Nat. Hist.*, pp. 282–89.

the young crocodile died.* It was stuffed with straw and kept as a memento, and I often handled it myself.

Crocodiles there are very dangerous to men, and a good friend of mine, a painter, lost his wife by one. In 1649, one night at *Negumbo*, we were ordered to the bank of a river, and my said good friend sat in the bright moonlight, and to while away the time drew sketches in the sand, whilst the others slept. A crocodile crawled up, seized him from behind, and carried him off so quickly that the sentinel upon the Horn Bastion of the *Negumbo* fortress only heard him call out twice "O God!" It was not till two months afterwards that we found his clothes and sword half a mile from *Negumbo*, on a small island called Walchere.† I saw a native carrying them in his hand when I went to the river to buy fish.‡

A similar fate befell our comrade Wilhelm von Helmont§ He went to bathe in this river, and as he was sitting up to his chest in water, and intending to first wash his head with eggs and limes, and afterwards dry it with cotton leaves, as is the custom there, such a huge crocodile bore him away that we never saw anything more of him.

The same thing nearly happened to the wife of one of our captains, Marcus Cassels,‖ a native of Flanders, at a place ten miles from *Pünte de Galle*, called *Madre*..¶ One evening she wanted to walk down to the river, not far from her house,

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* But soon a wonder came to light,
That show'd the rogues they lied;
*The man recovered of the bite,*
*The dog it was that died.*
(Goldsmith, Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog.)

† *Walcheren* (Dutch ed.). Probably the modern *Dúwa*, which lies a quarter of a mile from the mainland at the mouth of the Negombo lake, just beyond *Kuttidúwa* point: here all the fish is sold by auction as it comes in. Another island, *Munakkará*, is some two hundred yards distant from the Resthouse.

‡ Johann von der Behr records a similar incident as having occurred at Negombo in June, 1648.

§ *Willem van Helmont* (Dutch ed.).

‖ *Markus van Kassel* (Dutch ed.).

¶ Mátara, thirty English miles south of Galle.

when she fortunately saw a crocodile that was waiting for her, and began to move towards her; although very much frightened, she just managed to escape. The captain at once sent for the blacksmith, and ordered him to make a great hook, and when it was ready he caused a dog to be shot, fastened to the hook, and put into the river with a long chain. Two hours afterwards the crocodile appeared again, came to the carcass, and swallowed the hook. We saw this and quickly ran to the place; some of us pulled it on to the bank, others took iron rods, such as are used to load guns, and nearly beat it to death; then we filled a big powder flask, put it into its mouth, and exploded it with a train from a distance. Next day, when we cut the animal open, we found that it had been living for fully eight hours afterwards.*............

If one searches, it is easy to find where a crocodile is: it makes a somewhat loud sound similar to that of an ill-tempered dog; it knocks its jaws together, so that the snapping is plainly audible at a distance.

Besides the crocodiles and snakes there are many other vermin in *Ceilon*. There is a kind of worm called by the Portuguese *Un cento pé*,† and by the Hollanders "thousand legs." They are fully a span long, have brownish, or often white feet, and are so poisonous that when they bite swelling sets in at once, and the great pain drives one almost delirious. During the night they glimmer like sulphur, and the best thing to allay the pain is to put on ear-wax.‡

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* Wir hatten einen in der *Compagnia*, einen Schiffers-Knecht, der vom, Glück zu sagen wusteü in dergleichen Gefahr. In ein Gesträus kam Er und wolte seine Nohtdurft verrichten, meinte auch nicht anderst, Er ruhete auf einen alten Storn. Da aber Knal, und Fall, gieng, war es ein Crocodil, das über dem Gepluder so wohl erschrack, und durchschosz als Er erschrack, Sein Geräht geschwind wieder zusamm raspelte, und mit offnen Hosen lief, was Er lauffen kunnte, und, Gott lob! auch davon kam.

† *Centopiedo* (Dutch ed.), our centipede.

‡ This may be one of the many native remedies. A Siṉhalese medical work (*Yógálankáraya*, Galle, 1885) prescribes tartar scraped from the teeth. Schweitzer recommends "oil of cocos" (*l.c.*, p. 292).

There are also many scorpions : the smaller ones are white, the bigger ones—I have seen them as large as crabs—are dark. These vermin live in old walls, and come out when it rains. The fowls love to catch them and prey upon them. When sailing in old ships, or felling trees on shore, especially old trees, one must be very careful not to be poisoned by them. I was stung once by a big scorpion, but ran quickly to the surgeon, who put oil on, and I recovered.

There are besides thin red worms called "suckers." They are put on to dropsical people to draw out the objectionable matter ; so full do they suck themselves that they become as thick as the thumb, and when quite round fall off just as leeches with us. They often attach themselves to the legs, especially when it rains, so that to be rid of them the feet must be rubbed well with powder and salt.* During the night another creature, a kind of fly, plagues one greatly ; they call them *muscieten* (mosquitoes) ; their sting itches very much, and they cannot be driven from the room but by smoke, which they appear to dislike exceedingly.

Beautiful large turtles are caught in *Ceilon.* We have often found the eggs on the shore to the number of 300 to 400. I have seen with my own eyes turtles so big that a couple of men had enough to do to carry one. The fishermen used to sell them for half, or three-fourths of a rixdollar ; but this luxury is only within the reach of rich people. Once, when we were out elephant hunting, and I stood sentinel, I saw one in the moonlight, as big as a hat ; and as at that time I did not know yet what it was, and only saw it moving about, I called my comrade to look. When he came, and with his musket had turned it over and found that it was a turtle, he was delighted, cut it open and took off the shell ;

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* Cf., too, Knox, p. 25, and Ibn Batuta (C. A. S. Journal, Extra No., 1882, p. 46). "Blood-suckers or leeches are the worst vermin on the island... The best way to deal with them is to have some green lemons with one, or good vinegar and salt, or saltpetre, and wet them with it, and they fall off immediately." Schweitzer, p. 293.

the remainder we took, cooked, and our ensign, Otto Hermersen,* of Emden, having invited himself as a guest, we all found that in truth, the meat was of better taste and flavour than the best chicken.

In the forests are many tigers, but as they have sufficient prey in young buffaloes, oxen, deer, &c., men are comparatively safe from them. We much liked to see that they had killed the heathens' cattle or other animals, for it is the tiger's nature only to suck the blood, and as he does not eat the flesh, and it was repugnant to the natives to eat anything but what they slaughtered themselves, the meat came in very handy for us, and we used to wish that the tiger would often prepare a similar feast.........

It is likewise very amusing in the forest to watch the monkeys, who delight in staying on cocoanut trees; and if anybody happens to pass, they throw the nuts down on his head. I shot several of them. They make enormous springs from one tree to another, and when they have young ones they take them in their arms and jump from branch to branch.† They are easily trained, and I have seen one myself that could fetch wine, and would refuse to give the money before he got the wine. When boys tried to tease it it would put the jar down, lay hold of stones, and throw them, so that the boys had to run away.

They are caught in a curious way. A whole cocoanut is taken, a hole is bored into it, and the kernel loosened; then the monkeys come at once, scratch a bit of the kernel out with their fingers, and when the natives rush up, the monkeys, rather than let the kernel go, allow themselves to be caught. Some of them are totally black, and have partly long tails, partly short tails; some are grey, and these too have both long and short tails.‡ A wild monkey can be

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* *Otto Harmensz.* (Dutch ed.).

† The small brown kind (*Macacus pileatus;* Siŋ. *rilavá*) is probably meant.

‡ On the four species of *Presbytes* (Siŋ. *vandaruvá*) found in Ceylon, see Tennent, *Nat. Hist.*, pp. 6-11.

bought for half a rixdollar, but those that are trained and know a few tricks cannot be had under two rixdollars.

There are in the island of *Ceilon* many and beautiful trees called cocoanut trees, from which as I said above, a beverage is drawn called *siere*. In Amboina it is called *sagawehr*,* in Surat *terri*.† The tree can be utilised in about seventy ways. When the liquor gets old they make vinegar of it. The nuts when young are green, and have water inside, very sweet, and as clear as crystal;‡ when you cut them open the water spirts up to a certain height; but when old, the water inside the nut becomes solid, and a kernel grows about as thick as the finger, of which milk can be made; you can also make oil of it. The natives cover their houses with the branches, and also make their utensils thereof. When the nuts are old they are put into the ground, and a plant grows out of the nut, which, after five or six years, bears fruit. If the natives had not this tree, they would be poor indeed. But the monkeys, of whom there is a large number, as I have before remarked, do much damage to the trees.

There are also beautiful *cannelles*, or cinnamon trees; all the cinnamon, and more than is wanted, comes solely from this island. In 1648, when in garrison at *Negumbo*, about twenty-six miles from *Pünte de Galle*, I was during three months often ordered into the forest, as a rule, with twenty-five men; of the niggers, however, or heathen, about four hundred went to the forest. When we marched out in the morning a drummer came with us who had to beat the drum very loud in the forest, and we fired volleys from time to time on account of the elephants. In the meantime the natives had to peel cinnamon, for cinnamon is nothing else but the bark of the tree, which can be peeled, just as bark is peeled from trees

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* *Sagaweer* (Dutch ed.). See *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* "Saguire."

† Toddy. See *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

‡ Johann von der Behr (p. 49) says, that the drinking to excess of cocoanut water was very injurious to newly arrived Europeans, causing paralysis of the legs, which could be cured only by inserting the limbs in hot sand several hours a day for some months.

in our country. The tree itself does not grow very high, is no thicker than a man's leg above the ankle, and bears no fruit. The leaves, when taken into the mouth, have a taste of cloves; after the tree has been peeled the bark renews within a year and a half, and you can see how the sap oozes out through small holes, and runs over the tree and congeals until the bark can be peeled again. When the tree is old, and a young one sprouts up, the old one is cut down to make room for it, because old cinnamon is not of the same value as new. Every one of the natives knows how much he must bring. When they come home there is a captain who examines the bark, and if he finds old or thick cinnamon he rejects it, and does not weigh it; but in *Pünte de Galle* they make cinnamon-oil of it. Any native who brings one thousand pounds weight of good young cinnamon is free for a whole year afterwards; if he does not bring so much he must make it up next year; for what more he brings he gets paid.*

It costs the Hollanders very little money on the spot,—no not a penny,—but much Christian blood: I know for certain that during the period of eight years which I spent in the island, it cost us six thousand of our men; and the Portuguese, who always wage war with the Emperor of *Ceilon*, just as we did for some time, over twenty thousand men.†

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* According to Valentyn (*Oude en Nieuwe Oost Indien*), each man was required to bring in during the harvest two *bahars*, of 480 lb. the *bahar*: for one *bahar* he got nothing; for the other only 1½ rixdollar. The captain in charge of the cinnamon peelers was held responsible that the fixed number of 515 natives entered the forest and remained there till they had brought in the stipulated quantity, 898 *bahars* = 431,040 lb. The yearly demand was at first 1,000 bales; by 1742 it had grown to 2,100 bales for India, besides the regular supply to Europe, 8,000 bales. There were then two harvests a year, the first and chief in April. In such estimation was its collection held as to give the title of *Mahá badda*, or "great tax," to the establishment under which it was worked by the natives of the Cháliya caste, who retain the name in spite of the abolition of the Government monopoly since 1833. (For full particulars of the trade and its expansion, see Lee's *Ribeiro*, App., pp. 172, 191, 192, 231–45; Bertolacci, pp. 239–55.)

† Cf. Tennent, II., 51.

Another kind of tree there is called *hakra*,* of which they get black sugar, and which the Hollanders therefore call "the sugar-tree." The leaves are very large, and they are used when it rains, because they keep off the water well.† They bear apples as big as the head of a child, brown outside, like a chestnut, and yellow inside. If one wants to open and eat it the shell must first be pulled off with the teeth; the inner part is like a knot of hair; when taken into the mouth, it has a hard, large, white kernel, very sweet and pleasant to eat; yet one would rather think that the inner part ought to be thrown away and the outside eaten. We have often had a joke with new comers over this.‡

There is another kind of tree which they call *sursack*, a favourite fruit with the elephants: it has leaves like a larch, and does not bear its fruit, like other trees, on stalks away from the trunk and on the branches, but on the trunk itself. The fruit is long, green, thorny, very mucilaginous inside, and with yellow seeds with a kernel, which, roasted like a chestnut, have a very agreeable taste.§

Capital lime, orange, and pomegranate trees are also found. The natives, as well as foreigners, Hollanders, and Portuguese, men and women, eat one or two oranges early in the morning, and say that in the morning oranges are like gold to the stomach, at noon and in the evening like lead: so you will not see any Portuguese eat this fruit save at the time first stated.

There is a kind of pumpkin also, called melons: they grow like pumpkins, not round like those of our Christian soil, but long; they are good and pleasant to eat.‖

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* *I.e.*, Siṇ. *hakuru*, "jaggery," a coarse brown sugar made in Ceylon from the kitul (*Caryota urens*), cocoanut (*Cocos nucifera*), and palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*) palms. Saar means the kitul.

† The leaves of the talipot (*Corypha umbraculifera*) or palmyra are, of course, referred to.

‡ The fruit of the palmyra palm.

§ *Sursack*, the Dutch name for the *Artocarpus integrifolia*, or jak-tree (Port., *jaca*, from Malayalam *chakka*). *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* "Soursop."

‖ Several species. Cf. Nieuhoff (Churchill, II., 329), on its good qualities.

Almost similarly so grows a fruit called water-melon, sometimes as big as a man's head, and sometimes smaller. The outside is green: when you open them, they are red inside; some have black, some red kernels; they are very juicy, and on that account cut into small slices, which are put into the mouth to quench the thirst in the great heat.*

There are also big gourds, and in great quantities; they are easily carried, and often, when we had to march and were afraid of running short of water, we hollowed them out and carried them well filled. Into the smaller ones we put oil, and hung them to our bandoleers, so that in case of rain we could clean our guns and be always ready to fire.†

They have a kind of pear as big as a fist, called *kujafen*, which grows on small trees of the height of a man; the colour is yellow; inside are black kernels, and they are eaten with the peel on, being very soft.‡

Other trees, about one and a half times the height of a man, bear *pappeyen*, which are similar to our pears, and oval: when they are ripe they are green outside, yellow inside, very juicy and sweet, and melt in one's mouth; in the centre they have ash-coloured kernels, which are a capital medicine against diarrhœa and dysentery. At times they are cooked, and then have the taste of turnips; they are a very hot fruit.§

The *annassen*, likewise, are so hot that the lips crack, even if cut up like limes and soaked in water for a long time; they nearly resemble our artichokes, and are of a reddish colour.‖

Similarly hot are the *kaschauen*, a fruit formed below like a heart, but above is a chestnut which, when opened, is

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* Siṇ. *komaḍu; Citrullus vulgaris*, or water melon.

† The bottle gourd, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (Seringe).

‡ Guava; Siṇ. *péra; Psidium guyava* (Linn.).

§ *Carica papaya*, the papaya, or papaw. "This word seems to be from America, like the insipid, not to say nasty, fruit which it denotes."—*Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* "Papaya."

‖ *Ananassa sativa*, the pine apple.

very oily; but when it has been well dried it exposes a kernel inside as good as an almond: one side of the fruit is red, the other yellow; it is very good against syphilis, which, by reason of its heat, it drives out of the skin, so as to be evident.*

They have still other fruits; for instance, the *mumpelbouse*, as big as the head, red inside; the peel prepared with sugar, like the citron, is very good to allay thirst.† The *puppunen*, similar to the melons, green outside, red inside, are made hollow, filled with fat, meat, or grease, pepper and mace. When a fleet sails, they take one or two thousand with them and when well boiled together their taste is good.‡ The *potazen*, of the same form as our cheese-cakes, as long as a finger, and oval, are peeled and cut, and when cooked are an agreeable dish.§

The *kecerey*, a sort of a vegetable, reddish and white, like lentils.‖ The *gajan*, round grains, which, when cooked, turn quite green.¶

There is also a fruit, the size of a plum, green outside, inside of a reddish yellow, with a big kernel inside when ripe, and very sweet. The native call them *mangas*, and

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* The cashew-nut and apple, *Anacardium occidentale*.

† Pommelo, pomplemose, or shaddock (*Citrus decumana*, Linn.), the largest of the orange tribe. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Pommelo," for the many vagaries the name has assumed. Dutch ed. reads *pumpelmoezen*.

‡ Dutch ed. *pepoenen*; Port. *pepino*, cucumber.

§ Probably sweet potatoes (Siṉ. *batala*). In W. Schouten spelt *batattes* and *patatten*.

‖ Dutch ed. *kecerijen*. Probably the vetchling (*Lathyrus sativus*, Linn.; *Cicercula alata*, Moench). Hind. *khesári*, *kussúr*, *kasári*, *kassar-tiuri*. W. Schouten has *kitzery* (II., 13) and *kitsery* (II., 17; III., 15), which he describes as "a small but nutritious seed." (See also next note.)

¶ *Cajanus indicus*, or pigeon pea,—"*kadjang*, as the *Javaneses* and *Malayans* call it" (Nieuhoff, *loc. cit.*, 336),—is the commonly used pulse, *dál* or *doll* of India. W. Schouten (II., 17) says: "*Catyang*, which are little seeds, about the size of those of *Fenugreek*, and in some places are shipped in large quantities, and are used everywhere throughout India as food, just as peas are in Holland." Heydt (1744), writing of Java, says (p. 69, *note*):—"Some sell provisions and eatables, namely rice, catjang, *kissery*, beans and corn in great plenty."

I liked them very much, when for the first time I tasted them after my arrival from Banda at Batavia.*

There are whole fields full of cardamoms: they grow as high as rice, in sheaths, in which they are shipped to other countries.†

A kind of pepper grows also there, but it is not exported, for it is consumed in the country.‡ The best quality and the largest quantity comes to our stores from the Island of Jamby.‖ There is no saffron, instead of that they use a root called *borriborri*, of the shape of ginger, and when rubbed on a stone the colour is reddish; they like it particularly because they say that it makes the eyes clear and bright.¶

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* *Mangifera indica.* From the Tamil *mán-káy* the Portuguese coined *manga*, whence the modern form *mango.*

† *Elettaria cardamomum;* Sin. *ensál*, Ceylon cardamom.

‡ Chillies are possibly referred to. Further on (chapter XVI.) Saar says:—"When I had now been six months at *Batavia*, I received for my wages two months' pay, with which money I therefore supplied myself with victuals for the voyage; I bought a large pot full of fruit, which are called *ricien*, and must be cooked if one wishes to eat them. Some are green, some red, some yellow; they can be used instead of pepper, and grow on small bushes, as the bilberry does in these parts. The Indians call them *rattimires* [Sin. *raṭamiris*], and the other pepper, which is brought to India from other places, they call *Hollandes mires.* The true pepper grows exactly like the juniper berry, and is quite green, and only when it is dried in the sun does it become black." Langhansz (p. 194) says:—"...... long or Spanish pepper (which they call *ritzkes*)."

‖ Jambi was not an island, but a kingdom on the east coast of Sumatra now included in the Province of Palembang.

¶ "The plant, the root whereof is called *Borbori* by the *Javaneses*, *Saffran di Terra*, i.e. *Saffron under Ground* by the *Portugueses*, *Kurkum* by the *Arabians*, and by the *Latins*, *Radix Curcumæ* or *Curcumy-Root*, has Leaves not unlike those of the *White Hellebore*, *viz.*, thick, long, and broad, smooth, and interspersed with many Veins. The Stalk is thick, and grown up to a considerable height: The Flower is of a Purple colour, and the Root resembles the *Gentian-Root*. After the Flower comes the Fruit, like a Chestnut, containing a round Seed not unlike our Pease. The Root contains a Saffron yellow Tincture, whence it has got the Name of *Indian Saffron.* The *Malayans* Boil and Eat them both with Fish and Flesh and look upon them as the most Sovereign Remedy in the World; against all the Obstructions of the Liver, Lungs, and Spleen; against the Gravel and Stone.

There are old people in the island up to ninety and one hundred years; and to keep themselves in good health, they carry a root in their belt, which they chew if they do not feel well.* I once asked one of them how he could have grown so old, and still be so quiet. He replied that when he had a mind to eat he had eaten, to drink he had drunk; to sleep he had slept; when he had an opportunity to sit down he sat down; to cover his head he covered it; in short he had never done anything against his nature when he could help it.

When one of them is on his deathbed, and to all appearances sinking, one of his best friends comes, puts his mouth on his firmly and exactly, that his soul may not go into an animal when leaving.† When he is quite dead, they begin to weep and to mourn, and to ask with tears why he had died, whether he had not money enough or not enough to eat; they go into the jungle and conjure the devil that he should tell them what had been the matter with the deceased. After much crying they wash him and sew him up in a cloth, and then hire several old women, who have to sit in front of the dead man's house for three days and nights and to wail. They cover themselves with mud, or run into the water up to the neck, as if they wanted to drown themselves

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the Stoppage of the Monthly Flowers, and other Diseases of the Womb; but most especially against the Yellow Jaundice: This Root is one of the main Ingredients in that Ointment, called *Borbori* by the *Javaneses*, wherewith they anoint the whole Body." (Nieuhoff, *loc. cit.*, p. 339.) "Curcoma or Bobori" (Valentyn, Amboina, p. 160). "Great Java also produces...Borborry" (Heydt, p 69, *n*). "They [the Malabars] smear themselves now and then with *Borreborry*, a sort of *Indian* saffron (W. Schouten, *l. c.*, p. 275). "*Buriburri* or *Gurkoma* (which is the Indian saffron)" (Langhansz, *Neue Ost-Indische Reise*, p. 194). "The *Gurkuma*, which in India is called *Burburri*, they use likewise for dyeing cotton" (*ibid*, p. 242).

* Probably the areka-nut (*Areca catechu L.*), which all natives chew, mixing it with leaves of the betel creeper (*Piper betle*) and chunam or lime.

† Navarette notes that the Bráhmins, *contra*, endeavour to ensure the soul of the man *in articulo mortis* passing straight into a cow, though not through its mouth. (Churchill, I., 308.)

in their distress.* At last the body is put upon a bier, and if the man was particularly poor and of mean birth, they carry him into the jungle or to the seabeach, where they bury him with the face towards the east.† They generally put upon the grave a green branch, and plant thorns around it to protect it against the *jackhals*,‡ a kind of fox, which is very fond of human flesh. As an outward sign of their grief, they wear a long blue cap with no bottom to it, which hangs far down behind, and in this dress they appear for about a year.

In this island, as mentioned before, the Portuguese had several settlements. The Emperor of *Ceilon* and King of *Candi*, however, did not like them as neighbours, for they had drowned his brother, because he was more inclined towards the Dutch. He therefore began a great war against them, and sent a special Ambassador to Batavia to ask for help against Portugal, promising all help and assistance now and afterwards.

In this wise the Hollanders came to *Ceilon* for the first time, *Anno Christi* 1640, and began by the conquest of the town *de Galle*, soon followed by that of the great fortress of *Negumbo*,‖ the latter they lost again two years afterwards, Anno 1643, but in the subsequent year (1644) they reconquered it, thus twice losing and twice winning it within four years, and always in February. *Negumbo* was a strong place, and had four bastions, two facing the sea, called *Horn*¶

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* Cf. Knox, p. 115.

† A mistake. Sinhalese children are enjoined against sleeping with the faces to the west—that being the posture assigned to the dead at burial. Cf. Davy (*Account of Ceylon*, pp. 290, 291) :—"As Boodhoo came from the east, they lie during life, with their heads in that direction; and as they think it is not right that the living and the dead should lie the same way, their first duty is to turn the head of the corpse to the westward......Low caste people are not allowed to burn their dead; they bury the corpse with little ceremony, in a grave 3 or 4 feet deep, *with its head to the west.*

‡ *Jakhals* (Dutch ed.).

‖ For the early history of Negombo, see "Old Negombo," in *Cey. Lit. Reg.* vol. IV., p. 21, *et. seq.*

¶ *Hoorn* (Dutch ed.).

and *Enckhysen*,* two towards the land *Delft* and *Rotterdam*, with a high wall made of sods about twenty-two feet broad: each bastion had eight guns. There are two ports, the Water Port and the Land Port. Inside there is a castle, protected by two bastions, called *Middelburg* and *Amsterdam*, built of stones to a certain height, and having the rampart above likewise covered with sods. It is surrounded by a ditch, in the middle of which long and pointed palisades are closely fixed. After the conquest of *Columbo*, however, the fortifications were demolished (saving the stone inner castle), that it should not require such a strong garrison and so much money for its upkeep.

When the Hollanders appeared before this place [Negombo] the second time the Portuguese might have well prevented their landing and driven them away by cannon and matchlocks with very great loss; yet they allowed our people to land unopposed because they were so certain of victory, and in partaking of the holy sacrament had sworn to give no quarter to any Hollander, and not to eat or drink until they had washed their hands in Hollandish blood, and after to try to capture our ships. But God Almighty did not permit their ire to have its way. When we were all ashore we took up a good position, and after prayers had been offered on the field, and the word passed, "God with us," we advanced towards the Portuguese with great courage. Their password was *Madore Des!*† (Mother of God). Then both sides approached each other, and when we halted the Portuguese some 900 strong, fired the first volley, which killed 30 of our men and wounded 50. Thereupon we, but 300 in number, fired in return, and at the command of our officers began to use our swords (for it is usual with the Hollanders when they go into action to carry short swords, broad and curved). The Portuguese were attacked with such fury, that within a short time about 700 were slain, and the rest took to their heels. One of the Hollanders, a captain

* *Enkhuizen* (Dutch ed.).
† *Madre de Dios* (Dutch ed.).

of the name of Sendemann,* had, together with his servant *Joan de Roes*, deserted to the Portuguese, *Anno Christi* 1643. When he saw that we were victorious, and that the fortress would fall into our hands, he advised them to put a fuse to the powder that was stored underneath the fortress of *Negumbo*, that if we entered we should be blown up along with it. Some of the prisoners told us about it, among them a Capuchin father, whom our people had taken with them into the fortress and who wished to save his clothes and his skin, and not to try to mount into heaven before his proper time. Our Governor, Mr. *Franciscus Charon*,† offered a reward of forty rixdollars to any one who would venture down and remove the fuse. When the man got into the cellar, the fire was only two thumbs' length from the powder, so God's grace and power alone prevented the catastrophe. A German, who had taken the Father prisoner, being in a great rage that he had been silent so long, and said nothing about it until he was in danger himself, took his gun and shot him down at our Commander's side, who said, "My fine fellow, do not come nearer; if you do not wish to give quarter, do not carry it out on me."

*Anno Christi* 1643 a large fleet came before the town of Goa with instructions to make peace with the Portuguese, on condition that if they still were in possession of the fortress of *Negumbo*, they should keep it, if not, and the Portuguese wanted to risk another assault, they should be free to do so. They, however, had not the desire, and next year (1644) a treaty was published for a ten years' armistice.

Now that we had peace it was resolved upon the instigation of the Portuguese, *Anno Christi* 1645, that war should be made against the King of *Candi* for the sake of elephants.

As the Hollanders had no tame elephants, the Portuguese

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* *Sendeman; Jan de Roos* (Dutch ed.).

† *François Charon* (id.).

offered, at the price of half the number caught, to lend their tame ones. The Hollanders then marched out, and to pick a quarrel they seized upon four of the best elephants of the King of *Candi*. He, as a sensible man, sent word to the Hollanders that he had no intention to do anything against them, and he expected them, for their part, to act likewise; he had called them in as friends to be his allies against the Portuguese, and he hoped therefore that they would not settle in his territory. But the Hollanders from the beginning were bent upon war. When the King saw that it could not be avoided, he collected by one of his generals (a *Saude*,* or what we should call a Count) about 60,000 men, chiefly natives, besides a few Portuguese whom he had formerly made captives, and who had entered his service. He would no longer trust the Hollanders, having been deceived once. They had promised at first to remove people from his country, but, under pretext of fetching them and providing victuals for their return journey, they had brought, under a guard of 36 men, powder and ammunition in small casks, which they had put into bigger ones, and covered with rice and meat. A deserter from our side told him about it.

In the following year (*Anno Christi* 1645†) in the month of May, Mr. von der Stält‡ received fresh orders to march with 150 men (picked soldiers), plenty of ammunition, powder, lead, and other materials of war, and also two field guns. He met with the heathen Saude in a small clearing, but as the latter had no orders to fight, because the king was still disinclined to go to war, he withdrew into the forest. The Hollanders opened a heavy fire from their field-guns and fire-arms, so that 400 were killed, and many were

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* In Schweitzer *Saudi*. Perhaps the same as Knox's *Sihattu*, which he says is a title meaning "Honour," applied to noblemen when not in the King's presence.

† Read 1646.

‡ Van der Stelt (Dutch ed.).

wounded. As the Hollanders had taken the offensive, the *Saude* did not care to act only on the defensive. He therefore came out of the forest, and closing round our people, attacked them with such energy that he cut off the head of Mr. von der Stält, who had been carried in a *palanquin* or litter, clad in red scarlet. Of our men, who had numbered 150, they got 103 heads. The rest fled into the jungle and hid themselves as best they could.*

When the King, who had been near, heard of the onslaught he hurried to the spot, and although he was told that his men had been forced to fight, he showed displeasure. At once he ordered drums to be beaten and proclamation to be made that none of the Hollanders who had fled into the jungle were to be killed, but they were to be brought alive before him; that he would treat them well; and that he would swear by his God that he was innocent of the bloodshed. He then gave directions to have the head of Mr. von der Stält put into a silver bowl, and covered with white cloth, and sent it by one of the prisoners to their Captain in the great camp, to say that this was the head of Mr. von der Stält, and that the King would see his body as well as the other 103 bodies decently buried. But at the same time the King sent word, that if after three days the Captain was still in the field, or in his country, he would come with 100,000 men and take him with all his followers. The Captain sent for the head, had it buried near the camp, and three volleys fired over it: but as he had no orders from the Governor at *S. Galle* to leave the place, he was unwilling to move without instructions.

Thereupon the King of *Candi*, with a force of 100,000 men, besieged him, and during the night erected such works that he could fire into the camp and none of our soldiers could show themselves.

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* For J. von der Behr's account of this occurrence, see *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. VI., p. 99. Jürgen Andersen also relates the affair. All these accounts differ in details.

After the Emperor of *Ceilon* had besieged the camp for eight days, our people, who numbered in all 500 men, had neither victuals nor chance of withdrawing from the place, and seeing that they were completely hemmed in, they at last had to surrender to the heathen with all they had. The Emperor was so courteous (and, notwithstanding he is a heathen, he is an exceedingly intelligent man) that not alone in his camp but throughout his whole empire even he had published the order, that under penalty of death it was forbidden to harm any of the Hollanders. He himself did not treat them as prisoners, but as men who belonged to his retinue; he even had them brought before him, which is a sign of particular imperial grace.

Next, the King went towards the small camp, and desired them to surrender according to custom. The Lieutenant, however, who had 70 men with him, sent back a message that "he had nothing for the Emperor but powder, bullets, and the point of his sword;" and in truth those he showed him up to the fourteenth day, killing and wounding many, so that the Emperor himself said they must be all very devils inside, and not Hollanders. Then he asked one of the prisoners of what nation the Lieutenant was, and on his answering that he was an *Allemand*, and that most of the men with him were *Allemans*, that is High Dutch, the Emperor said that if he could get hold of him he would like him the better, and honour him more than the Hollandish Captain. When one of his men wanted to know the reason, he replied, "This Captain had 500 men in his great camp, who did not want to fight for their master and their country; but the *Allemand*, although in Hollandish service, remained true to them with his few men, and would sooner have died than lose his honour."

During the night the Emperor sent a Hollandish prisoner who knew the Lieutenant, to see him and to persuade him to surrender. The messenger called the Lieutenant by name, and told him that the party of Mr. von der Stält was routed, and he himself killed; that the Captain in the great camp

had surrendered with all his men; that he also should do the same, as there was no possibility of escape. After consulting his men the Lieutenant replied that, unless the Emperor gave them the very best conditions, he was determined to defend himself to the last man: that if the Emperor would promise those conditions, and keep them, he would consult his men, and, if all agreed, surrender the camp. The next day the Emperor sent one of his high officials with a white flag to conclude terms with the Lieutenant, and to tell him that he was anxious to see the *Allemand* and his men, because they were such good soldiers and had served their master so well: the official was to take an oath in his name that he would keep the arrangement made. Thus highly are German courage and honesty respected amongst the heathen, as the said Lieutenant experienced after the Emperor's Ambassador had taken his oath. When these heathen wish to take an oath in public they take up a handful of sand, hold it high, say a few words, and let it fall; they afterwards hold firmly and to the last point what they promise.

When the garrison came out, and the Lieutenant and his men with burning fuses, bullet in the mouth, swords by their sides, were taken before the Emperor, they all first fell on their knees three times. This is etiquette, and even as man of high rank as Ambassador for the Hollanders, if he desires to see the Emperor of *Ceilon*, must fall on his knee three times. The Emperor's own subjects, however, must throw themselves three times with their faces to the ground. The highest in rank, if they need to speak to their Emperor, are not allowed to turn round as long as they can see him, but they must march out backwards. Ordinary people are not allowed to come near him, but must have men of rank to speak for them. The Hollanders, however, are allowed to stand before him, and personally to speak with him.

After the said Lieutenant with his men had fallen on their knees three times, he took his sword to present it himself

to the Emperor. The Emperor, however, would not receive it, and ordered him to put it to his side again; but his men had to give up their matchlocks. Then he gave instructions that all the prisoners, 600 in number, should be well fed three times a day, and whatever had been taken from them should be restored; that anybody whom the prisoners should complain of was to be executed by the elephants. To the Lieutenant, however, as a courageous German soldier, he presented a horse, an elephant, and a thick golden chain; and he always made him ride by his side, which astonished every one.

After this he sent an Ambassador to the Hollandish Governor at *S. Galle*, with a message that as he had enough elephants and enough cinnamon, if they would give back his four elephants, and not again have a military camp in his country, he would live in peace and friendship with them as long as the sun shone and the moon endured, and he would at once liberate the 600 men. But our Governor would not accept the Emperor's good-will; he had the Ambassador and all those that were with him blindfolded, and led away so far that they could no longer see the town, and only then had the bandages removed. This displeased the Emperor very much, and he went with his followers and prisoners to *Candi*, where he had his residence and treasure vault. Once a year he was in the habit of going there, and likewise only once a year he used to go into his treasure vault. On such occasions one of his body-guards has to accompany him with a light, and after having inspected the treasure, the Emperor goes out; as soon as the guardsman, however, arrives at the outer court, his head is cut off, so that nobody knows for certain where the imperial treasure is. Other heathen have similar habits, likewise the Portuguese, who, when they are besieged, and are afraid that they will have to surrender, order one of their slaves to dig a large, deep hole, into which they put their best valuables; after this has been done, they immediately kill the slave, that he may not reveal where the treasures are. I have seen

myself that when such a treasure was dug out human bones lay close by, and in India this is a common occurrence.

After, as before said, the Emperor had arrived at his castle in *Candi*, he at once ordered to distribute the 600 Hollandish prisoners in his country amongst the peasants and in the town, and that they should never be allowed to want; otherwise the royal displeasure would be incurred. But they were to look well after their women, cows, oxen, &c., because the Hollanders were very fond of women and all sorts of meat. When afterwards complaints were made about misdeeds of this kind, the Court replied that the natives had been well warned beforehand, and they ought to have watched more carefully. These were the King's Hollanders: and if a native did not give his guest enough to eat, and refused to do so after the latter had said to him, "Give me to eat in the Emperor's name," and the Emperor was informed of it, the native was at once thrown to the elephants and killed, and, according to custom, had to lie unburied. A similar occurrence happened amongst our people in the town of *Candi*. One of the prisoners, an ensign, *Cornel Salvegad* from Utrecht, had struck his Captain, although the latter had dealt the first blow, and the former had only defended himself. However, when the Emperor, who would not hear of any disturbance amongst our men, was informed of it, he ordered the Captain to be asked what the custom amongst the Hollanders was if a subaltern struck an officer of higher rank. When he received the reply that a subaltern forfeited his life, he ordered the ensign to be arrested. A week afterwards judgment was given, that he should be thrown before an elephant; and although our people, including the Captain himself, went down on their knees to beg for mercy, the King's order remained unaltered, and the reply was given that, according to their custom, their master's order was irrevocable. Thereupon the poor fellow was taken away and tied to a pole. At first he was in hopes of receiving a reprieve; but when he saw that there was no chance, he prayed with great fervour, and commended himself to God's mercy. When

a native, with his short hook, told the elephant to kill the condemned man, the wild beast refused, began to roar, swayed his head to and fro, and would not attack the ensign. However, as the execution had to be carried out, the native had to make the elephant angry, and to hit him behind the ears with the hook until his temper was roused and he was forced to run at the poor man. He ran him through with his two tusks, then threw him into the air, and when he fell down he quickly put his feet upon his body to shorten his sufferings. Our people, as well as the heathen—ay, the Emperor himself—were very much astonished, and many thought that, after all, the poor man might have been wronged; for if the elephant has to kill a native or heathen he is at once ready for it, and requires no urging, but is himself savage enough. Not all the elephants, although there are many in the island of *Ceilon*, execute justice, but there are only two which the King always keeps for the purpose. Our people petitioned again to have the man buried, but the same reply came back that an order given by the King was for ever irrevocable ; so we had to bear it patiently.

Once the Portuguese, 1,500 strong, defeated the Emperor, who had to retreat into the mountains. They followed him up to *Candi*, took the town, found rich booty, and enjoyed themselves in shooting, eating, and drinking. The Emperor allowed them to do what they liked, but in the meantime was bent upon his revenge. He closed the roads in the forest quietly, and when he saw that ammunition and victuals were nearly at an end, he attacked them again ; and because the passage was cut off, and they could neither advance nor retreat, they had to suffer from hunger and thirst. When deserters came from the Portuguese camp the Emperor ordered them to be asked why they had deserted ; if they complained of hunger and thirst, they were to receive enough to eat and to drink ; and when they at last said they had had enough, their heads were to be cut off immediately. When most of them had died of hunger and thirst, the Emperor took a deserter, had him well fed, gave him victuals for a week and a convoy of forty men

that he should be protected against the elephants and the natives, and sent him to *Columbo*, where he was to tell the Viceroy what had happened to him and to his comrades, who were all dead. The Viceroy flew into such a rage that he had the messenger hanged immediately, and said that he ought to have remained where the 1,500 remained.*

This is perfectly true: in the forest the natives are like cats. If they have a little rope which they can put round their feet they are quickly up one of the highest trees; and it would be difficult to beat the Emperor of *Ceilon* in the forest. But in the plain they have no courage, and 300 Christians, however poor soldiers they may be, will beat 3,000 natives.

In the year of Christ 1647, on the 2nd February, the Emperor sent an Ambassador to *Negumbo*, and informed our Commander that he was going presently to send an Ambassador to *Pünte de Galle* as well to negotiate a peace, especially as the Portuguese had already asked him for peace, with whom, however, he could not negotiate, on account of the murder of his brother. When our Commander learnt this he asked whether any of the merchants would like to volunteer to go as Ambassador to the Emperor of *Candi*. The same was done amongst the soldiers, twelve of whom were to go with a merchant of their own free will. This the Hollanders did, so that in case of a failure they were not bound to liberate the soldiers; for if no alliance can be arranged the Emperor keeps the Ambassadors, perhaps ten years, perhaps all their lives; but if one of them returns, the Emperor gives to the Ambassador a golden chain, and to each soldier a golden ring with beautiful stones; the Hollanders, on the other hand, give them promotion, but it is very dangerous.

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* The above refers, no doubt, to the disastrous Portuguese expedition to Kandy under Diogo de Melo and Damiao Bottado in 1638. (See Valentyn, Ceylon, p. 117.)

This an Ambassador from the King of *Bengala* experienced *Anno* 1643. This King sent to the Emperor of *Candi* a live rhinoceros. Besides this present for the Emperor the messenger received much gold to buy elephants from the Emperor. Although there are many of these in *Bengala* he wanted to see whether it was true that his elephants would fall down upon their knees before those of *Ceilon*, as it were to show their subjection. Now, it is true that, clumsy and unwieldy an animal as an elephant would appear, he is almost as intelligent as a man, and as far as the above remarks are concerned I have seen it myself *Anno* 1659 in Batavia, that when elephants from these two countries meet by chance, those from *Bengala* at once bend their knees before those from *Ceilon*, for reasons which God only knows. When the Emperor of *Ceilon* had heard the Ambassador's message, and that he had much money from his king to purchase elephants with, he was displeased, and said he was no merchant, he did not sell elephants, but the Hollanders were trading in them, and from them he could get them. He then arrested the Ambassador, and kept him for fifteen years, until all the money was spent which his king had given him. After that time the Emperor set him at liberty, made him a present of two elephants, and ordered him to tell his king that in future he had better apply for his purchases to the Hollanders, who would be glad to receive his money, and more besides.

As we knew the danger by past occurrences, nobody seemed inclined at the beginning to go to *Candi* as an Ambassador. At last, however, a merchant and twelve soldiers made up their minds, and started across country from *Pünte de Galle* on the 1st of April. When they arrived, they had to wait six days before they could see the Emperor. (These heathen are very particular as to auspicious days, and for matters of importance they prefer Sunday and Thursday. On a Friday they would do nothing at all, and even to put on another coat, whatever might be the occasion, would be considered exceedingly imprudent.) On the sixth day the

Emperor requested the attendance of our Ambassador as well as of the Portuguese Ambassador. He first inquired from the latter whether he had sufficient soldiers to drive the Hollanders out of the island; when he replied no, because at that time no soldiers could be expected from Portugal, where the King had a big war with Spain, the Emperor inquired from the Hollanders whether they would undertake to chase the Portuguese out of the island. As the reply to this was in the affirmative, the Emperor took the present which the Portuguese had given—namely, a hat with a clasp of gold and several stones, and with a bird of Paradise as plumage, and in the presence of the Portuguese gave it to our Ambassador. In return, he requested the present of a small dog which the Ambassador had with him; and as this exchange was not disadvantageous, our Ambassador was very much pleased thereat. The Portuguese Ambassador had to leave without success.

After our Ambassadors had been kept by the Emperor of *Candi* for eight months, during which time they were always free to communicate by messengers with our Governor at *Pünte de Galle*, it appeared that the merchant was not quite intelligent enough to treat with the Emperor. The latter, therefore, in December sent a special messenger to our Governor, and requested that a soldier should be sent, and not a merchant, to treat with him. Thereupon the old man was recalled and allowed to depart in peace.*

## Anno 1648.

In this year, on the 5th of February, a Captain of the name of Burckard Koch,† from Wesel (from whom I eventually received an honourable discharge), was sent in the name of

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* The merchant was Laurens Maerschalk. For details of the correspondence that took place between the Dutch and the King in consequence of the massacre of Van der Stel and his company, see C. A. S. Journal, 1889, p. 37 *et seq.*

† *Burchard Kok* (Dutch ed.). Called Burgard Cox in the *Beknopte Historie.* He does not appear to have gone to Kandy until 1649. (See C. A. S. Journal, 1889, p. 45.)

the Company, with twenty men as volunteers, to the Emperor at *Candi*. There they arrived on the 15th, and when the Court was informed of it, he was soon summoned to appear, and was kindly received by the Emperor. After he had shown his credentials, and delivered his message, the Emperor said that he would think about it ; in the meantime the Ambassador could go to his quarters. The Emperor then sent for his sister, who was a very experienced sorceress, to ask her with which of the two parties he was to make peace : with the Hollanders or the Portuguese. She gave him the advice to have three of the most savage fighting cocks in this country to fight—a black one for himself, a white one for the Hollanders, and a red one for the Portuguese ; then to get the white one and the red one to fight together, and with the winner he was to make his peace. When the cocks fought, the white one got the better of the red one, and thoroughly defeated him. The Emperor's sister said that now he ought to treat with the Hollanders. Thereupon the Emperor asked whether, after the Portuguese had been driven out of the country, the Hollanders might not become his masters. She bade him, in reply, to let the white and black cocks fight each other. This was done : the birds went at each other boldly, but neither could master the other, and the fight remained undecided. Thereupon the Emperor's sister declared this to mean that he would remain Emperor of *Ceilon* and King of *Candi*, in the hill country ; but that the Hollanders would remain masters in the plains, and near the seaborde. He therefore made up his mind to make peace with the Ambassador Captain. First, however, he assembled all his nobles and counsellors, and those who advised to make peace with the Portuguese he caused to be murdered in secret, but those who advised to make peace with the Hollanders he honoured. He instantly sent for the Captain to come and begin the treaty, and to complete it ; he then ordered all the prisoners who had been previously distributed in the country to be brought to *Candi*, made each one a present of a gold ring, and sent them back to *Pünte de Galle* with much

firing of guns. Those who were not well he kept until they had fully recovered and could join the others. Amongst them was a Nuremberger of the name of Andreas Heberlein, now a rich man, and a miller in Batavia, as I shall describe later on.

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## Anno 1650.

In the year of Christ 1650, on the 12th of February, a letter arrived in Persia* from Holland overland, to our merchant, which stated that they had beheaded the King of England, *Carolus*, with an axe, and that the sword or Government had been handed over by Feurfax† to Oliver Cromwell. Thereupon I was at once ordered with other ten men from the ship of the Moors on to another one from Zealand called the yacht *Lello*, to go to the island of *Ceilon*, whither she was bound. We arrived at *Pünte de Galle* on the 9th of April, and reported what had happened to the King of England. The ship was ordered at once to proceed to Batavia, and there to report the news, but I remained in *Ceilon*, where at that time it was advisable to stay, inasmuch as there was a constant talk about a big fleet which was to come from Batavia to besiege *Columbo*, the great and rich town in *Ceilon*, and where many, like myself, expected a large booty. This, however, was delayed until *Anno Christi* 1655.

On the 9th of October I was ordered to *Negumbo* with two hundred men in the ship *Banda*, to reinforce the garrison, of which many had completed their time of service. On that occasion I was in the greatest danger of death, for when our steward with a light went to look after the brandy casks, he incautiously allowed a spark to fall: the brandy quickly took fire, and ran over the whole ship; and if we had not speedily thrown the powder into the sea we should all have been blown up. As it was, I thought that our last hour had come, and I looked out for a piece of an old mast

* The author was at the time in Gambroon.

† *Fairfax* (Dutch ed.).

wherewith I could save myself, and reach the land, which was only ten miles distant. Still we continued to do our best to put down the fire, and God in his great mercy helped us to escape from the danger. When we arrived at *Negumbo* we found that the garrison had taken a new engagement for three years, and, as we were not required, we had to return.

## ANNO 1651.

In the year 1651, on the 12th of February, a ship came from Batavia, and brought orders that we should declare *Orlog* or war against the Portuguese, and require them to take their soldiers out of the island, or we should drive them out by force.

When that happened it was very inconvenient for them; still they collected their men in great haste and constructed a camp against us. One of their Captains with three hundred niggers came over to us, and offered to give the fortress of *Calutre* into our hands without the loss of a single man. Although this was agreeable news, our Commander did not like to risk it, as it would weaken the number of men under his command; but he replied that within a short time more ships with soldiers would come from Batavia, and that the matter could stand over till then.

On the 25th of April news came that three ships had been seen close to the land twelve miles from *Pünte de Galle.* On the next day the ships arrived, but there were no soldiers on board, and there were so few hands that only with great difficulty had they managed to take the ships across the sea. Moreover, they brought the bad news that England and Holland were bitter enemies, and had begun a bloody war at sea. What was to be done? The enemy was in front of us; the possession of the fortress would have suited us very well if we could only obtain it, but we had neither soldiers enough nor any to expect. But God inspired one of us with the idea that there was full hope to capture *Calutre* if only a ruse were used before it became known that the ships were empty. Therefore, upon each of the ships four banners

were to be shown and four drummers were to be ordered to beat the drums very hard, whilst the ships under sail should come near the land as soon as possible. We others who were on shore were to march on boldly, to make the Portuguese believe that they were attacked by sea and land. Very probably on seeing all this they would make the *retirato* towards *Columbo* and abandon *Calutre*. This plan succeeded, and because they fancied themselves attacked in front and behind, rather than see their passage cut off they left, and we had the immense advantage of taking possession of the fortress.* We got much ammunition, nine guns (big and small, all of bronze), about 500 head of cattle, cows, oxen, pigs, and chickens. The inhabitants who at once came under our protection were all left safe and unmolested, but those who were gone to the Portuguese, and were made prisoners afterwards, were sold as slaves and distributed amongst us. A Hamburger, of the name of Wittebol, and myself got a woman, who for some time used to wait upon us and cook for us. But one day when we were on guard, and were waiting to have our meal brought by her, she did not turn up. My comrade ran home to hurry her on, but found that she had hanged herself in the middle of the room.

The fortress of *Calutre* is very strong, and cannot be taken by water, because on one side is the sea and on the other the river, which comes from far inland, and from which a new outlet has been made towards the sea, so that there is water all round. On the land side are high hills, upon which it is difficult to get; and moreover, on this side there are four bastions opposite each other, and protected with thick, double palisades with points of iron; there is only one entrance, and round about a very high wall, so that you can see none of the houses inside. The Portuguese garrison

* The Dutch did not however retain possession of Kalutara, as Saar would lead one to suppose; but abandoned it almost immediately, in order to concentrate their forces at Negombo, which was threatened by the Portuguese. (See Baldæus, Eng. trans., p. 788, and Ribeiro, bk. II., chap. XVIII.).

was always three hundred men, but for the Hollanders half the number is sufficient, and every six months they are revictualled from *Columbo*, from which it is seven miles distant. To that place, from this very fortress of *Calutre*, Mr. Richlof von Guntz,* of Emden, then Extraordinary Councillor of India and Commissioner of War, had a good road made, so that where formerly only one man could hardly march now eight men can march abreast, and can take with them small field guns which carry a charge of four pounds iron.

ANNO 1652.

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In the month of June, a Lieutenant of the name of Fetting, a native of Dantsic, lost his life because, when drunk, he had killed an Ambassador of the Emperor of *Ceilon*, and therefore had to be shot two months afterwards. They put three bullets into his hand, which he had to distribute to whom he liked : he gave the first to me, that I should fire the first shot ; the other to a man from Olmütz, named Andreas Mott ; the third to Christian of Cologne. He prayed fervently to God, and begged of our officer that they should have him buried decently.

When the Indians have to die at the hands of the Hollanders they ask who is to feed them when they come into the other world. When new soldiers arrive, and one of them resembles a man who died perhaps three or four years ago, the natives believe that he died in India, was resuscitated in Holland, and has now come again to India. This they believe so firmly that it is impossible to dissuade them from it. When they must die they take it very calmly, and think that it has thus been ordained. When they have to face an enemy, however, they are very much afraid of losing their lives.

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* *Rijklof van Gunts* (Dutch ed.).

## Anno Christi 1653.

[At the beginning of 1653 Saar had an unpleasant experience, which he omits to record in this place, but which he refers to parenthetically in describing his voyage from Europe. Speaking of a vessel that had escaped from two pirate ships of Dunkirk, and the crew of which had resolved rather to blow up their vessel than fall into the enemy's hands, he continues :—"For that is the custom of the East Indian ships, that they would rather suffer a short death than remain a long time in the murderous hands of the Spanish or Portuguese: as I myself experienced when in India at *Angerdotta* [Angurutoṭa, or Anguruwátara, on thé Kalu-ganga], a pass in the Island of *Ceilon*, I lay for thirteen weeks a prisoner with the Portuguese, and would much rather have been among the heathen or Moors than amongst them. For they made us, with our feet fastened tightly to a piece of wood, pound saltpetre, grind in the powder-mill, and suffer hunger besides, until we were quite blackened. On account of this one of our number, to our exceeding great and imminent danger, on one occasion, from a sort of desperation, threw, of a set purpose, a number of sparks from the tobacco that he was smoking, with the intention of sending the powder and all into the air, to deliver himself and us from our misery, which, however, the compassionate God in his fatherliness prevented. A man from Friesland was at that time imprisoned with us, a fine young fellow, who, wishing to escape, risked it, wherefore he smeared himself quite black, and went completely disguised like a woman, and had got past the guard, when a black youth recognised him by his feet, where the white skin showed, and announced the fact, and for this he was so terribly beaten that he could not move or turn himself for some time.* However, when they fall into the like misfortune

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* Ribeiro (bk. II., ch. XVII.) gives the following account of the affair at Angurutoṭa :—"The camp [Manicravaré] having been rid of the trouble referred to, it was notified that the Hollanders had made at

they can pretend the very utmost submissiveness. For when God had again delivered me from my prison, which took place between *Goa* and *Calutre*,* by our ships, which fell upon the ships in which we were as enemies, and by the grace of God captured them, I had experience of their cowardly hearts. For they shut us up together, as captive Hollanders, and deliberated in the ships, we being able to hear everything, whether they should let us live or put us

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Angoratota a strong wooden stockade, which they had garrisoned with a hundred and forty men and a company of Bandanese, and four hundred lascarins from the Galle districts, who had laid waste the Provinces of Reigancórla and Salpiticórla. With remarkable promptitude Gaspar Figueira got ready, with fifteen companies of infantry and some black troops, who followed the Dissavas of Maturé and Sofregao the latter Antonio Mendes Aranha, the former Francisco Antunes ; he raised this force on account of the enemy's being two leagues from Caliture, a town which they had fortified and garrisoned with a force of fifty men. Arriving at Angoratota he found the enemy well fortified, with the necessary redoubts, defences, flanks, and a ditch, which covered the fortification; for which reason he did not attack them, as he had intended ; and as he could not do as he wished he laid siege to them. On the third day, seeing that wehad suffered some loss, and that the enemy had a supply of everything needful for a considerable time, he ordered to be brought from the city [Colombo] two cannons of eight pounds each, and when they arrived, at the first shots, they could delay no longer in calling a parley and surrendering upon terms ; he conceded to them that they should go out with their arms, drums beating, banners flying, match lighted, and march to the quarters of the Captain-Major, where they should pile their arms, and that they should remain in Columbo until the first monsoon for going to Goa, and should proceed in our ships to Portugal. In these conditions he did not allow the lascarins who assisted them to be included, and he sent all of them to the city to serve in the powder-mill, except the Araches, seven of whom he ordered to be impaled, and six to be cut in two with the axe, as they had been ours ; though indeed inhabitants and natives of the Galle districts. This punishment Gaspar Figueira ordered to be executed on these thirteen Araches under the pretext that they were traitors to the Crown of Portugal ; he did it, however, to intimidate the natives, who were helping the Hollanders. With the prisoners he returned victorious to Columbo, where he was received by all with great applause." It will be seen from this that it was in the Colombo powder-mill that Saar and his comrades had to labour : Ribeiro's account would lead one to suppose that it was only the natives who were employed in this arduous work. Baldæus also gives an account of the capture of Angurutoṭa (English translation, p. 787) ; but says nothing of the imprisonment in Colombo, &c.

* *Kalikuth* (Dutch ed).

to death. Some advised that we should be thrown overboard, in order that we might not have our revenge on them if we related to our fellows what courtesy they had shown to us. Others opposed this in the hope of getting all the better quarter from us. All of which we heard very plainly, until one of us let out with some menaces, as our flags were now close at hand. Then one of the number tried to get at the powder magazine with the lunt, and would certainly have done so if one of themselves had not prevented it.* However, I got my revenge for my thirteen weeks' imprisonment among the Portuguese, especially in the island of *Ceilon*, where I was on five or six occasions, and we defeated them. For although our officers called out '*Messieurs*, or soldiers! we have the name of compassionate Hollanders, then let us have the deed also, and give quarter!' yet we acted as if we did not hear it, but shot and laid about lustily, as long as we could stir arm or hand, so that verily some hundreds forgot to stand up. For, as I have said, they also do not spare us, and when they could give us a short death, with their firelock and a ball through the head, they do not do it; but stab us and wound us with their long *steggats*, or swords, for a long time, indeed even after our death they give us ten or twenty stabs."]

In November, 1653, I came again to *Ceilon*, and then had the option of going to Batavia or to my fatherland. I was out of sorts for about a year and a half, and although I was not actually laid up, still every day at noon I was so weak that you might have pushed me over with a finger. I and others who had similar complaints felt as if not a drop of blood was left in our bodies, and our faces were as white as

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* Baldæus (*l. c.*, p. 789) says :—"About this time Commissary *van Goens*, in his return from *Persia* and *Suratte* to *Ceylon*, had the good fortune to beat the Galeons near the Cape *du Ramos*, and thereby to release twenty of our People made Prisoners at *Angretotte*, who were set ashore at *Puntegale*."

sheets. They called it the sickness of the country, and he who gets over it is safe against many other diseases of the country. In the evening, when it is cool, one imagines oneself to be quite well, and feels quite strong, but as soon as the heat of the day begins one cannot walk twenty steps; one must sit down, and one's heart beats like the works of a strong clock.

## ANNO 1654.

When, thanks to God's goodness, I had recovered, and there was no early opportunity of going to Europe, I enlisted again in December, 1654, for a period of three years, because they offered me the place of a corporal with the pay of fifteen Dutch florins a month, and I was always to remain with the company that had firearms. Two months afterwards I was ordered into the camp before *Calutre*;* and I had the great misfortune that, as I discharged my gun, a native ran just in front of me. If I had aimed at him most carefully I could not have hit him better, and he fell down stone dead. Nobody knew who had done it, nor did I know it myself; but when inquiries were made who had fired a shot, and it was heard that a corporal of the firearms under Captain Severin had done it, I was at once put under arrest. The court-martial acquitted me, but I had to give the Indian's widow some money out of my pay. Our parson, however, was a good friend of mine; and said that an Indian was no better than a dog, and of no consequence. If it had happened to a Christian it would have been difficult to save me from being shot. For when this has once happened, and something has been passed over lightly, no further pardon can be expected.

## ANNO 1655.†

In the month of February two ships arrived at *Pünte de Galle* from Batavia with troops, and brought the news that

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* *Kaluter* (Dutch ed.).

† For fuller details of the events which occurred during this and the two following years see Baldæus and Ribeiro.

in two months a large fleet of sixteen ships would arrive with troops under a new General from Holland; his name was Gerhard Hulfft, a native of Amsterdam, where he had been Secretary of the Town, and it was said that the fleet was to sail towards Goa and watch the Portuguese fleet. This news was spread on purpose that the Portuguese should not know that the fleet had arrived, and should feel safe in *Columbo*, upon which the real attack was planned. The Portuguese knew that for three or four years no troops had been brought over from Batavia, and they were convinced that England and Holland were still at open war; they also bragged a good deal and made a great fuss and wanted to besiege the fortress of *Negumbo*. This, however, we prevented, and sent sixty men to strengthen the garrison.

On the 9th of April a fleet was seen off *Negumbo*, but it was uncertain whether it was ours or the English, because no flags were hoisted and the ships kept well out to sea. The plan of our General, however, was, since *Columbo* was only five miles distant from *Negumbo*, to land during the night, and in secrecy cut off the Portuguese who besieged *Negumbo* from the land side, and prevent them from getting to *Columbo*. Then it was intended that the King of *Candi* should come from the other side; that the enemy should be taken between the two forces; and that thus the town of *Columbo* should be conquered with all the more ease.

The plan, however, was frustrated. As soon as we were on the way it began to rain heavily, and continued to do so for two whole days. Our victuals and ammunition got wet; the newly-arrived troops, who had been two months under sail, and had become quite stiff, because, on account of their number and great quantity of artillery, they had hardly been able to move about on board, could not advance, and had to stop on the road. We had all to withdraw to *Negumbo*, and to allow the Portuguese to reach *Columbo* with ease, and without losing a single man. They did not, however, find out that we had an eye upon the town, but were of opinion that we only tried to have the upper hand in the field.

On the 1st of June following a council of war was held, and it was settled that our General should leave with a fleet and anchor below *Columbo* near a fortress belonging to it, and about seven miles distant. A few miles from this fortress is a place where landing is easy, called *Berberi.* The Portuguese held this fortress, from which an open road leads to *Columbo.* I myself walked over it three times, but it is not easy to walk when it is high water, because one can only march along the sea, and with bare feet: you have now sand, now water, now stone; and shoes are very dear in India: you have to pay two rixdollars for a pair, and they do not last for a week.

Now, as I did not care to spend my pay in shoes and stockings, necessity taught me to walk barefoot, and I thought "Different countries, different customs," and "When you are amongst the wolves you must howl with them." Many of my comrades who had been born in wealth felt this so much that they fell ill or even died of chagrin and vexation. But in my case I had perforce to be patient, and I could sooner endure this than the drinking of the water we had, and that, too, not always in sufficient quantity. Many a whole day, burning hot as they are in India, we had not more than a pint; and that too so full of worms, that we had to strain it through a cloth held before the mouth, and then the water was such that it had to be sweetened three times before taken. Many a time I thought of my father's wine-cellar, and would have gladly done without wine if I could only have had a glass of home-brewed beer, or a slice of good beef out of our kitchen. Hundreds of times I had to be satisfied with a small slice of salt meat, and this we only got three times a week, and it was so salt because it had been in salt for five or six years. This does not leave much flesh on one's bones. However, when I saw that it could not be helped, I at last learnt to bear these hardships easily. At the beginning the Hollanders had given me the nickname "Young-depraved," because I went into war so early in life; but after I had been a year in the country, and knew how to

bear good fortune and mishaps, they called me "Light-heart." It is the custom amongst the lower classes and soldiers in India to call hardly anybody by his right name, and if anybody had asked for Hans Jacob Saar he would have had more difficulty to find me out than if he had asked for Hans Jacob Light-heart. I myself have been days and years in a fortress, and yet could not tell what the real name of each one of the others was.

In the meantime I had written several letters home in 1647, 1649, 1652, and 1653, of which none but the last reached its address. This one I entrusted to a Frenchman of the name of Carol Rubert, of Rochelle, and even this one only reached my dear father in 1655 by way of Augsburg. As I could get no news I gave up writing; until in 1655, through a countryman, Martin Sothauer, a dispenser, and the son of an Inspector of Hospitals, I received news that my father was still alive, and that he had spoken to him himself at Würzburg. All the circumstances made me believe that this was correct. In the following year, 1657, when I was in Ceylon, a former servant of my dear father's, Michael Bräutigam, from Sula in Thuringia, confirmed it in writing, and stated that my brother had died, and that my half-sister was married. As soon as troops were sent from Batavia to Ceylon he would try to be sent with them, and then to speak to me personally. He was, however, ordered to Amboina, and died there in 1658.

On the 3rd of July, 1655, we all went quietly on board during the night. On the following day we set sail towards *Berbeti*.* We were landed soon, as the Portuguese did not oppose us, and we sang and shouted "God with us, God with us." On the 10th of the same month we marched in good order towards the fortress. We had two mortars and nine cannon, some of which, of iron, shot 18 lb. We put them in position on a hill close by, and sent many a ball into the fortress, but without much success; and if it had

* *Berberi* (Dutch ed.).

been provided with victuals, we should very likely have had to withdraw. In the following month of August, however, the fortress capitulated; we found much powder and ammunition, and got three hundred and fifty picked men, who were distributed amongst our sixteen ships as prisoners.

On the 17th of September we marched towards *Columbo.* Four miles from it is a river called *Bandre*,* which we had to cross; and that would have been difficult if we had arrived a few hours later. The Portuguese had made many bags full of straw and many fascines about as high as a man, and intended to construct a battery, and prevent our landing; and if they had filled the bags with sand, and had built a small rampart, it would have been very difficult for us to storm it. The river is so broad, that, with an ordinary musket, you cannot shoot across. The current is so strong, that, in crossing, you must begin high up, otherwise the current takes you into the open sea, and there would be nothing left but to sail to the next landing-place as best one can; and as these small boats cannot carry a large quantity of provisions, it may happen that one has to suffer hunger and thirst for several days.†

When on the 9th‡ of September we had got across the river, we marched straight towards *Columbo.* After we had been half an hour on the way, and were proceeding in disorder, as we thought ourselves safe, our vanguard, about one hundred and fifty men strong, came upon two hundred men of the enemy. We skirmished so pluckily that they, with the loss of seventeen dead and many wounded, had to retreat towards *Columbo.* A Portuguese, who had fled into the wood, and had been taken prisoner, told us that at a distance of an hour's march the enemy was posted with

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* Pánaduré.

† The author then proceeds to give an example of this from his own experience. When journeying by boat from Mátara to Galle, he and his companions were overtaken by a storm, and did not reach their destination until the seventh day, having been three days without water.

‡ *Sic* in original; but evidently a misprint for 19th, which the Dutch translation has.

seven hundred men; that this was the troop which had always waged war against the King of *Candia;* and that it had been ordered to prevent our passing the river. Our General at once ordered the officers to quietly tell their soldiers to well provide themselves with ammunition, to take up position in five troops, each six companies strong, in échelon, and to be very careful with our two field-guns; then to say prayers, and in the name of God await the enemy. After this was done, thirty men were ordered to advance half a mile, and to report at once if they found the enemy. A quarter of an hour had hardly passed when it was reported that the enemy was advancing. We looked forward to the fight with delight, as we were three thousand men, and the enemy only seven hundred, and ignorant of the arrival of a fleet from Batavia, sixteen sail strong, with two thousand three hundred men. We closed round them very soon, and killed about five hundred; so that not more than two hundred got back to *Columbo*, and of them half died, because they were almost all wounded. Thereupon we marched towards *Columbo.*

The town is prettily situated in the plain, and is quite open towards the sea.* Big ships cannot enter the harbour, but must anchor at a distance of half an hour. To the right is a great battery near the river called *S. Croix*, and on this, when we came, were sixteen bronze guns, which commanded the sea and the harbour. Near the beach to the right before one reaches the town was the Elephant Gate, opposite which stood the Viceroy's house. Along the beach it is surrounded by low walls, and there is a small battery of the name of *S. Vincenz;*† not far away was a small water-gate, and close by the bastion *Allegresse.* Still further along the beach was

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* For a comparison of Saar's description of the fort of Colombo with that given by Ribeiro, see C. B. R. A. S. Journal, No. 42, vol. XII., 1891, p. 75 *et seq.* Saar's account of the siege should also be compared with Ribeiro's and the narratives in Baldæus.

† *S. Vincent* (Dutch ed.).

the bastion of *S. Joan*,* built high up with stones; and being the last battery near the harbour, it commanded the harbour and the land side; near to it is a big gate leading to the town. Towards the land was a large bastion called *S. Stephan*,† where likewise sixteen bronze guns were placed. Then followed a small bastion called *S. Sebastian*,‡ and near to it a great gate called the King's Gate, which leads into the town. Not far away was another bastion called *Madre Des*,‖ or the Mother of God. On all the bastions round the town were bells to quickly make known everywhere what was going on. From the bastion *Madre Des* a big brook runs past the house *Hieronymus*, where a battery was erected with two guns charged with shot, and close by was a small bastion called the *Capottin*, after the monastery of Capuchins close by. Further on stood the powder magazine, and close to it a great bastion, *Hieronymus*, and again a big gate called *Mapan*, with an arch above and guns at the top; at last of all the bastion *S. Augustin*,¶ so called after the monastery of the Augustines. At the end of the ditch was a stone rampart, called *S. Jago*, about eighty feet long, rising up to a cliff upon which, as at *Pünte de Galle*, a flag can be hoisted. Outside the town were several monasteries; the first called *Acqua di Lupo;* the second *S. Sebastian*, with a small chapel; the third, at a distance of a mile, *Misericordia*. Near the monastery *Acqua di Lupo* was a fine residence, in which the General took up his quarters. We others were lodged partly in the monastery *S. Sebastian* and the surrounding buildings, at half the distance of a cannon shot from the town. In front, towards the town, we built in one night a good rampart, so as to be safe against the enemy's guns. Each workman was paid a rixdollar.

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* *S. Jan* (Dutch ed.).

† *S. Steven* (Dutch ed.).

‡ *S. Sebastiaan* (Dutch ed.).

‖ *Madre Dei* (Dutch ed.).

¶ *S. Augustyn* (Dutch ed.).

On the 20th* of September they made a sally with several thousand men, but they had to retreat with a loss of five hundred men. We made many of these prisoners, kept them for three or four days, but, after that, had to take them into the wood and shoot them down. As we had already four hundred prisoners on board our ships, which we had taken at *Berberi*, and as our men had to come on shore every day to bring ammunition and provisions, we could not guard a large number of prisoners.

On the 2nd of October we began to build batteries during the night, and made four, into two of which we put from two to three guns, and in the others from three to four guns, all able to carry a charge of eighteen to twenty-four pound, iron. The Emperor of *Ceilon* sent us two thousand of his men to help to work, of whom in many a night twenty to thirty were killed; he promised to send even more, but we were not to leave anything undone to get *Columbo* into our power. Our head gunner proceeded without the necessary caution. Instructions had been given to load the cannon with shot during the night, so that, in case the enemy came out, he could be received properly. During the day the shot was to be taken out again, and ball put in instead, so that if the enemy fired from the walls the fire could be returned immediately. Our head gunner forgot to take the shot out, and when fire was opened at the enemy at a time when our people were working between the town and our battery, the shot spread, and killed thirteen men of our allies. The gunner was at once arrested, and a letter was despatched to the King of *Candia* to say how unfortunate that gunner had been, and to ask what punishment he wished to be awarded. The reply came, as it had been an accident, a ball should be fired over his head, and if the man made another such mistake he should be shot.

On the 17th of October we began to dig trenches from our

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* Dutch ed. has 19th.

battery, and the general storming of the town was decided upon.

On the 2nd* November, in broad daylight, at eight o'clock in the morning, the general assault began. Sixteen ships, which had been lying outside of the harbour, weighed anchor, and sailed in front of the town as near as possible, but two of them were ordered to enter into the harbour and bombard the water-fort as heavily as they could.

This bastion, however, was strong, armed with twelve bronze guns; and soon one of the ships was sunk,† whilst the other‡ had the greatest difficulty in getting out of the harbour again. Whilst in the meantime the other ships from the sea fired boldly into the town, two of our companies, that of Captain Hartenberger§ and that of Roggenkam,‖ to which latter I belonged, each seventy-five men strong, mostly with firelocks and muskets, with their officers and drummers, and each company strengthened by twenty marines, each of whom had five hand grenades, were ordered to try what they could do. We had to cross a big sheet of water, and had to take our men and scaling-ladders over in nine small boats. We protected the bows of the boats with planks and beams, three fingers thick, to be quite safe. We arrived at a spot whence we could see into the town, and fancied the Commander of the town had overlooked this. But when we tried to land, we found that the enemy was hidden in the houses, and opened a well-sustained fire upon us. A comrade of mine, Georg Caspar Kindsvatter,¶ from Nuremberg, who has still friends in Wöhrd, was killed, and later on buried by us.

When I was ordered to follow, and wanted to do so, I received from a gallery two shots in quick succession, one in

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* A misprint for 12th.

† This was the "Maaght van Enkhuyzen."

‡ Named the "Workum."

§ *Hardenberger* (Dutch ed.).

‖ *Roskam* (Dutch ed.).

¶ *Georg Kaspersz* (Dutch ed.).

the right arm, the other on the left side under the shoulder-blade, so that I fell backwards into the ship. It was a hard fight, inasmuch as only six of us came home again, and these were wounded; and altogether on that day we had eight hundred men killed and five hundred wounded; amongst the latter our General. When he was taken into his quarters he cried the whole time, "O my fine soldiers! O my fine soldiers! Would I had my soldiers back!" But it was too late.

If the enemy had acted up to their intentions everything would have been lost; for, after the attack had been beaten off, they wanted to make a sortie with thirteen hundred men. God, however, struck the Governor in the fortress with blindness; he would not allow it, under pretext that this assault had only been a ruse, and our principal force was lying in the trenches and in the batteries; therefore, if they were to sally out, we in the trenches would cut off their passage and drive them against the artillery, and it would end in a great loss.*

The loss, however, would have been entirely on our side, as we had been in all three thousand men, and now, as mentioned before, had eight hundred dead and five hundred wounded.† However, we did not withdraw from the town, for this is the habit of the Dutch, if once they put guns up in front of a place they do not take them away unless they are driven away. Our wounded were taken to a distance of half a mile, to *Mattawal*,‡ and twelve surgeons were ordered from the ships to dress the wounds; three times a day fresh meat was given, and three times wine. A ship was despatched at once taking the news to Batavia, and to ask for six hundred fresh men, wherewith, according to his letter, our General undertook to conquer *Columbo*. When our great loss became known to the King of *Candia*, to whom our

* Ribeiro says that the Portuguese had not the forces needed for a sally.

† Ribeiro states the Dutch loss to have been "more than two thousand."

‡ *Matta Wal* (Dutch ed.).

General had not sent previous notice that he was going to storm, he was very angry, and wrote to him to say that, according to the treaty, Colombo, if it had been taken, would have been half his. The General ought, therefore, to have communicated with him, and to have allowed his soldiers to take part in the assault. This difficult undertaking ought not to have been attempted single-handed, but jointly.

When our General noticed the King's temper, and being aware that he had made a mistake, he resolved to at once send an ambassador to the King, with assurances of great respect, and his apologies, and also with a certain promise to take the place; but the King must have a little patience.

## ANNO 1656.

On the 25th of January Captain Johan Hartmann,* of Cassel in Hesse, volunteered to go to the Emperor with every mark of respect. The Emperor would not receive him until the third day, and then he summoned him to offer his presents, which were very graciously accepted. As the Emperor was very anxious about *Columbo*, he did not keep our Captain very long: gave him a gold chain and an elephant, and very soon sent him off again to our General with other presents, in return, many jewels, and two elephants for the Company.†

On the 2nd of February the said Captain returned with a letter to our General and the Company, stating that it would be well not to attempt in future a hazardous undertaking without his (the King's) knowledge, as he was very sorry to see so many good soldiers needlessly sacrificed by us.

On the 18th February we began again to approach the town, as every day new soldiers turned up, who had recovered at *Mattavval*, and who could be better fed in the camp, because the Emperor sent fresh food every day, and victuals of all kinds were cheap. When we got near the town one of

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* *Jan Hartman* (Dutch ed.).

† For details and copies of letters, see Baldæus.

our corporals, who had gambled away the pay which he had received from his Company, and who had no further means to pay them, deserted, because he did not believe that we should conquer the town. He told the besieged that it was our intention to try one more general assault, and if that did not succeed to leave the place, as there was very little courage amongst us to attack another time after having been driven back with such great loss.

When, however, on the 2nd of April three ships with fresh soldiers arrived from Batavia, our spirits rose considerably, and we wanted to have our revenge, the more so as on the following 3rd April we got hold of the Portuguese provision ship, which had sailed from Goa under a Dutch flag in hopes to pass through our fleet into the harbour of Colombo.

When the besieged learnt these two facts they, on the other hand, became despondent, especially as they saw that every day we got nearer to the town. Daily many deserters came to us, and all reported that there was great want of provisions, and that many had died of hunger. This was confirmed by their daily driving out black people whom we could not allow to come into our camp, and therefore had to shoot between the trenches and the town. At last the famine assumed such proportions that one native woman ate her own child, while others took grass from the ground and tried to eat it. As we had no means of driving them away from our camp we had to strike still greater terror into them ; and when a woman came and brought small children we forced her to put her child into a wooden mortar and pound it to death with the pounder, and then again to go away with the dead child.

On the 9th of April we began to dig a mine, and managed to make a gallery from our side across the ditch. When, however, on this side we had dug for two days, they noticed it, made a counter-mine in the direction of ours, so that when we became aware of it, and heard it, we had to give up our work.

On the 12th* of April our General wanted to reconnoitre whether we could not construct a mine in a different locality. But when he wanted to go into the last trench, a shot from one of the bastions hit him, and killed him on the spot, which caused a great panic amongst our soldiers.

On the 2nd† of May his body was taken to *Pünte de Galle*, and there carried into the church by sergeants and buried, whilst the cannons upon the wall and round the town fired a salute, and two companies of soldiers gave three volleys.

On the 6th of May, a Saturday, we were lying all through the night in the trenches,† as the Emperor of *Ceilon* and ourselves had decided to attempt again a general assault. Just then a Portuguese, fully armed, ran over to our camp, and then was conducted before our Governor,‡ who commanded in place of the late General. In close examination he said that those in the town wished for nothing better, but that another storm should be attempted. He told us that in the town passages had been made through all the houses, whilst all streets were provided with double palisades of palm trees; that the cannons had been taken down from the walls and had been posted in the streets, charged with shot; that below the walls which we should have to pass big boxes with powder had been put, and so arranged that with a running fire through all their houses they could be exploded, and, by thus separating the bastions from each other, make it impossible for us to carry our point, because we should all be killed either by fire or by mines. On the other hand, he gave us splendid advice. He said that as soon as daylight appeared, being Sunday, the citizens who had been watching during the night would go with the soldiers to hear mass, and there

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* Should be the 10th.

† Should be the 12th of April. For an official record of Hulft's death and burial, and the despatch of the Governor-General and Council of India announcing the fact to the Directors of the Company, see C. B. R. A. S. Journal, No. 38, vol. XI., 1889, p. 148. Baldæus gives a portrait of Hulft, and Valentyn quotes some lines by the Dutch poet Vondel on the death of Hulft.

‡ Adriaan van der Meyden.

would be no more than five or six men in the bastions. Altogether there were only about one hundred real Portuguese soldiers,—the others were burghers and slaves. Now, we were to make our drummers beat and our trumpeters blow at the same time and in the usual way in the morning; we were to remain quietly in the trenches that nobody might become aware of our intentions, and then half an hour afterwards, when they would be all in church, we were quickly to attack the bastion called S. John's. This advice pleased us very much. Three companies with firearms were quietly told off, and a reward of fifty rixdollars promised to him who should first scale the wall. We quickly prepared our ladders, placed them against the wall, and managed to get up without being noticed. We found not more than eight natives, seven of whom were asleep; the sentinel, it is true, was awake, but he was killed with the others before he had time to escape.

Soon there was an alarm in the town, all the bells were tolled, everybody was up and in arms, and ran towards the bastion. The cannons were directed against us, and a strong fire was kept up, so that we again had about three hundred killed and many wounded. I again came in for my share of it, and a piece of lead from the water-fort hit me on the right foot; a small bone was smashed, and I had to remain lying on the ground. It was a still greater misfortune that, when I was carried away, my wound was dressed by a young surgeon who did not know his work well, and within three days had so neglected me that mortification set in, and it was thought that my leg would have to be amputated below the knee. When all the surgeons were assembled, an officer who in such cases has always to be present to inform the Governor of it, and get his consent, said to the surgeons that the wounded was a young man who had served the Company for eight years; who had always marched and mounted guard without complaining, and asked whether they could not find another remedy than to sacrifice the foot.

A Frenchman was found who promised our Commander to try another plan, and by the Lord's grace and mercy, although

I had to undergo unbearable pain, I was nearly restored to health in about a month. A countryman of mine, Martin Sothauer,* an apothecary, helped me very much in my misfortune, and always assisted in dressing my wounds. I hope soon to see him again in good health, for when I left him in *Columbo* he had only one year more to serve under the Company.†

On the 8th of May the besieged attacked the bastion fiercely to dislodge our men, but as during the night the latter had well fortified themselves, and were well provided with ammunition and hand grenades, and well returned the fire, the enemy had to withdraw with great loss, crying all the time "O Mother of God, remember us," and others said "This is a punishment for our sins."

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***Marten Sothauwer* (Dutch ed.).

† Towards the end of his book the author happens to refer to Scotchmen in the Dutch service ; and this reminds him of an incident that took place during the siege of Colombo, when he nearly came to a tragic end at the hands of an irate Scot. The story is given in the appendix to the first edition ; but in the second is incorporated in the general narrative. It runs as follows :—" As I have mentioned Scotchmen, I shall here add, in what a plight, and how near to losing my life, I came through a Scotchman of this sort. When we were lying before *Columbo*, on one occasion I had the watch in the trenches, beside the mortars, with twenty-four men. Now there was also a Scotchman ordered there with his Company, of the name of *Robert Kohl*, a man of great strength, who could seize four men at once and carry them off. Now, at that time the Scotchmen used to be terribly badgered, because they had sold their King ; and I also happened to say that he would make a good bargain, for he would get double wages, one from our people, the Hollanders, and the other from his fellow-countrymen at home, who would already have reserved for him his share of the blood-money for their King, until he came home ; upon which he flew into such a violent passion, that he seized me with one hand by the waist, put me upon a mortar loaded with stones, and with the other felt for the lunt, and wanted to fire me by means of it into the air, which indeed would have happened, had not God so ordained that another man had just then taken away the lunt to light tobacco therewith : otherwise I should have had to go into the air or into *Columbo*. However, he got a well-deserved reward for his wickedness, for two days afterwards he was shot dead from the city, while he was out of bravado exposing himself rather too much, and wanting to mock at the garrison." The Dutch edition has an illustration (fanciful, of course) of this incident.

On the 9th of May a trench was dug from the bastion towards the town.

When the Portuguese saw this they came on the 10th with a white flag and wanted to negotiate and surrender the town on the same day. The next day, 11th of May, the following terms* were concluded :—

1. The Portuguese had to give nine months' pay for every one of our men, taking the number of all that had arrived, thus counting the dead as well as the living, and a month's pay was fixed at ten florins.

2. They were to pay the value of all the ammunition which had been used against the town.

3. They were to leave all their slaves behind, or to re-purchase from us those they wanted to take with them.

4. Every man was to have the option of taking five years' service under the Hollanders. Those that wanted to go to a Portuguese port were to be taken there by our ships, and those that wanted to go to Holland were to be taken to Batavia.

All fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters that were married were to be taken in our ships wherever they wanted to go, as, for instance, to *Goa*, *S. Thoma*,† *Cochin*,‡ and other Portuguese settlements, or even to Holland. The unmarried daughters, however, were to remain, and to marry Hollanders. (When that happened it caused great grief, mourning, and crying.)

6. As the Portuguese had to expect four ships from Goa with soldiers and provisions, it was arranged that if they arrived before the 20th of May they were to remain in the possession of the Portuguese : should they arrive after the 20th of May they were to belong to the Hollanders.

7. All and everything that belongs to the King of Portugal in the town of *Columbo*—horses, money, slaves, cattle, movables and immovables of all and every description—

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* The full text is given by Baldæus

† *S. Thomas* (Dutch ed.)

‡ *Kochin* (Dutch ed.)

were to be handed over to the Hollanders, without anything being openly or clandestinely withheld.

After this treaty had been ratified by both sides, we marched into the town on the 12th of May. On the following, the 13th, the sick were brought in, I amongst them, and quartered in the monastery of S. Augustine.

The soldiers of the Emperor of *Candia* were not allowed to enter, which he resented so much that he ordered all the passes in his country to be closed, and all the victuals on the way to *Columbo* to be stopped. Thereupon famine reigned again in the town; and so many died, that our slaves, whom we had with us in the camp, had nothing else to do three or four days long, but to bury. There died in one day twenty to thirty, and this caused a great stench, so that many even amongst us fell ill and died, although we had large quantities of rice and salt-meat from the ships to live upon.

On the 13th and 14th of May nine of our ships left—three went to Batavia, the other six took those away that wanted to emigrate: the men of rank and clergy were embarked first; the others afterwards.

On the 15th four Hollanders, amongst them the Corporal I spoke of before, were hanged; also a native, and likewise a Portuguese Captain who first had deserted the Portuguese to come to us, and, when our assault was beaten back, again went from us to them.* One of the Hollanders, a common servant, had died two days previously, but, to add to the terror, and to prevent any other from becoming a felon and betraying his master, the body was dug up again and hanged on the gallows.

From the 15th to the 21st nothing remarkable happened. On the 21st May, however, in the afternoon four ships were seen, which came as near the town as possible. We knew already that they were Portuguese, and we allowed them to come into the harbour. We hoisted the Portuguese flag on the bastions, and some of our soldiers had to dress like Portu-

* Baldæus gives his name as Simon Lopes.

guese, with long tight sleeves, double hose, white linen stockings, and big collars to their shirts, and straw hats lined with taffeta, and were made to walk along the beach, and wave their hats. The four ships did not think anything else but that the town was still in the possession of their people; but they very soon learnt the contrary. They made one of their number swim ashore, which art they are very efficient in (they can swim, one, two, three, or four hours in the sea). He did not swim towards the town, but towards *Mattavval;* and as a Portuguese who happened to walk from the town along the beach noticed him, and called out to him that the town had surrendered, he quickly turned round and took the news to the ships, who wanted to betake themselves out of the harbour and sail away. Our water-fort in the meantime had made all preparations, and before the ships could turn, one of them was sunk, another got out of the harbour but was caught by our ships between *Columbo* and *Negumbo*, the other two struck their flags, and the three were brought in; we soldiers, however, would have preferred to see them escape, because their salt-meat was stinking, and we had to eat it, to our disgust, because all the passes outside were closed, as mentioned before.

From the time that we conquered *Columbo* until 1657, thus more than six months, there was great poverty among us, and we poor wounded felt it particularly, until God helped us so far that we could somewhat recover. It was, however, only on the 18th of August that I had fully recovered, and could do service again; by the General's order I was quartered in the house of a rich Portuguese for about four months; there I was well cared for, and could every month save two rixdollars and forty pounds of rice.

## Anno 1657.

On the 28th of January of the following year, 1657, three of our ships went to Goa to take over the rest of the Portuguese, and they had orders to remain there until the fleet from Batavia came and brought further orders.

On the 3rd of February the same arrived in *Ceilon*, and stayed there until June, when they sailed for Goa, where they remained until 1658.

ANNO 1658.

* * * * *

On the 3rd of March three ships with soldiers came from Batavia to us off Goa, and brought six hundred soldiers and four mortars, two of which shot 220 lb., the other two 60 lb. The Commissary who came with them, of the name of Richlof von Guntz,* from Emden, took other four ships and many soldiers, so that upon every ship before Goa there remained only fifteen men, and sailed towards *Columbo*. We arrived on the 5th of April, but were not allowed to land. The above-named Commissary went on shore and ordered the old soldiers to embark as well; he also took a large quantity of ammunition.

On the 12th† a fleet of nine ships with one thousand five hundred soldiers, and in every ship besides one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty sailors, sailed towards the island of *Manara*, about twenty miles from *Columbo*.‡ It belonged to the Portuguese at that time, who had built a fortress thereon. On the 11th of April we arrived at the river four miles from the fortress, and when they heard of it, they came from there as well as from the castle *Jaffanapatan*, which is situated behind *Manara*, and tried to prevent our landing.

On the 13th of April our fleet went as near the shore as possible, the battle ships as well as the small ones; they formed a half moon; they let go the anchors, so that the ships remained in one position, and could carry all the guns charged with grapeshot on one side directed towards the land.

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* Rijklof von Goens. (Dutch ed., *Richlof von Gunts.*)

† The Dutch ed. has 10th, a needful correction, since the next date mentioned is the 11th. The dates, however, are not reliable (*cf.* Baldæus).

‡ Compare with Saar's account of the capture of Mannár and siege and capitulation of Jaffna those given by Baldæus and Ribeiro (the latter in *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. V., p. 202).

Our Commissary went round to all the ships and asked the officers and men whether they would be willing to attempt a landing the next morning, and all replied, "Yes, yes." On the 14th of April morning prayers were said very early, and every man got a big glass of wine, and we went with good courage in small boats towards the shore. When we were ashore we had either to fight or to die, for it was only then that the Portuguese attacked us. Our guns, however, fired so well that the Portuguese had many killed and wounded, and had to withdraw towards their fortress. We followed until the night fell, and then encamped at about half an hour's distance.

On the following day, the 15th, two of our mortars were brought on shore, a small one and a big one, also two hundred bombshells of one hundred and fifty and one hundred and twenty pounds, and fifty of sixty pounds. We advanced towards the suburb, constructed a good rampart, fortified two monasteries to prevent the enemy's coming out, and then began to fire our grenades, and at times stones, which took great effect. On the fourth day they offered to surrender. On the following day two hundred and fifty soldiers and three hundred citizens marched out; were at once taken on board, and sent to Goa. We entered, and two hundred men were immediately sent to the pearl bank, which is about three miles distant, and estimated by the Hollanders at the value of twenty tons of gold, to prevent the Portuguese from spoiling it, as they have done to one ten miles from *Manara*. The pearls are in shells, and are found under water. There are natives especially for the purpose, who go down with a long rope and a basket, and holding a sponge on one arm thickly filled with oil, which they press firmly to the mouth and nose. After they have found a number of pearls, and can no longer stay under water, they give a sign by shaking the rope, and those who stand in the boat near the windlass watch carefully, quickly wind them up, when they empty their basket. There is also a class of natives especially

trained to clean and polish the pearls, but our men find it difficult to make them do it. The Hollanders can hardly rule twenty slaves where a Portuguese can rule a thousand, for the natives would rather stay with them than with the Hollanders, of whom they do not like to receive orders.

On the 15th of May we marched in full force towards the castle of *Jaffanapatan*, which lies beyond *Manara*. It is a beautiful even country which the Portuguese have held in possession over two hundred years. When they come to a place they mean to stay there all their lives, and are not anxious to return to Portugal. A Hollander, however, when he comes to India thinks, "As soon as my six years are over I shall return to my country." They therefore do not cultivate the land nor build towns; on the contrary, when they conquer a fortress or town, they, as a rule, cut off a part towards the land, and the other part near the sea they fortify very strongly, so that few men may be required to garrison it. In 1656 we cut off the beautiful large town of *Columbo*: the finest houses of the town were entirely demolished, only one-third of the town near the sea was fortified, whilst on the land side the town was surrounded by water; and when these works will be finished, which was estimated to take ten years, the place will be twice as strong as it was before.*

When the Portuguese learnt that we were marching towards the castle, they all fled thither from the country with their most valuable possessions; we found nothing but rich, beautiful clothes, fine covers artistically sewn with silk; and there was no lack of victuals, cows, oxen, and chickens. We found good sugar-candy, which we were forbidden to eat, and we were also not allowed to drink any water out of wells or standing pools, but only the water that comes from the river and flows out.

After we had marched three days and had found many beautiful monasteries, we halted for a day in a monastery with a beautiful garden and pretty surroundings, so that I

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* Compare the two plans of Colombo given by Baldæus.

felt as if I were on Christian soil. The chiefs of the heathen of the country came, and were very glad that we Hollanders had arrived and wanted to drive the Portuguese out, because their Prince had wished for a long time already that the Hollanders or the English should come and avenge an affront which the Portuguese had put upon him. He had wished at one time to have a Portuguese wife or maid; they sent him in a litter a white dog with a golden chain round the neck, and with a letter to him, that as no Portuguese woman wished for him since he was black, and a heathen, if he wished to have a white female he should be satisfied with a white bitch. This offended him and the whole country so much, that he swore always to be an enemy of the Portuguese. When our Commander learnt this he was very glad, and we others likewise, because we thought that now our game was half won already. It was publicly announced, with the beating of drums, that no natives should be harmed, and that nothing should be taken without payment. They have a curious custom, namely, when they want to sell something, they first inquire of their children whether they like it: if they agree, the thing is sold; if not, they do nothing against the wish of their children.

After having had a day's rest in the monastery, we continued our march, and our Commander sent word to the Prince that he came as his friend and as the enemy of the Portuguese, and that therefore he did not wish to cause even the slightest loss to his subjects. If they brought anything they should be paid for it either in money or in other goods; and if we got possession of the castle, not a single Portuguese should be allowed to remain in the country, but they should all be transported to other islands; and if they were to try to take it back, we would keep the castle well provided with ammunition and victuals, and would resist them with all our power at sea and on land; and every year he should be twice informed as to how things stood between us and the Portuguese. In case sooner or later they should try to re-enter into his dominions, he had only to appeal to us for

protection, which should be extended to him as long as we were in possession to do so.

If a Hollander once takes a place from the Portuguese it is not likely to come back to him, although the country is large and they always try to settle in another place.

When we had marched another two days, and were a few hours from the castle, and rested, the Prince, upon the letter of our Commander, came to us in person and was received by our Commander in his quarters in a most friendly way. He gave information how things were in the country and in the castle, and how strong the garrison was. He did not know the number of the citizens, but said they were very rich, and that many of them possessed six tons of gold, for they had been in peace and quiet for a long time, and the Hollanders were their first enemies. Their monasteries and priests were also very rich ; for when they wanted to convert the natives, they forced them to come to church every day, or be fined a larin, that is, a quarter of a dollar ; a monastery had the command over thirty to forty thousand natives ; some of the monasteries had three and four churches ; and the priests had greater power than the civil authorities.

The custom is said to prevail that when a Portuguese has a pretty daughter, and the *Pater Grande*, the highest priest, wishes to have her, the parents have no objection, but consider it a high honour that the holy man should be the first to sleep with her ; and they do not consider this a sin. One of our Lieutenants wanted at one time to marry such a Portuguese girl of twelve years, and came with her parents to ask the consent of our Commander ; for this is the custom in India, that if a man wants to marry, he must first ask the permission of the master of the land. When our Commander asked the parents whether she was a legitimate child, what kind of people they were, whether she was still a virgin,—the mother replied, with apparent satisfaction, that nobody had had any connection with her but the *Pater Grande*. Thereupon our Commander would not give his consent, nor

allow the Lieutenant to be married. He, however, kept her with him for about three years as his concubine. This is tolerated. But when a man gets a son, and the Portuguese or native woman, especially if the latter has become a Christian, wants to recover her honour, and informs against him to his Commander, he must pay her 300 Dutch florins, or, in our money, 120 rixdollars. Then he is entirely free. But if he cannot or will not give the money, he must marry her, and afterwards as long as she lives, or perhaps as long as he lives himself, remain in the country. If he wants to leave her he must do so in profound secrecy, and during the night, otherwise he will soon be poisoned, as it often happened in Amboina and Banda. These native women are also extremely jealous, and if they only see somebody joking with another woman they at once have the worst suspicion, and they are such adepts in poisoning that they can cause a man to die immediately, or so work that he is tortured during five or six years without having a single hour without pain, until they themselves restore him again to health. They can sew something into the clothes, so that a man has no power with any other woman but themselves; and I have often heard this said by people who experienced it themselves, and who were very much annoyed at the false position they got into.

After our Admiral had received from the native Prince all information, we marched on the 18th of May towards the castle, and when we were a quarter of an hour's distance from the suburb they came about 1,100 strong. We soon drove them back and made seventy prisoners, who had to give us the latest news as to how things stood inside. They told us that there were about 40,000 people, old and young, inside, mostly citizens, with their wives, children, and slaves; the 1,100, however, who had come out were soldiers of the King of Portugal, and a few burghers had been amongst them as volunteers.

We settled down in the suburb in four churches, which were only a gunshot distant from the walls, and there

fortified ourselves in such a way that they could never drive us away.

There were more heathens with us than Christians. As our soldiers were very thirsty some ran to the wells to drink, and as these were all poisoned, about thirty men died, some natives amongst them ; whereupon everywhere guards were placed near the wells. We had to be satisfied with water from the river, but we forced seventy prisoners to drink water out of the wells, and they all died. There were many dead frogs in the water, and at the top it was quite blue as if covered with a skin. In order that nobody more should come to harm, all the wells were filled up with earth and sand.

Four mortars and many bombshells were brought on shore from our ships. Our sailors had nothing to do but to bring iron hammers and break to pieces the great hard tombstones in the churches and monasteries, and these pieces were daily thrown into the town in great quantity along with the grenades. After this had been done for some time many Portuguese came over to us and reported that the bombshells had not done so much damage as the stones, which in three months and a half had killed two thousand six hundred people.

On the 3rd of September the Portuguese came out on the side where our Commander was on land with half the army, and wanted to capitulate. We on our side knew nothing about it, and as we had instructions to damage them where we could, and as at that time many people stood unprotected upon the walls and ramparts, our head gunner, who had first taken aim with a cannon, wanted to fire. At that moment an arquebusier came running, and brought instructions to cease firing, because they were in treaty with our Commander for the capitulation, and were likely to hand over the castle in two days. We were very glad, and sat down in the field near our trenches and began to speak to them, and to tease them, asking whether there were pretty women in the fortress. They said we had killed all the pretty ones with stones, and that the remainder were all ill. But as we knew that the

Portuguese cannot stand being teased about their women, and that they sooner forgive a blow than being called cuckold, we teased them all the more, and said that if we came inside we should cure their illness in a way which they would like very much.*

In the meantime the arrangements for the capitulation were completed. The following day the soldiers marched out; on the second the clergy, or priests; on the third the citizens with their wives and children, but the women looked like corpses, nothing but bones with skin over them; on the fourth day our Commanders and officers went into the castle and plundered; on the fifth we were allowed inside, but without arms, and every one plundered as best he could, but our officers had already pretty well cleared the place. I was not lazy, either. I ran straight into the monastery, as I knew it would not be quite empty, and found an old priest, who was ill, and wanted to know from him where I could find something. He was willing, and said that if I would give him a share he would show me good booty, and then he asked what countryman I was. I replied in Portuguese that I was a High Dutchman. Then he began to talk to me in High Dutch, and said that he was an Austrian from Corneuburg, and had lived thirty-six years in the monastery. He showed me an old cushion. I cut it open and found five hundred *St. Thomæ* (that was money, and each of the value of four Hollandish florins). But I did not remain in possession very long.

The following day about six hundred of us were ordered on board, and whilst we passed from the boat into the ship we were searched. We were allowed to keep the goods, but the money was taken away from us. If I had known that, I should have sooner thrown it into the water; on shore I should certainly have known how to keep it, because I had risked my life before the enemy for it, and there would have

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* Compare Ribeiro's description of the brutal treatment accorded to the prisoners by the Dutch.

been an opportunity for anybody who wanted to act faithlessly to shoot an envious officer and for a while to fly to the above-mentioned native Prince until a new Governor had arrived, or the wife of a high officer had been confined, on which occasion a general pardon is given.

4 JAN. 93

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Journal No. 41, of 1890, containing LIEUT.-COLONEL H. H. ST. GEORGE'S TRANSLATION OF JOĀN RODRIGUEZ DE SÁ E MENEZES' "REBELION DE CEYLAN," is in the press.

H. C. P. BELL,
*Hon. Secretary.*

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## ERRATUM.

Page 316, line 31, *for* " Heeligen en de opengeving " *read* " Heeligen en de bespiegeling."

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

# CEYLON BRANCH.


## WOUTER SCHOUTEN'S ACCOUNT OF CEYLON.*


TRANSLATED BY PH. FREUDENBERG, ESQ., Consul in Ceylon for the German Empire.


*(Read June 26, 1886.)*

### INTRODUCTION.†

OF Wouter Schouten, the following information is given in A. J. van der Aa's *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (1874) :—

Schouten (Wouter), born in 1638 at Haarlem, devoted himself to surgery, and after a severe examination was sent to Amsterdam as a surgeon, and was appointed assistant surgeon on one of the ships of the East Indian Company. Being later on promoted to chief surgeon, he remained seven and a half years in the service, and in the Moluccas was present at many severe engagements, both by sea and land. Having returned to his Fatherland (1665), he settled in his birthplace, and appears to have then written and published his *Oost Indische Voyagien*, which were so widely read that in 1740 a third edition saw the light at Amsterdam. O. Z. van Haren testified of this book of travels that few travels afforded more pleasure in reading. For many years he kept a barber's shop at Haarlem, taught many pupils, obtained an extensive practice, and was universally esteemed.

* The apology offered to the translator in the footnote to Saar's Account of Ceylon (Vol. XI., No. 39, 1889, p. 233) is equally due for the delay in issuing the present Paper. With the ready co-operation of Mr. D. W. Ferguson, the Editing Secretary is at length able to pass it through the press.—*B.*, Hon. Sec.

† Compiled by Mr. D. W. Ferguson.

Since 1544 there had existed at Haarlem a surgeon's guild, consisting of a dean, two *vinders*,* two *oudvinders*, and a town doctor, who however examined only in theory and not in practice, for the doctors of the College despised the surgeons and were of little help to them in the service. When Schouten was elected to the office of *vinder*, he saw how inefficient the experimenters were, and endeavoured to improve this by thorough instruction in the science; and considered it his duty, as a proof, to make known a small portion of his professional experience during his service amid the clash of arms, and later as surgeon and practitioner at Haarlem.

In 1694 he published *Het gewond hooft of korte verhandeling van de opperhooftwonden en bekkeneelsbreuken: en van de wonden des aangezigts en der hals*, which was reprinted at Rotterdam in 1720.

He was very fond of his profession, and placed it far above internal medical treatment, which was often, as regards internal disorders, uncertain, obscure, and doubtful, whereby many differences of opinion took place. As a rough and frank seaman he combated the opinions of Blankaart, Bontekoe, Overkamp, and Van der Sterre. He deplored the fact that people despised the old writers, and tried to make palatable all sorts of strange propositions and doctrines in a multitude of books.

Another work dedicated by him to his nephew, Kuysch, remained for some time after his death in the possession of his widow, and was printed in 1727 at Rotterdam, entitled *Verhandeling van de tegennatuurlijke gezwellen, op reden en ondervinding door een vijftigjarige kunstoefening bevestigd.*

Schouten also cultivated Dutch poetry, as evidenced by his poem published at Amsterdam in 1700 and entitled *God verheerlijkt in zijne Heerlijkheid, Regtwardigheid, Barmhartigheid en onuitsprekkelijke liefde, tot troost der Heeligen en de opengeving van de goddelijke waarheid, digtkundig veerklaard.*

He died in 1704.

From Schouten's own narrative we learn that in 1658 he entered into a three years' engagement with the Dutch East India Company, to serve as a surgeon in the East; and that he sailed with the fleet from Holland on 16th April of that year, arriving at Batavia on 15th October. In July, 1661, he engaged for another term of three years' service under the Company; and shortly after this he paid his first visit to Ceylon. On 24th December, 1664, Schouten sailed from Batavia for his native land, which he did not reach until 8th October, 1665, the vessel on board which he was having been obliged with others to take refuge from the English fleet in Bergen harbour (in Norway), where a fierce engagement took place, the English being ultimately compelled to retire.

The first edition of Schouten's travels was published

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* *Vinder* is said in Sewel's Dutch-English Dictionary to be equivalent to *beurmeester*, and is explained as "an officer that looks to slaughtered cattle whether it be sound." Perhaps, "sanitary officer" or "inspector" would represent the meaning.

at Amsterdam in 1676, as a 4to. volume of XII., 328, 253, and 23 pages, with engraved title-page, portrait, and 43 copper-plate engravings. Of these illustrations Tiele (*Nederlandsche Bibliographie van Land-en Volkenkunde*) says: "They were drawn by the author in India, and have more local value than most of the illustrations in books of travels of this period." Of these engravings, two are of local interest, viz., double-page views of "De Stadt Colombe" and "De Stadt Puncto Galle opt Eyland Ceilon," but they are not very accurate representations of those places. This edition is dedicated to the burgomasters of Haarlem, the author's birthplace. The title of the first and second book is "*Wouter Schouten's Oost-Indische Voyagie*"; while that of the third and fourth is "*Wouter Schouten's Oost-Indische Reys-Beschryving.*" The pagination of this second part is also distinct; and the dates of the various events are given in the margin. The British Museum contains a presentation copy from the author to his daughter, with his autograph.

The second edition was published at Amsterdam in 1707 or 1708. The title of the book was altered to "*Wouter Schouten's Reys-Togten naar en door Oost-Indien,*" and the dedication is by the publisher to Bernard Houtman, a descendant of the famous Dutch navigator Cornelis Houtman. There are some other variations; but the body of the work is reprinted page for page from the first edition, with the misprints corrected and the spelling here and there altered a little.

A third edition was published in 1740 (some copies bear the dates 1745 and 1756) at Amsterdam.

In 1775 (some copies dated 1780) there appeared at Utrecht and Amsterdam a fourth edition in 2 vols., the old spelling being modernised, interpolations or omissions being made in the text, and footnotes being added. In addition to the illustrations this edition has four maps, one of these being of Ceylon.

A German translation of Schouten's work appeared at Amsterdam in 1676, the author's name being Germanised as Schultze.

A French translation was published at Amsterdam in 1707 in 2 vols., 8vo., with no divisions into chapters in the text, and without the plates, &c., of the original; but with the addition of a number of plates of various natural curiosities and descriptions thereof. A second edition of this translation appeared at Rouen in 1725; and another at Amsterdam, with no date.

The following translation is made from a "large paper" copy of the first edition in the library of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

## BOOK II., CHAPTER VII.

### ANNO 1661.

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[The Dutch had determined to make themselves masters of places on the Malabar coast *(Cochin, Cranganor, Cananor,* and *Coylan)* held still by, or for, the Portuguese. The naval force was to rendeizvous at *Colombo,* before starting for the expedition. The man-of-war the "Red Lion" *(de Roode Leeneo),* in which Wouter Schouten served as surgeon, was sent ahead (with the yacht *Sluys)* from Batavia, to give timely notice to *Adriaen Roothaes,* Commandant at *Puncto gale.*—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

WHEN everything was ready, and we had taken leave of our friends, on the 12th of August we left Batavia for the fourth time, as already mentioned, for the Cinnamon Island of *Ceilon.*

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At last on the 6th of September we came in sight of the green mountains of the Island of *Ceilon.* On approaching land, however, we found ourselves much to the south of *Punto gale.* A terrible current ran towards the east, and we were in danger of being driven past *Ceilon,* and into the *Kormandel* sea. We just succeeded, however, in finding anchor ground ; we let go from each ship two of the heaviest anchors into a depth of 40 fathoms, and so rode at anchor in a very heavy sea, constantly washed by huge waves that swept the poops.

Lying about a league from shore, we hoisted the Prince's flag, and fired a cannon shot to let those on shore know that we were Hollanders arrived from Batavia. That day, however, nobody could near us owing to the strong current and the heavy seas.

The next day, when the force of the current had lessened, the Commanders of the ships thought it expedient to send to shore a sloop manned by a double crew of rowers with a sergeant and soldiers, who were to make for the town of *Puncto gale.* This plan was immediately put into execution.

Sergeant Samson, a German, who knew the country, undertook to personally hand to Commander Roothaes the letters from the General and the Council of India which had been brought from Batavia. They then started and struggled to reach the shore, but it was not until midnight that the sloop returned, after having been in great danger of being carried away (by the current). The oarsmen had put the sergeant and the two soldiers on shore to undertake the journey towards *Puncto gale*, over high hills and through dense forest by way of the *Galyettes*,* *Dondery*, *Matera*, *Bellingam*, and other seaboard districts.

The weather soon began to clear, wind and sea went down, and the current turned, running now from east to west, though not so strong as before. Weighing anchor with sails set, we cruised westwards. Presently a Hollander and two dark-skinned *Cingalese* came rowing towards our vessel in a Ceilonese *tony*, or hollowed boat cut out of a tree-trunk. They came out of the bay of *Galyettis*, from which we understood that we were not far off. After paying us a visit, they returned to shore. We thereupon received orders from the Commander Roothaes to make for *Galyettis* bay, twelve miles to the west† of *Puncto gale*, until further orders. This was done, and we dropped anchor in the narrow entrance under hills clad with jungle, about two stones' throw from the steep rocks and the beach. We made the ship very fast, so as not to be driven against the rocky shore by the force of the wind and the rollers.

When we got on shore we inspected the principal villages of the *Galyettis*, which are well shaded by all sorts of fruit trees and beautiful plants growing round about. The dark-coloured *Cingalese* lived here in miserable plight. They

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* " *Galliette* ou *Calliette*." (French translation.)—D. W. F.

† " West " should, of course, be " east." Twelve Dutch miles (36 English) from Galle is the village of Bellawatta, of which name " Galyettis " *may* be a corruption.—D. W. F. [Gandura bay has also been suggested as identical with " Galyettis."—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

had small huts made of cow-dung, clay, and rattan, and roofed with cocoanut leaves, of only a man's height, and built in haphazard way here and there midst the vegetation. The men, women, and children were almost naked, wearing only a small cloth round the waist which covered their private parts, but barely reached to their dark knees. The women and girls showed no signs of bashfulness, coming towards us with breasts and limbs uncovered. They willingly offered their services to us in all innocence and modesty to get for us what was obtainable. We gladly accepted their offers, of course paying them well. Quietly and in peace they live under the rule of the Hollanders in simple manner (gaining their living) by fishing and agriculture, which they carry on with very few implements.

Three of us now set out to walk inland through verdant forest towards the small town of *Dondery*. On the way we were highly amused by great numbers of monkeys and baboons which sprang with great nimbleness from tree to tree in the forest. We continued our journey, and crossed some hills thickly covered with jungle, and towards noon reached the small town of *Dondery*. We found it bordered the sea, and was inhabited by *Cingalese*. Some of them told us that in former times it had been one of the principal towns of the Kingdom of *Candy*, and they showed us the remains and ruins of the ancient royal palace. The ruined walls still bore witness to the beauty and great size which formerly had marked the buildings. We were told that since the war between the King of *Kandy* and the Portuguese, the power of the latter had worked this destruction. The broken down walls lay in heaps of *débris*, overgrown with jungle, unsafe, and full of hollows, where tigers, jackals, wolves, snakes, and many other creatures found a hiding-place.

We then left the place, and decided to take a walk through the small town of *Dondery*. This we found well laid out with good roads and pleasant cross roads, and containing much better houses than the *Galyettis*. Inland were

visible many high mountains and gardens, rich in cinnamon, watered by gently running streamlets, tanks, and rivers. In front of *Dondery* surges the salt ocean. The inhabitants were better clad, and showed themselves favourably and friendly disposed towards us.

The empty stomach now began to crave; so we made ourselves comfortable in the verdure, and got the natives to pluck some cocoanuts, fresh and green, from the towering trees; and on these we feasted, as well as on other agreeable *Ceilon* fruits. We should not have found in *Dondery* any house to take refreshments in but those of prostitutes and smugglers. We found ourselves, however, somewhat upset in the midst of our pleasant meal, for a noxious snake of unusual length came suddenly out of the jungle beside us, reared itself with many a curve and bend, and interrupted our repast. We jumped up incontinently when we saw it, and the noise caused the snake to hide immediately among the houses of the *Cingalese.* The people living in these houses were not frightened, and so indifferent that they did not attempt to catch the reptile, and even laughed at our discomfiture.

This impressed us very much with the reprehensible idolatry of the deluded *Cingalese*, who, as we were informed, actually worship snakes, tigers, crocodiles, apes and baboons, and the like monsters. They humour them, and even provide them with food, so that snakes and beasts, generally dangerous to men, do them no hurt. In truth one rarely hears of *Cingalese* meeting with harm by them.

Some Hollanders are led to conclude from appearances (but who can speak with certainty on the point?) that the Evil One sometimes appears to the idolatrous *Cingalese* in the form of snakes, tigers, crocodiles, and baboons. This much is proven, that the Ceylonese sorcerers, as well as other East Indian nations, in catching and conjuring them, know how to bring about supernatural phenomena, just as has often been reported to us as likely. On this I shall enlarge when an opportunity offers.

We left heathenish *Dondery*, retraced our steps, and returned on board at the *Galyettis*. Here we found ourselves in want of fresh water, as no streams were found in the neighbourhood. Hunger and thirst, however, can make raw beans sweet and putrid water agreeable.

Our sailors found in the jungle, not far from the beach, a nauseous pool of water, out of which we were constrained to fill some casks, and take them on board. The water was muddy, dark looking, and injurious to health; but we managed to put up with it for a few days until we received orders from *Puncto gale* to load our ship here with *areecka*, and then make a short trip to the *Choromandel* coast. The yacht *Sluys* received instructions to proceed to the bay of *Puncto gale* as quickly as possible.

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Of this *areeck* whole shiploads are sent from the Island of *Ceylon* to other countries and kingdoms of Asia, but especially to the coast of *Choromandel*, and this makes some places populous and wealthy.

We therefore took our cargo in without delay to proceed to *Choromandel*.

Our party went once more to *Dondery*, and thence three miles further to the townlet of *Matera*. We walked over rough roads, rocky hills, through narrow valleys, dense jungles, and dangerous wildernesses, until we arrived at the Dutch fortress in the centre of delightful *Matera*. Here we saw some *Ceylon* elephants of unusual height, which, as we were credibly informed, surpass the elephants of all other countries and kingdoms in intelligence, quickness, and good behaviour, and to whom elephants of all other countries show their reverence by kneeling and doing reverence.

We visited our countrymen, especially the principal surgeon of *Matera*, who had invited us, when he had bid us welcome on board at the *Galyettis*. He was married to a *Cingalese*, or *Ceylonese* woman, who was comparatively fair in colour and a convert to the Christian faith. As far as we could see they lived quietly and peaceably together. They entertained

us in a very friendly manner, but we could not stay long, as we expected to leave the *Galyettis* for *Choromandel* the next day.

We then inspected hurriedly all that seemed worthy of seeing in *Matera*. The DutchFort was built in a pleasant situation. The *Cingalese* lived in fair, cheaply built dwellings. Behind *Matera*, pretty stretches of grass lands, mountains, plains, and rivers were visible. In some places the woods furnished great quantities of aromatic cinnamon. The town itself was not big, but had wide streets, and was fairly well populated; it stretches along a small bay. Here the dark-skinned *Cingalese* live quietly and peaceably under the rule of the Dutch. They get a living by agriculture, the gathering of crops, for the most part cinnamon, and *areeck*, and sometimes also by fishing and hunting, or other work.

After bidding farewell to our friends, we again travelled through the jungle, and at times along the beach until we came to the hamlet of *Dondery*. A number of black women, whom we took to be *Cingalese* whores, danced, sang, and shrieked lustily in the middle of the street, and with their ridiculous music, their droll antics, and foolish contortions made merry sport. However, we hurried onwards, and in the evening at the *Galyettis* reached the ships.

The next day we weighed our three anchors, and unfurled our sails. The weather was squally, and when we ran out of the *Galyettis* bay, we got a heavy cross-sea with strong blasts of wind. We were in danger of being thrown against the cliffs and rocks in the middle of the narrow passage, and the shipwreck we dreaded would have been terrible in the violent surf. But thanks be to God, we were spared, and emerged from the peril between rocks and cliffs into the open sea. We left the other vessel in the *Galyettis* to await good weather, and proceed to *Puncto gale* as soon as it became practicable.

We now set all our sails and steered east-north-east, and again more points north, along the pleasant coast of *Ceilon*. We passed two dangerous banks called the Great and Little *Baxos*. We now sailed north and then north-east. We

sighted the great bay of *Batacalo*, and shortly after that of *Trinquenemale*. Then striking a course towards *Choromandel*, we lost sight of *Ceilon*.

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[After taking in cargo on the *Choromandel* coast, they sailed for *Columbo*. When *Punto Pedro*, *Trinckenemale*, and *Batacalo* had been passed, the vessel encountered a gale, which lasted three days, and forced the sailors to work the pumps night and day. Fortunately the currents were favourable, and when the storm abated they found themselves near *Puncto gale* bay (having been carried before the wind past the *Galyettis*, *Dondery*, *Matura*, and *Bellingam*) and there anchored. Thence under a clear sky, and aided by the current and a north-west breeze, they sailed passed the *Alicaon* river and *Caltere*, and dropped anchor in *Columbo* roadstead on November 1st.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

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## BOOK II., CHAPTER VIII.

Here, off the city of *Columbo*, we found a goodly fleet of Dutch men-of-war, the number of which increased every day. From our Fatherland the following magnificent ships came to join us, *'tHuys 'ter Swieten*, *de Rijsende Zon*, *de Wassende Maen*, *de Beurs*, and *'tRaed-huys van Amsterdam*, all full of troops, well rigged, despatched and amply found in provisions. They were sent out to meet at *Columbo*, as the place of rendezvous, and to unite with the before-mentioned squadron. Thus, within a few days, more than twenty fine vessels were assembled. From land they were provided with shovels, spades, pickaxes, scaling ladders, gabions, and palisades; also powder, ball, cannon, mortars, and other munition of war. A good number of soldiers, drawn from the garrisons of the Dutch fortifications at *Manare*, *Jafenepatnam*, *Negombo*, *Caltere*, and the towns *Puncto gale*, *Negapatnam*, and other places, landed at *Columbo* almost daily. In short, preparations were pushed actively forward, so that very soon we were quite ready to pay a visit to the coast of *Malabar*, and the towns of our enemies, the Portuguese. The Dutch, in the town of *Columbo* and on

board ship, observed a general day of fasting and prayer to obtain God's help and blessing in this important undertaking, so that we might return victorious.

On the 6th of November, seven ships with 800 gallant soldiers were sent in advance from *Columbo* to *Tutocoryn* and *Keilpatnam*, viz.: *den Achillis*, *de Goutsblom*, *Tertolen*, *Vlissingen*, *Bloemendael*, *Bantam*, and *de Schelvis*; they were to obtain, for fair price, a great number of fast-sailing boats, also cows and other cattle from the natives who were friendly to us.

Whilst thus riding at anchor off *Columbo*, we found an opportunity to go and see this old and famous town. Many fine buildings, even whole streets, were lying in ruins, partly from age, partly from sieges and wars, and many of the ruins were covered with grass and brushwood. Nevertheless, we found in the town fine buildings, lofty churches, wide streets and walks, and large houses in great number. They were built spacious, airy, and high, with stone walls, as if meant to stand for ever, according to the Portuguese manner of building.

The town of *Columbo*, famous from olden times, is situated barely seven degrees to the north of the equator, on the west coast of the Island of *Ceilon*, which is large, beautiful, and rich in cinnamon. The gallant Portuguese constructed it fully 150 years ago. They peopled it and have since dwelt in it in affluence and state. But in May, 1656, after a complete siege of seven months' duration, after many desperate assaults and stern fights, the daring Netherlanders compelled the Portuguese to surrender by capitulation to the East India Company the afore-named fortified town of *Columbo*, their finest pearl in the East Indies. The principal Kings in India were surprised at this, and not less the Portuguese, who considered *Columbo* impregnable. Since then our countrymen have reduced the town, which was large and spacious, and had too large a garrison, to smaller compass, and made it a compact fortress. Still, *Columbo* remained provided with many strong bastions, bulwarks,

walls, and a fresh water canal, and supplied with ammunition, war material, and men in such manner that it would not easily have yielded before any personage in or out of the country. Behind, to the east and the north, were pleasant plains, fields, and woods rich in cinnamon, as well as inland pools, swamps, tanks, and big rivers. To the west the great ocean washed the cliffs and rocks of *Columbo*.

When all the land force was on board, and the ships ready to put to sea, the sailors of the fleet hoisted flags and pennons to spars and masts, and the soldiers displayed their banners. After the Council and Burgesses of the town of *Columbo* had escorted in great state the famous Heer *Rijcklof van Goens*, we saw him come on board the man-of-war *de Musschaet-boom* as Commander-in-Chief and Admiral General of our forces, to enter upon the voyage towards the land of the Malabars. In the meantime *Columbo* burnt no small quantity of powder, heavy guns thundering from the walls, that all seemed to crack. The *Musschaet-boom* and other flagships answered the salute. At the same time drums were beaten, and trumpets brayed ; and the music of pipes, flutes, and other instruments was heard, for the dark-skinned *Ceilonese lascarijns*, or soldiers, of whom there were a good number, also struck up. During these salvoes, Heer *Adriaen van der Meyden*, then Governor of *Columbo*, returned on shore with his suite. As all ships now were ready to start, we left *Columbo*, and with a clear sky, a light breeze, and a calm sea, we sailed northwards.

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## BOOK II., CHAPTER XIX.

### Anno 1662.

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All that was required having been carried out, Heer *van Goens* embarked from *Coulang*, under a discharge of artillery and the sound of drums, trumpets, pipes, &c.; and having shortly after weighed anchor, we set sail and steered

our course towards the Island of *Ceilon*, sailing along the beautiful coast of *Malabar* southwards, until we soon found ourselves nearing the lofty peaks and low foreland of cape *Comoryn.* Here our worthy friend the Rev. *Philippus Baldeus* bade farewell to the Admiral and us, and departed in a small vessel named the *Tutocoryn*, to *Jaffanapatnam*, where he had been officiating as minister for some years.

We then steered south-east, losing sight of the continent of India, and on April 10 (being Easter Monday) we sighted the coast of the Island of *Ceilon.* This we did near the fortress of *Caleture*, which we passed under a light breeze, till next day we came to anchor in the bay and close to the town of *Puncto gale.*

Admiral *van Goens*, on landing here, was received in a splendid fashion. The armed corps of burghers welcomed him in joyous and friendly manner with three discharges of musketry. Heavy cannon roared from the ramparts of *Puncto gale*, and thereto we replied from the *Musschaet-boom* in similar style. The *Moors* in their gladness fired likewise frequent salutes from their vessels, from large and small guns. Many of the Prince's flags and streamers waved from the masts and yards of the Dutch and Moorish vessels ; the sound of drums, trumpets, horns, fifes, and flutes was heard all around, and in short there was great joy everywhere at the safe arrival of our Commander-in-Chief, who had conquered three desirable places on the coast of India. There came also Heer *Adriaen van der Meyden*, the Governor of *Columbo*, by land to *Puncto gale*, to welcome Heer *van Goens* ; the latter not only received him in a friendly manner, but also caused the burghers of the town to meet him with a guard of honour. After volleys of musketry, he was saluted with nine discharges of large cannon from the walls of *Puncto gale*, and three from our ship the *Musschate-boom.* In the meantime there arrived also the ships *de Beurs*, *Tertolen*, *de Rijsende Zon*, the *Achilles*, and *'tHuys 'ter Swieten*, from *Barsalore* and *Coulang*, laden with rice ; but the *Tertolen*, having been provided with fresh water

outside the bay, was immediately despatched by the Admiral to *Batavia.* From our ship were discharged the war provisions, ammunition, and commissariat stores, which had been much in the way; these were taken ashore in small vessels. We thus got the ship fit, roomy, light, and clean to receive two to three hundred lasts of rice, and afterwards cinnamon, which was put on board without accident, the first out of the Moorish vessel, and the second from shore.

Meanwhile, we had daily sufficient opportunities to inspect at pleasure the town of *Punctogale* and the country round. This was the third time that I had come from another clime to this fair and beautiful Island; and thus I obtained the opportunity which I desired of attentively and carefully examining and briefly describing what is worthy of note concerning it.

Firstly, therefore, as regards the position, extent, nature, of the towns, forts, and villages: we will speak of them in a plain and brief manner.

This Island of *Ceilon*, which is held to be the ancient *Taprobane*, not only by the Portuguese writer *Johannes Barrius*,* but also by many others, is one of the finest and most celebrated islands of Asia, as well in respect of its beauty, fertility, and pleasantness, as of its agreeable, mild temperature, its situation, and the excellent advantages it affords to foreigners, as well as to residents. It is the opinion of many that it was in former times connected with the mainland of India, where there still exists a rocky bank called *Adam's Bridge*, of which we have already spoken. It extends from the sixth to the tenth degree north of the equator. To the north is the coast of *Choromandel* and the sea of Bengal; to the east, the south, and west, the shores and banks are washed by the great ocean. This Island in shape is nearly in the form of a ham. Some writers have declared it to be 400 miles in extent, but in my opinion, taking its length and breadth, it cannot be more than 240 miles in circumference. I believe that owing to tempests, high seas,

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* Joao de Barros.—D. W. F.

and swift currents, no small portions, especially towards the north, have been from time to time washed away from the Island : hence *Ceilon* cannot now be so extensive as was stated, and with truth, in former times.

Before the time of the Portuguese, who were the first Christians who came in their ships to the East Indies, the Saracens, the Turks, and the Ethiopians often went to the Island; and they made no little gain by their trade in pearls, precious stones, and principally in cinnamon. Subsequently the Portuguese, and lastly our countrymen, the Netherlanders, became not only the masters of the commerce, but also the possessors of the seaports, towns, and fortresses therein.

Some would have it that this wealthy Island was first discovered by Chinese, who having been driven out of their course in a junk by a storm, and having landed here, gave forth that their ruler was the son of the Sun, which so pleased the *Cingalese* (who likewise worshipped the sun) that they set up the captain of the junk as king of the Island ; from whom it is said the kings and queens of the Island are descended.

Among Christians it was the Portuguese, and among them *Laurentius de Almaida* and his followers, who first discovered *Ceilon*. For he having been sent by his father *Franciscus Almaida* in search of the Saracen merchants who were returning from *Amboina*, *Banda*, and the *Moluckes*, along the Maldives to Arabia, chanced in consequence of contrary winds and currents to reach *Ceilon*. Seizing the opportunity, *Zoarius** hastily set about building the fortress of *Columbo*. The Portuguese soon increased their hold upon the country, taking possession everywhere, notwithstanding the opposition of the inhabitants, of the principal seaports and trading places, which subsequently fell into the hands of the Netherlanders. The Portuguese, during their rise and decline, carried on extensive warfare against the kings of the Island.

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* Soares.—D. W. F.

Our intention, however, is to describe not the past, but the present condition of *Ceilon*, which the Netherlanders, by the grace and blessing of the Almighty, now possess in peace.

The following towns, forts, ports, and trading marts are situated along the coast.

*Caleture* (or as we name it for convenience *Caltere*), lying about twelve miles from *Puncto gale* northward, and seven southward from *Columbo*, is a delightful place, situated in a district beautiful, pleasant, and fertile, close to the sea, and at the mouth of a wide and pleasant river, which seems to take its source from the central part of the Island. The fortress was taken by us from the Portuguese previous to the conquest of *Columbo* by a few men in gallant manner. The inhabitants of the place submitted themselves willingly to the rule of the Honourable Company.

*Columbo* (of which we have already spoken in chapter VIII.) is at present the chief town of the Netherlanders in the Island of *Ceilon*, and here the Governor has his residence. In former times *Puncto gale* was the chief town of the Netherlanders, where now in our time, the Commandeur *Adriaen Roothaes* held the chief command. *Columbo* was likewise the chief station and place of residence of the Portuguese in the Island of *Ceilon*. This town cost them during its construction not less blood in sustaining the attacks and furious assaults of the inhabitants than when they lost it to us. *Columbo* lies on the west coast of the Island, and possesses a harbour capable of receiving fairly large ships, but the very largest generally anchor in the roadstead, a little beyond the bay. The country all around produces the finest cinnamon, and that in great quantities.

*Negumbo*, situated in a country abounding with water, on the sea, and about five miles north of *Columbo*, is a celebrated fortress built formerly by the Portuguese for the cinnamon trade. It was taken from them on February 9, 1640, through the skill of the Directeur *Philippus Lucasz*, but recaptured in February, 1643, by a fresh force of Portuguese. They, however, did not long hold it, for in February, 1644,

*Negumbo* fell a second time into our hands by the skill of Heer *Francoys Caron*, and has since remained with us.

From *Negumbo* our people crossed the river *Chylauw*, and proceeded through the thinly inhabited district of *Medampe*, where there is no cinnamon, but plenty of buffaloes; and beyond through the districts of *Putelaon*, the *Wannias*, *Jaffanapatnam*, passing on the way the Islands of *Calpentyn*, *Caredive*, *Manaer*, and the others which lie to the north of *Adam's Bridge*.

Between *Calpentyn*, a poor and barren spot, and *Manaer*, lie the banks, which were formerly called "the Pearl Banks of *Manaer*"; but after fishing there a few years, the pearl fishery has been carried on to the westward near *Tutecoryn*.

The Island of *Manaer* is supposed to have been formerly united with the mainland of India, for between the two there lies *Adam's Bridge*, of which we have already spoken.

This Island was for a great many years in the hands of the Portuguese, but about the year 1658 it fell under the blessed rule of the Honourable Company. The Portuguese endeavoured with a large force and by entrenching themselves to prevent the landing of our people. But when the illustrious Heer *Rycklof van Goens*, with nine ships and 1,500 valiant men, approached the place, he trained all his ships, fully armed with heavy cannon, broadside on to the shore. Soon they belched out shot and grape. Meanwhile our men bravely pushed ashore in sloops and boats, despite the sturdy opposition of the Portuguese, and rushed like heroes against the glittering sabres, shot, and death-dealing cannon of the enemy. Here the fight was very severe. *Anthonio Amiral de Meneses*, the Portuguese Governor, and *Anthonio Mendes*, a brave captain, and other gallant men were killed by our shot. Finally the enemy fled, with the greatest part of their force, to *Jaffanapatnam*, trusting themselves no longer to the fortress of *Manaer*. The small garrison, which stood out after receiving the fire from our mortars, heavy grenades, and great shot, surrendered unconditionally, including

their Colonel *Andrea Villossa*. The soldiers and burghers left the place, and were sent by us to Goa. The fortress, which was called *St. George* by the Portuguese, has since been fortified by us with a proper moat, walls, and batteries.

The little fort of *Keis*, or *Hammenhiel*, on the way to *Jaffanapatnam*, lying in the strait between the Islands, was also at this time taken by the Netherlanders from the Portuguese.

The town and famous fortress of *Jaffanapatnam*, lying about forty-eight miles north-east of *Columbo*, is situated in a delightful and fertile country, and was in June, 1658, humbly delivered over to the Honourable Company under the command of Heer *van Goens*. After the conquest of *Manaer*, we proceeded to *Jaffanapatnam*, landed our men successfully, two or three hundred at a time, and marched them towards the town and fortress. On pain of death it was forbidden to insult the natives (*Indianen*), especially as we had been received and welcomed in a friendly manner by the *Cingalese*, the inhabitants of the country. The Portuguese (who had been living in this beautiful country like princes, counts, and great fidalgos) now fled with their wives and children, and any goods they could most readily lay their hands on, to the fortress. They had also many nice buildings in the town, which was not walled round and lay wholly open : this too was abandoned by the enemy, who fled quickly to the fortress. It was very large and fully manned, and being surrounded with moats and high triple walls, both strong and secure, to storm it with a small handful of men was not advisable, whilst a bombardment of the lofty stone walls so thick and strong would have been quite useless; and accordingly great mortars, grenades, and bombs were brought into the camp with all despatch. Tombstones and many bluish stones* were broken up, and the enemy in *Jaffanapatnam* therewith so roughly battered that they soon lost courage to sally out and meet us face to face, or offer the

* Coral stones ?—D. W. F.

fierce resistance they did at first. When the castle had been besieged for three and a half months, the defenders on the 21st of June determined to fly the flag of truce for a surrender. The capitulation was soon concluded and signed on the following terms: that the chiefs and the clergy were not to be insulted but sent to Goa or other places under the rule of Portugal; that no one should take with him anything of value. Those who were married people were permitted to take up their residence within the towns of Batavia or Malacca. During the next two days a considerable force of the Portuguese soldiers marched out and were obliged to deposit their colours, arms, &c., before the standard of the Honourable Company. A great number of burghers with their wives and children, Portuguese *Mestices*, and *Toepasses*, as well as other classes who had hitherto lived in luxury on this pleasant land, came out in sadness, with a body of about forty priests and clergymen, who professed to be of the Order of Jesuits and Franciscans. The number of persons killed during the siege of *Jaffanapatnam* by shells, grenades, and shot, as well as by sickness, was between 1,500 and 1,600.

The country or kingdom of *Jaffanapatnam* is connected by a small strip of land on the east to the Island of *Ceilon*. It is divided into various Provinces, such as *Belligamme*, *Tenmarache*, *Waddemarache*, and *Patchiarapalle*. The country is nearly everywhere low, very fertile, populous, and well planted with trees, which extend for about twenty miles, studded with more than a hundred and fifty villages. Along the north coast it is washed by the sea, to the south by a large river, and to the west lies *Punto Pedro*, where also the Portuguese in former times attempted to build a small fortress. But all in vain, for since the loss of *Jaffanapatnam*, that nation has disappeared from *Ceilon*.

Since then *Jaffanapatnam* has been inhabited, fortified, and much improved by us Netherlanders. Many churches have been erected throughout the country, and those of the Portuguese have been reformed. Many thousands have, through the great mercy of God, and the zeal and diligence

of our people, already been gathered into the purified Church of Christ.

*Trinquenemale*, lying on the north-east coast of Ceylon, possesses one of the largest and most beautiful harbours to be found on this pleasant Island, but, as far as my knowledge goes, no cinnamon grows there. Heer *Anthonio Caen*, then Councillor of India, erected here, in the year 1639, for the first time, a small fortification ; but subsequently the Dutch had occasionally to abandon the place. When in the year 1661 we passed this pretty bay, we could not see any fortification ; afterwards, during the second English war, another fort with four bastions was built there, so as not to give any chance to those who were seeking the ruin of our country.

*Batacalo*, or as it is sometimes (but incorrectly) called, *Matacalo*, was from ancient times a celebrated place, where the Dutch on May 31, 1602, under the command of General *Joris Spilbergen*, landed for the first time for the sake of the trade in cinnamon. The fortress built by the Portuguese was taken in the year 1638 from the Lusitanians by Heer *Adam Westerwolt*, and afterwards delivered to the Emperor of *Ceilon*.

Proceeding from *Batacalo* towards the south, along the seacoast up to the *Galyettis*, there are few places of any importance to be seen. Everything there, however, as also in the *Galyettis*, and in *Dondery*, *Matura*, *Bellingamme*, and so on round the Island of *Ceilon*, is wholly subject to the Netherlanders ; and our people may safely travel there, from one district to the other, overland. This we ourselves have done in the districts of the *Galyettis*, and also from thence to *Dondery* and *Mature*, as I have already mentioned in chapter VII.

In *Matura*, the Dutch have a compact little fort. They possess also *Bellingamme*, otherwise called the "Red Bay," from which a person may walk in four hours to the town of *Puncto gale*.

In the year 1640, by the blessing of the Almighty, and under the valiant direction of the Commandeur *Willem*

*Jacobsz. Koster*, the town of *Puncto gale* fell into the hands of the Netherlanders. On the 8th of March, *Koster* with a small force, succeeded in anchoring in the bay under the guns of the enemy, landed and attacked *Gale* with terrific might, defeated the force which had come from *Columbo* to the assistance of the besieged, brought three more powerful vessels, viz., the *Haerlem*, *Middleburg*, and *Breda*, to their aid in the bay, and landed the soldiers. The attack was carried on with heavy cannon, until a clear breach was made in the bastion of *Sint Jago ;* and thereupon after a bloody and severe assault, *Puncto gale* fell into our hands on the 13th of March.

The town is situated in, and at the entrance of, a beautiful and pleasant bay, and upon our taking possession of it, and during the following year, we proceeded to fortify it well. *Puncto gale* had already been provided with fine walls, ramparts, canals, bastions, ports, &c., and within was found to be adorned with pleasant dwellings, lofty buildings, excellent wells, pleasure grounds, and handsome churches, previously built by the Portuguese. These the Dutch have now peaceably occupied for a great number of years.

The bay of *Gale* is spacious, and very well fitted for harbouring a large number of vessels ; but at the mouth or entrance of it, there are midway in the passage some hidden rocks, which make the entrance into the bay dangerous, as was proved in the case of the fine ship *Hercules*, which was dashed into a thousand pieces on them. On this account an experienced pilot has been placed at *Puncto gale*, in order to pilot incoming and outgoing ships. The sea likewise rises high during the prevalence of the westerly winds, and it is very rough in the bay, whereby the ships are sometimes not a little tossed. No ships, whether friend or foe, can come to anchor in this bay, without passing very close to the strong water and sea forts, which are all provided with heavy guns. The town lies for the most part on a height, and is open along the seaside, being sufficiently fortified by sharp rocks and the rough sea. There may also be seen on

a fine rock the guard-house, provided, as in *Columbo*, with a lofty mast, whence the Company's flag floats on high as soon as ships are discerned in the offing.

Outside the town of *Puncto gale*, as also around the bay, and further inland, there are beautiful fields, high mountains, pleasant plains, and delightful walks, which are neatly laid out here and there between lofty hillocks, crags, and rocks, by digging and cutting through them, and are called *Gravettes.* The district and villages included under *Puncto gale* yield the Company no small profit, having frequently realised in the farming out alone more than 15,000 rixdollars a year.

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## CHAPTER XX.

WE have thus given the reader a brief account of this beautiful Island, and of the situation of almost all the countries situated on the coast which were formerly held by the Portuguese, in the height of their glory, power, and dominion, as the dominant masters of Asia. But wealth and prosperity make man proud and overbearing, and no small number of the Portuguese are infected with this failing, exulting in their self-conceit, beyond what the contemptible insignificance of man justifies, and this breeds envy and anger in those who must come into contact with these proud persons. Christians, who desire a blessing from God Almighty, should above all things consider the honour and glory of God, and do good ; and in foreign countries should treat even the heathen in a friendly manner, showing themselves true representatives of Christian charity, faith, and uprightness, but where this outward mark of life is disregarded, all success is thwarted ignominiously. God grant that we, Netherlanders, be not as the Portuguese, who from of old treated the inhabitants of *Ceilon* harshly, tyrannically, and unjustly ; and that this excited the wrath of God, and the hatred of the people has been since made sufficiently clear to that nation.

The *Cingalese*, or inhabitants of *Ceilon*, live along the coast in the maritime provinces and the dependencies thereof quietly and peaceably under the rule of the Dutch. The rest of the inhabitants residing inland are subject to the Emperor of *Ceilon*, that is, the King of *Kandy*, who holds his court at present in the centre of the Island, in his capital, *Kandy*, living still at variance with the Dutch, yet seeking neither war nor peace with them. It was certainly so in my time, and consequently, the *Cingalese* and our subjects showed no desire to molest each other.

But touching this variance and the circumstances and conditions of the King of *Kandy* in his relations towards us, the following brief notice will tend to explain :—

When the Portuguese first landed and established their arms on this Island, it had been already divided in consequence of inland wars and disturbances into several kingdoms; but the King of *Kandy* retained the name of Emperor, or Overlord. The Kings, as well as the Emperors of *Ceilon*, occasionally suffered extensive defeats in wars through the bravery of the Lusitanians; and even *Kandy* was for some time in their power and subject to their rule; for fierce wars had been carried on for many years between the Portuguese and *Cingalese*.

From our own country, Heer *Joris van Spilbergen* was the first who personally waited on the Emperor of *Ceilon* with letters and presents in the name of their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Netherlands and His Excellency Prince Maurice of Nassau (of blessed memory).

He arrived here in the beginning of June in the year 1602, coming to anchor at *Batacalo* ; and his escort, reception, and bearing before the Emperor, the Princes, Princesses, and other grandees of the kingdom were wonderful and worthy of note, as narrated at length in the journal describing them, which has been printed.

The reigning Emperor at that time was *Vinna Ladarma Soria* (a name which signifies "the delivererof the kingdom"), or, as he was previously named for his zeal and inclination

towards the Portuguese, *Don Jan.** He was a son of *Vinna Lamantia*, who, having been the Councillor of the Empire, had [aspired to] become Emperor. Craftily enticed to court by the previous Emperor, he was buried in the ground alive up to the waist, and killed by wooden discs cast at his head. This act the young prince *Vinna Ladarma Soria* bravely sought to avenge by invoking assistance of the Portuguese against the murderer of his father, having been advanced by them to the rank of General. In the meantime, the Portuguese having made themselves masters of *Candy*, appointed a Prince begotten of the royal blood (who, having been by their means converted to the Romish faith, had been named *Don Philippo* at his baptism) king, as the result of their successful conquest.

The General *Don Jan*, or *Vinna Ladarma Soria*, however, took this so ill that *Don Philippo* was poisoned at his instigation, and he acquired an implacable hatred against the Portuguese. He cunningly ingratiated himself with the courtiers and the people to such an extent that he soon was crowned Emperor.

Immediately all friendship with the Portuguese was declared at an end, and they were commanded on pain of death to evacuate all conquests they had made on the Emperor's territory. A large army having then been collected, the forces of the former Emperor *Raya Singa Adaskijns*† were attacked and dispersed, and the tyrant himself died of anger and grief.

Not long after, one *Janiere Wandaer*,‡ who had been the Secretary of the late *Raya Singa*, proclaimed himself king. This man having combined with the Portuguese (who willingly fished in troubled waters), and with their subjects, viz., the kings of *Jaffanapatnam*, *Cota*, *Pannia*, *Batacalo*, and others, accompanied by a very great army of 140,000

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* Don John Vimala Dharmma Súryya I.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† Rája Siṇha I., 1581–92 A.D.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

‡ Manamperuma Mohoṭṭiya, styled Jaya Súryya Baṇḍára.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

men, more than 1,100 elephants, and 45,000 oxen laden with provisions, proceeded towards *Kandy* and defeated the force of the Emperor. The latter escaped with a few followers into the jungle, and remained there feeding on herbs and roots.

The Portuguese, as well as the king *Janiere*, now thought that the battle was won. The young, brown-skinned, and intelligent Princess *Dona Catarijna*, who was the daughter of an Emperor, and had been brought up by the Portuguese in the Romish religion, was immediately escorted in great state to *Kandy* from *Manare*, whither she had been taken formerly. Having been crowned as Empress, she was solicited by king *Janiere* in marriage from General *Pedro Lopes*. The solicitation was however rejected, and *Janiere*, in order to avenge himself on the Portuguese, entered into negotiations with the exiled Emperor, resolving to drive all the Lusitanians out of the country. But the plot was discovered, and the Portuguese, having got scent of it, caused *Janiere* to be treacherously murdered.

The Emperor *Don Jan* now coming forth from his concealment, and representing the Lusitanians as despicable traitors, easily turned everything in his favour. Thereupon, pursuing the Portuguese, he defeated them with considerable slaughter. The General *Pedro Lopes*, and the Empress *Dona Catarijna*, were taken prisoners. The former died of his wounds, and the latter married the Emperor, who now had everything under his power.

The Portuguese were subsequently defeated on several occasions by the forces of the Emperor, and so severely used that they had no desire to march afresh against *Kandy*. Thus the monarch *Vinna Ladarma Soria*, or *Don Jan*, was ruling victorious and in peace over the Empire of *Ceilon*, when (as we have already mentioned) *Spilbergen* appeared before his throne.

The General was welcomed by the Emperor with extraordinary honour, being escorted in royal manner overland from *Batacalo*, *Vintana*, and *Trinquenemale* to *Kandy*. The *palinckijns*, litters, and elephants were splendidly adorned,

and when approaching *Kandy* the Emperor sent every hour fresh provisions, fruit, and wine. He even despatched *Emanuel Dias* (who had been servant of General *Pedro Lopes*, and afterwards for special services had been made the chief *Modeliar* of the Emperor), with many other Portuguese, all servants of the Prince, and about a thousand armed men, consisting of eight companies of different nations, viz., *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Cingalese.* These escorted *Spilbergen* and his illustrious suite with sound of drums, pipes, and flutes, to a magnificent house, where everything seemed to be arranged not in heathen style, but after Portuguese fashion.

The Admiral, having been invited to court, appeared before the Emperor very respectfully with three saddled horses. The Emperor, dressed in white, received *Spilbergen* with marked friendliness, and accepted the presents very graciously. Having shown them to his young Prince and Princess, he began a friendly conversation with *Spilbergen.* The next day the latter, for the second time, appeared before his Majesty and the Council, and confidently offered the Emperor the friendship and assistance of his masters against all enemies.

Thereupon the Emperor embracing the General made him a present of all the cinnamon and pepper that was ready. Moreover, having ascertained the state and power of the Dutch, he showed quite frankly his affection towards our nation. A splendid feast was given to *Spilbergen* and his people. The hall was hung with very beautiful hangings; the table, Spanish stools, food, and music gave proof of no heathen, but an European banquet. *Spilbergen*, as a token of the highest honour which can be done to anyone, being taken by the Emperor into the presence of the Empress, *Dona Catarijna*, found her, as also the young Prince and Princess, dressed in the Christian mode. Then His Majesty openly declared that when the States-General and His Highness the Prince of Orange should be pleased to erect a fortress in *Ceilon*, he himself and his wife and his children would be

willing to carry the materials on their shoulders. Thus with this prosperous commencement the friendship grew marvellously, and *Spilbergen* departed with presents, letters, and a great reputation.

But *Sebalt de Weert*, Vice-Admiral of the fleet of *Wybrant van Waerwijck*, not long after landing once and again at *Batacalo*, behaved with such imprudence and indiscretion before the Emperor and high personages of the Court, that he and most of his retinue were cut off. Thus the first friendship and alliance received no mean check, the more because the Emperor *Don Jan*, or *Vinna Ladarma Soria*, died not long thereafter.

On his decease, his stepbrother *Cenuwieraet** married *Dona Catarijna*, and took possession of the Empire. He received the name *Camapati Mahadascyn*† upon his coronation. With this Prince again another union and fast compact was concluded by the diplomacy of the merchant *Marcellis Boshouwer*. But owing to a horrible murder committed by the Portuguese on our people at *Cotiar* (where they intended to build a fortress with the consent of the Emperor) this compact resulted in no definite issue.

Meanwhile, the Empress *Dona Catarijna* had died in the year 1613. The Emperor *Cenuwieraet* lived until the year 1632, and was succeeded by his youngest son, who received the name *Raya Singa*‡.

This young Prince, who had been deceived and ill-treated by the Portuguese, besought and obtained the aid of the Netherlanders, who, by the able diplomacy of the Admiral *Adam Westerwolt* and the Vice-Commander *William Jacobsz. Koster*, concluded a firm compact with the *Ceylonese* monarch on May 23, 1638, for the promotion of trade, and to the disadvantage of the common enemy, the Portuguese.

Subsequently, the Portuguese, by the success of the Netherlanders' arms, were driven out of *Caleture*, *Puncto gale*,

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* Senerat, or Senevirat.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† Senápati Mahá Adahasin.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

‡ Rája Siṇha II., 1634-87 A.D.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

*Columbo*, *Negumbo*, *Manare*, *Jaffanapatnam*, and *Trinquenemale.* The friendship between the Emperor *Raya Singa* and the Netherlanders continued fast for a great number of years, though not so constant, but that now and again a dark cloud of ill-feeling came between both nations and interrupted their mutual friendship. The *Ceylonese* monarch in such cases used too hastily to take up arms. It so happened in the case of the above-named commander *Koster*, who not long after his brave capture of the town of *Gale*, whilst on the way from his fruitless return from *Kandy*, where he had put forward reasonable demands, was treacherously murdered with four of his bodyguard by *Raya's* people. In this way the faithlessness of the Emperor was discovered, and his shallow affection for us, although after its capture *Trinquenemale* had been presented to him with its belonging, as also the lands of *Gale* and *Mature* after their capture, together with their revenues. Moreover, his Majesty's *lascarijns* continued to plunder and rob our men, showing themselves well-disposed to the Portuguese, and hostile to us. This trouble lasted until the year 1649, when by a small embassy and a present to the Emperor, the slight amity began again to some extent to show signs of reality. Afterwards, by the wise and prudent management of the illustrious Heer *Geraert Hulft*, who bravely commenced the siege of the town of *Columbo*, the mutual amity and firm alliance again flourished.

But after this gentleman had perished during the siege, and the town had fallen into our hands at the cost of very much Christian blood, his Majesty began cunningly to pretend that what we had captured by our arms belonged to him. Thereupon fresh troubles arose, which developed into acts of violence. As neither the one nor the other sought war, the ill-will continued dormant, and still existed when we were in *Ceilon*. But, as related, each party held their lands in rest and quietness. The mutual subjects were in no way harassed. Thus the Dutch occupy quite peaceably their profitable trading marts and strong fortifications in *Ceilon*.

The Emperor, *Raya Singa*, now pretty well advanced in years, wrote sometimes to us for certain curiosities of little value which Heer *Adriaen vander Maiden*, Governor, as well as Heer *van Goens*, kindly procured for him.

His title was *Raya Singa*, Emperor of the Island of *Ceilon;* King of *Kandy*, *Zaitavaca*, *Cota*, *Danbadaon*, *Amorayapore*, *Jaffanapatnam;* Prince of *Ove*, *Mature*, *Dinavaca*, the four Provinces; Grand Duke of the Seven Provinces; Count of *Cotiar*, *Batacalo*, *Vintana*, *Panoa*, *Putelaon*, *Bellingamma*, *Gale;* Marquis of *Duranura*, *Ratemira*, *Tinipane*; Lord of the Harbours of *Ceilon*, the Pearl Fishery, and the Golden Sun.

The Prince holds, sometimes elsewhere, but mostly in *Kandy*, a magnificent and very illustrious Court, as those who have been there in the service of the Honourable Company testify. He has a good number of high officers, who are named *Apahamy;* and of Governors, who are called *Dissaves*; his captains are called *Modeliars;* sergeants, *Haraties;* and the soldiers, *Lascarijns*.

The *Cingalese*, or *Ceylonese*, are for the most part dark-skinned, small of stature, and of pleasing countenance, going as a rule pretty well clad. Those who are rich wear red Rouen caps, or other caps of this colour, but the first are considered of somewhat higher value, and named in the language *Toppi Honday*,* forming a striking contrast with their skin. The men wear their hair usually cut short, and the chief men, a white *Cabay* or gown made of silk, flowered or of white cotton, with a cloth wound round the waist, which they pass between the legs and secure like breeches. Others of the lower classes go mostly naked, except that they conceal their privates with a cotton cloth. Some also wear a small jacket with short flaps after the European fashion, and a *crits* or dagger at the side, the hilt of which is inlaid with gold, ivory, or other material. They adorn their pierced

* *Toppi honday:* bad Siṇhalese for "good hat." These tall caps of red cloth *(jagalâta)* are figured in Knox, "Ceilon." Another shape was four-sided inclining to round and low *(hatará mul kasav tóppiya)*.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

ears with gold rings and fine jewels, or those who are of less rank, with articles of less value.

The women and young girls go with the upper part of their bodies bare and with their breasts wholly exposed, and just like other Indian women, with only a cloth wound round the lower part of their body. They are, moreover, bareheaded and barefooted ; their long and jet black hair coiled round the back part of the head like a hood. Some too (therein imitating the Portuguese women) know how to adorn it in neat curls. The rich also wear necklaces of gold or cheaper metal round their necks ; they also adorn their ears, fingers, and sometimes toes with rings of similar metals, according to their respective rank and caste. They are, for the most part, well proportioned, but with dark limbs.

The *Cingalese* are by nature generally ingenious and sagacious, showing this by their praiseworthy handicrafts in the making of weapons, spades, *critses*, and a thousand other elegant articles. In war they are quick and active in attacking an enemy, and great heroes when unable to resist ; but they cannot be trusted even in the smallest emergency. They are prone to idleness, lazy, and lustful to a degree.

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They marry very young. The girls, especially those who are somewhat good looking and not poor, have as a rule lost their virginity before they can be considered fit to have children, of which fact the men who marry take great pains to be sure. Thus married women of ten or eleven years are found here.

The marriage ceremonies are simple ; they are performed by the *Bramine* in presence of friends and before the idol. Rich people have festivities lasting sometimes three to four days, and there is no lack of delicacies, amusements, or strange dances. Poor girls have great difficulty in finding a husband, unless some friends make up a little dowry, which renders them eligible. Thus the rich have great advantages here as elsewhere.

On occasions of marriages and festivities, the women and girls know how to prepare delicate and savoury dishes, especially those who have had intercourse with Portuguese women. They know very well how to cook, stew, or roast chickens, of which you may buy twenty-five for a rixdollar in some places. Their bread is rice boiled in water. They sit upon mats, the legs under the body, and thus eat from the floor. Their table cloth and napkins are leaves of the Indian fig-tree,* which are of a man's length, very clean, of strong tissue, and very common all over India. In their greatest enjoyments they never, or only very seldom, take strong drinks, but almost exclusively water, which they keep in pots or light jugs made of clay, in which the water remains very cool. They do not put their mouth to the brim, but pour the water from a certain height, as from a spout, into the widely opened mouth. They do not like to drink with each other in any other way.

Everybody stands very much upon his descent, handicraft, or knowledge, and this is useful, because nobody is allowed to change his profession. The sons must follow the calling of the fathers, however mean and despised it may be. The sons of weavers must become weavers, of tailors, tailors, blacksmiths' sons must stand behind the anvil all their lives.

The peasants and cultivators, called *Bellali*,† are next to the *Bramines* the most highly esteemed people in *Ceilon*: they are considered far above people of other vocations. They dress with a fine cloth round the waist, but are otherwise naked. Many of them are Christians, possessing fine houses and fertile lands. They thresh corn with oxen, which (according to the custom of the children of Israel) are unmuzzled.

They know how to make butter with the help of little sticks in the form of a cross, which are turned rapidly. They often bring curdled milk and cream for sale in small clean white bags. In manners they surpass many other castes in

* Plantain.—D. W. F.

† Vellála.—D. W. F.

*Ceilon.* They often marry their nieces and nephews to each other, as naturally, for the purpose of marriage, they try to find persons belonging to the same class.

The caste of water and *palankijn* carriers, woodmen, and similar people are called *Chivias.* As a rule they are fairly intelligent and strong: they know how to carry a man in a neat chair, with the help of long bamboos upon their shoulders, for a distance of twenty to thirty miles in a few hours. They are, however, so low-minded that they do not serve anybody cheerfully, but only those whom they believe to be men of consequence.

There are also intelligent lawyers, doctors, surgeons, and barbers. The medical men, however, have very little knowledge of anatomy, of things natural, unnatural, and contrary to nature, which ought to be the basis of their science. Thus their principal knowledge rests upon experience. Their medicines consist of freshly plucked herbs and flowers, of which they know how to make decoctions, stupes, poultices, and the like.

The class called *Chittijs* trade in cotton goods and other wares. The *Carreas* and *Mockuas* are fishers. The *Nallovas* are slaves and servants of cultivators; they are unclean and filthy, and perform foul and dirty work. The *Parreas,* however, are filthier still: they do all the scavenging, eat what others consider unclean. Those of a lower class are compelled to show respect to those of a higher profession. Some *Cingalese* earn their livelihood by music, playing on drums, cymbals, horns, pipes, flutes, as well as by dancing, tumbling, and outlandish gestures. Women and girls likewise skip, dance, and play for money. Their free movements and uncouth antics, with limbs so little covered, are objectionable rather than decent. They know how to whirl round very swiftly when performing.

The *Cingalese,* who are still heathen, are idolaters. They believe in the objectionable teaching of the outwardly modest *Bramines* or *Bragmannen,* who are their priests and leaders in religion. These *Bramines* pretend to be moral

and well-behaved. They refrain from drink in presence of the people, and wash frequently. Many of them have by God's grace been converted to Christendom. The others follow the laws of Pythagoras; they are found to be fond of good living, and exceedingly lascivious. However, they are considered the most intelligent and desirous to learn.

All these heathen are very superstitious. They are fond of idolatry and devil worship. They are particular in choosing the day to begin a given undertaking, believing in good and bad omens. The strictest of their caste are forbidden to kill anything that has life, above all buffaloes and cows; not that they have any feeling for these beasts, but because they plough and thresh for them, and yield butter and milk. Moreover, they believe firmly that the souls of their ancestors and friends who are dead have migrated into cows, oxen, buffaloes, and the like, and they would not like to disturb or hurt them.

They highly esteem an idol, whom they call *Jacka*,* and which is made of clay, of the size of a man, with horns, black and ugly. Some worship elephant heads made of wood or clay,† in hopes of thus obtaining wisdom and knowledge.

Many rich pagodas are to be seen in the Island of *Ceilon*, to the most important of which pilgrimages are made by the superstitious.

The great in the land visit as devout pilgrims one of the highest mountains of *Ceilon*. I have seen this mountain from a distance; the natives call it *Pico d'Adam*, or the "Mount of Adam," as Adam, so the *Cingalese* believe, once lived there. Others say that Paradise is there, and travel thither as pilgrims. On the summit, high as heaven, a pagoda with constantly burning lamps is said to be seen; likewise a stone, in which the size of Adam's foot has

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* Yaká.—D. W. F.

† Images of Ganésha or Pullayáru.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

remained impressed. The Emperor is said to preserve in *Candy* an impression of it of extraordinary size.

In former times (as they often relate with all circumstance) the tooth of a white monkey was to be seen in the pagoda of *Adam's Mount;* it was considered the holiest relic of the *Cingalese*, and people came to look at it with the greatest zeal. The pagoda received many beautiful presents, revenues, and honours, all given with the object of obtaining some spiritual benefit from this godly monkey's tooth. Strange miracles have been worked by this holy thing, until it was stolen by the Portuguese, who had expected to find a great treasure, and they burnt the monkey's tooth, although the heathen offered a large sum of money for it. In *Vintane* there is also a pagoda fairly large and high, in shape of a pyramid, which boasts of giltwork and an image. Likewise, between the *Galjettis* and *Batacalo*, at *Trinquenemale*, and other places.

Some of the images stand upright, with uplifted arm, and sword in hand, to deal heavy blows. Others are made differently, some monstrously. The natives ornament the images often with flowers and rose wreaths ; they put together in a basket what they offer to the monster, whilst they pray for ready help in case of sickness or other difficulties. As a rule they prostrate themselves before the image, and, whilst praying, they lift their hands above the head.

The *Cingalese* have also here and there monasteries with cloisters and rooms, in which their monks dwell. These monks wear yellow robes, have their heads shaved, and carry an umbrella. At times they walk in procession. The chief priest parades in procession on a elephant, with beautiful trappings, amid a lively escort of musicians and dancers of both sexes. Young girls clad in a light cloth round the loins exhibit their best skill along the road.

There are many other oddities, which they practise in their religion and their services. Some worship crocodiles, snakes, tigers, monkeys, and other monsters. However, in the matter of worship, everybody follows his own bent and pleasure, so

that by the exertions of the Portuguese, and afterwards of our people, many thousands have been converted to the Romish, and likewise the Reformed religion.

The houses of the *Cingalese* are of light material, like Indian cane work, but they are generally skilfully and neatly built, with divided rooms, doors, and windows. The people are clean and fairly orderly in their housekeeping.

Many reach an old age, and some live to eighty, ninety, and upwards. The dead are mourned for, and buried by old women ; those of rank are burnt to ashes.

There are also many *Cingalese* who by the exertions of *Moormen* have been induced to adopt the Muhammadan religion. Many *Moors* and descendants from the *Turks* and other foreign people are likewise found in *Ceilon*.

Their principal coin consists of silver *Larijns*, worth ten stivers each, and silver and gold *Fanums*. The gold ones are mostly in use, but their value does not exceed five stivers each, and they are so tiny that it is difficult to handle them. These *Larjins*, or *Fanums*, as well as the gold *Pagodes*, or Moorish *Ducats*, are the money which principally circulates upon the coast of *Malabar*, *Choromandel*, and in the Island of *Ceilon*. Besides these Spanish coins (called *Paternosters*) and copper money *(kopstucken)*, or such like Dutch coins, freely pass current in *Ceilon*, *Choromandel*, and elsewhere.

Now, as regard the Island of *Ceilon* : it overflows with good things for man's sustenance—fowls, stags, peacocks, pigeons, wild boars, oxen, cows, and buffaloes abound. Fine rivers are found in many places. Some maintain that in the mountains round *Candy* there are mines of gold, silver, metal, and other ores, likewise some sorts of precious stones, but particularly rubies, which (as I have seen myself) are obtainable in *Ceylon* in abundance. Very fine crystals are also met with. The fruits, vegetables, and plants are melons, pumpkins, water-melons, *ananases*, oranges, lemons, citrons, *bananas*, *coques*, *manges*, *cajouloen*, pomegranates, grapes, *putatten*, sugarcane, *betel*, *areeck*, pepper, onions, leeks, ginger,

*cardemom*, tobacco. They also have silk, cotton, and other material for clothes. Besides this, the villages furnish honey, milk, butter, and rice; and the sea and rivers good fish.

But what makes *Ceilon* specially famed throughout the world, and pleasant to everybody there, is that in the forests whole groves of cinnamon are found. We saw them, and noticed that they closely resembled the orange tree, but stem and branches are finer, with less knots, and straight. The leaves resemble those of the laurel. The blossoms are white, and of a sweet smell. They develop a fruit similar to the olive in size, from which the natives prepare an oil that is considered to have sanative properties. Baboons, apes, and birds eat these fruits as food, or when they fall to the ground young trees sprout self-sown, and as soon as these have obtained a certain height, the old trees are cut down to make room for them. The tree has a double bark. The outer, very thin, is first stripped off; then the inner one, which is the real cinnamon, is peeled in long strips, which, when dried in the sun, curl themselves up, and turn a reddish colour. We peeled the cinnamon of a tree from curiosity, and found it to be mucilaginous, oily, and green, and with little or no smell or taste. The peeled tree requires sometimes two or three years to renew its bark, seeming forsooth (and no wonder) to mourn awhile. But at last it regains its former qualities. Between *Puncto gale* and *Negumbo* grows the best and finest cinnamon; there the trees grow in many places wild by the thousand, and in whole groves. Cinnamon is divided into three sorts, viz., the finest, the medium quality, and the coarse, which latter is obtained from old and big trees; then there is an uncultivated kind, which is also found in *Malabar*.

The natives often build their huts with the wood of the tree, but they also cut it as firewood, which in burning gives out a delicate odour. Whilst thus the cinnamon is found to possess strength, even in the third quality, the sappy root yields not alone a fragrant juice, but also a kind of camphor. The natives know also how to inlay the green bark, viz.,

the cinnamon, very artificially and cleverly in little trunks, boxes, and even sticks : thus I was presented in *Ceilon* with a cinnamon stick, which was very ingeniously inlaid with cinnamon.

Amongst the animals found in the wilds of *Ceilon*, elephants are the most important. The finest and most intelligent kind is found in this Island.

I have seen exceptionally big ones at *Mature*, the *Galyettis*, and also *Puncto gale;* they learn with astonishing perception to carry out all sorts of difficult work, just as horses do in Holland. It is said that elephants of other countries show their respect to these by kneeling down to them.

The kings of *Ceilon*, *Arrakan*, *Pegu*, and others have from olden times employed elephants in their principal wars. Swords were tied to their trunks, and wooden towers on their backs, in which five or six men could stand with pikes, guns, and other weapons. They knew how to disperse their enemies, and throw them into confusion. They are, however, easily frightened by fire. They are highly prized by the princes of Asia. Their size, docility, and agility show to men the marvellous wonders of God. They are ambitious and intelligent. The females are said to be influenced by the phases of the moon. It is believed that they have never coupled in anybody's presence, that they go in calf for two years or longer, and that they reach an age of 150 years. The skin is wrinkled, tough, and dull-coloured. Some are 9 to 10 ft. in height. They have large ears, and masticate with four teeth, besides the two big ones (tusks), which project far out of the mouth, and are of ivory, of which so many pretty things are made. The nose (trunk) consists of a kind of pendulum or long snout, which is narrow, and has an opening at the end, which is smooth and slimy inside. They use it like a hand. They are able to put with it into their mouth, not only rice soaked in water, palm leaves, and plantain trees, which form their food, but also liquid food. With their trunk they know how to carry packages and goods, and dexterously to lift a man or a woman from the

ground, and to put them down again in an intelligent way as soon as they are told to do so. If anybody is condemned in India to death and to execution by an elephant, he is tied to a long rope; the elephant urged by his driver takes the delinquent upon his tusks, throws him up into the air, and after he has fallen down, crushes him with his feet. They know how to ignominiously bespatter anybody who angers them with a dirty stinking fluid, which they bring up by putting the trunk into the mouth.

Wild elephants do much damage to trees and plants in *Ceilon*, and kill many people; they thrive and multiply. Travellers when camping for the night make large fires, and on the march beat drums and cymbals to frighten these dreaded monsters.

The Netherlanders, after a few years have taken to catching elephants, and with great success. They proceed in this wise: they travel to the locality selected with several hundred men, taking with them some tame elephants, ropes, cords, hoes, shovels, spades, and there surround a large tract of forest with palisades and stout hurdlework. This enclosure is very wide at one end but gradually tapers towards the other, and is provided with trapdoors to secure the wild elephants. A large number of drivers, shouting, beating drums and cymbals, drive the wild elephants into this enclosure. In the narrow part they are secured with ropes, sometimes with the help of the tame ones; and in the course of time they are tamed. A wild elephant is led between two tame ones to the washing place; if he resists, the tame elephants drive their tusks into his hide until he is overpowered.

Our people derive great benefit from these beasts. Not only do they use them themselves, but they also sell them to *Moors* and *Persians*. It is difficult to take them from the land on board a vessel. The bridges, *syampans*, and boats are covered with leaves or branches of the palm-tree, because it is not easy to make them cross a bridge otherwise. As soon as they are near the ship they are blindfolded, and strong

ropes passed round them covering the whole belly, and a large number of sailors, winding them up with the windlass, hoist them inside the vessel.

They swim well, keeping their trunks above water. They delight in bathing themselves, and can show their swiftness by running very quickly. They lie down like other animals, roll over occasionally, and get up with great dexterity. A child can order them about, but they want to be praised. Nobody must despise them or abuse them. The driver sits a straddle upon the neck of the animal, and steers it easily with a small hook, wherewith he pricks it behind the ears.

In *Arrakan*, *Pegu*, and other places, the highest personages travel upon elephants to show their wealth and position. The animals have tents upon their back, wherein the nobles can sit, lie down, sleep, eat, and drink in comfort.

Many apes, baboons, and cunning monkeys are found in the forests of *Ceilon*, which, whenever we went out for a walk, amused us very much with their queer grimaces and long jumps. They have an intelligent way of taking the young ones hanging from their neck with them, without letting them fall when springing cleverly from one tree to another. They make the roads very amusing for those who take a walk, but they do great damage to trees and fruits. They pluck *kokes* nuts from the trees, drink the water, eat the kernel, and throw the remainder down upon passers-by. They also drink the extracted *sury* out of the *bourboesen*, which are hung up in the trees for this purpose.

They are caught with *klappus* nuts in which a small hole is made, whilst the kernel inside is loosened. The monkey arrives, puts his hand into the nut to get a piece of the kernel, but then the natives rush up and catch them. There are so many, that they are often sold to our people for two stivers apiece.

Some of the Indians, who worship the monkeys as something divine, have wonderful fables and stories to relate about them, and they tell them with the gravest face.

Big *Satirs*, or *Bavians*, are also found in *Ceilon:* the natives usually call them *Orang Oetans*, or wild bushmen. They resemble human beings very much in figure and intelligence. Their backs and loins are covered with hair; in front they are hairless. The females have two protuberent mammæ on the chest. The face is ugly, with a flat nose, the ears resembling those of a human being. As a rule they are very muscular, very fast, and courageous. They stand up even against an armed man. They are very lustful after women, who therefore in *Ceilon* are not safe from these *Orang Oetans* when passing through a forest, because they have to fear assault and rape.

When caught with ropes and tamed, they are taught to walk on their hind legs, and to do all sorts of things, even work in the house with their forelegs, which are like hands, to clean glasses, to fill them, and to turn the spit.

They know also when there is a chance to get hold of something good, and to take a little rest whilst eating it.

We might give our readers a good many stories about the wonderful things we have seen done by apes, and large monkeys; but considering the time and trouble it would entail, we shall leave the apes to their friends, and again take up the thread of the description of our journey.

# HENRICUS VAN BYSTERVELT'S* EMBASSY TO KANDY.

Translated from the Dutch by F. H. de Vos, Esq., Advocate.

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Translation.

A REPORT written according to orders from the Hon. Rycloff van Goens, Ordinary Councillor of India, Governor, Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of this Island of Ceylon, with the Dependencies thereof, by me, the undersigned Henricus van Bystervelt, having journeyed to the Court of *Candia* on February 22 of this year [1671 A.D.] to deliver to His Majesty, *Ragia Singa Raju*, the letters which were then handed over to me, including in short the principal events, the conversation had by me at various times with His Imperial Majesty, and further what was done in the service of the Honourable Company during my stay at the aforesaid court.

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When I, the undersigned, had, after repeated application and volunteering of my services, obtained from your Excellency, on February 21, leave to depart in the service of the Honourable Company with a letter to greet His Imperial Majesty, I, on the same day, started with *Haccroegammene Rale* and *Jasonder Rale*, both Ambassadors from His Majesty, and arrived about evening at the pass Nacklegam, where we lodged the night. We left next morning, arriving at *Gourbevele*, where we were received with great honour; and having spent the night and starting from thence next morning, came to *Citawaecke* the same day, when I was welcomed and received

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* Regarding Henricus van Bystervelt, see Journal R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XI., No. 38, p. 149; Christophorus Schweitzer (Reysen), Dutch ed. (Utrecht, 1694), pp. 392–3; Ceylon Literary Register, Vol. IV., pp. 115–6.

in great state, in honour of the Honourable Company and Your Excellency, by the chiefs who were sent on Imperial orders.

The next morning I left for *Ruanelle* with the same *Singalese* officers, viz., *Dessawes*, *Raterales*, *Rales*, and a very large company of lascoreens, drummers *(tablelineros)*, drums, trumpets, and elephants, who together escorted me in honour of the Honourable Company and your Excellency, as far as *Ruanelle*, where we arrived about evening, and remained there one night.

Leaving in the morning, arrived on the 25th at *Bornou*; and having spent the night there we left in the morning, and when we had been on the way about six miles, as I thought, from *Ruanelle*, we saw from afar about nine or ten of our men, who were prisoners, very naked and destitute. But about evening we arrived, on the 26th, at *Capuijttewatta*, where we remained four nights, and on the last night left for *Moligudde*, when we had to remain, on the orders of the Emperor, for four nights and days. Thence on March 5 leaving for *Kohonchitte*, we slept there one night. The next day, being the 6th, we journeyed to *Ampittie*, where also we rested a night; and in the morning, being the 7th, left for *Maoe* (where we lodged two nights in one of His Majesty's courts or forts) and proceeded on our journey to *Candia*, having been, so far as I remember, fully seventeen days away since we left *Colombo*.

Having waited with the letters for not more than four days, I had the honour, on the fifth day, to appear before His Majesty, and at the same time to present the letters given me by Your Excellency, carrying them on my head in gold salvers, which were first brought to my lodgings by His Majesty's *Adigaars* and other courtiers, and His Majesty received the said letters out of the same with his Imperial hands, and soon afterwards inquired about the health of Your Excellency and Council.

No sooner had I answered him and paid him my respects than I got a ring set with nineteen rubies, for which I thanked His Majesty and did the courtesies, as best I could,

in the *Cingalese* manner; with which the king said he was well pleased, and none of the Hollanders and Portuguese Ambassadors had spent such little time on the way, and come up so soon to at once present the letters as I had done.

The evening drawing nigh, His Majesty requested me to go to my lodgings, which were close to His Majesty's court; for the Emperor would have the letters read to him the same night, and in the morning I had to be ready to appear before His Majesty. But that day was postponed, on account of their pagan superstitions about evil days, for three clear weeks.

And when I then appeared before His Majesty, he apologised and showed great satisfaction and pleasure at the contents of the letters. At the same time His Majesty ordered that as Your Excellency had not received through the late Ambassador *Hendrick Draack*, of blessed memory, any Imperial letter and seal, that I should be sent by the first opportunity, with the greatest honour and respect, with his royal order and all the prisoners, who before this were kept at *Arandore*, the more so as they had been so long detained without his order. The king would also hand over to the Honourable Company the deserters who from time to time had run away. And there was also a thief who had not long made off with two horses. This thief and the horses would also go with me, and soon afterwards the people of *Mature*, as they were many, and the Emperor was armed for inland tumults or waking sleeping dogs. He would first give them new clothes and arms and order each to go to his former place and station.

But His Majesty said, at the same time, in my presence, that his trusty Hollanders were faithful servants, and that he still esteemed them as such, and that his courtiers all stood there, but that they were unreasonable men, and His Majesty showed ten times more love for his trusty Hollanders than for his own nation.

The Emperor also said that he was alone and already advanced in years, but he called God as his witness that no one

should after his death govern and rule his kingdom save his trusty Hollanders, for the reason that his subjects so long as he had known them had been rebelling in his kingdom with that object.

After these words I was presented with a gold chain by His Majesty, which I thankfully and politely received; and shortly afterwards the Emperor ordered it to be interpreted that I was fortune and good luck itself, and that no one in his kingdom was more fortunate than I; and I must understand that I should not have to wait any longer like others, but that he would despatch with me, with their own free will, all the Ambassadors who had lived there so long, that Your Excellency may receive from them all the more certain and faithful reports about everything, and be no longer misled by false reports.

The Emperor further said that he would not enter into a treaty of eternal peace with his trusty Hollanders, as from that hour such a peace was in his kingdom, and God grant nothing else save that it should always continue.

When I appeared for the third time before His Majesty, his officers, high and low, were within in large numbers, and they all brought their tribute, and His Majesty showed great respect and honour. His Majesty said that the cause of my detention had been His Imperial New Year, but that I should have to remain no longer, and would soon receive leave to depart, as was before this ordered. His Majesty would further, as he said, present the Council in the Fatherland with a costly gem, which was so costly, and of such value that it could not be paid for with any kingdom; and other precious stones to the General, and a fine elephant with tusks, and some diamonds, for the Governor.

His Majesty also declared that he had heard that the Hon. van Goens, Junior, had come from the Fatherland to govern his kingdom; at which the Emperor testified in my presence in words, and called God to witness, that he was pleased in His Imperial heart, that he burnt for victory, but that he dare not outwardly show it to his own people. The Emperor

would also send to the honourable son valuable presents,—yea, he declared that he was so disposed towards Your Excellency and Your Excellency's son, as before this he was towards the late Admiral Hulft, of blessed memory. He said further, that he had heard that Your Excellency was to go to Batavia as General. He wished you every happiness and blessing as such, and said that they must be quite respectable and qualified persons who were sent on such a stately mission from the Fatherland, which was a glory and honour to the Emperor and his kingdom, in which he showed great pleasure.

But His Majesty was sure, as Your Excellency had so long ruled in his kingdom so faithfully and well, that you would not leave it without previously giving His Majesty notice of your departure. He also said he well knew the disposition of Heer van Goens, Junior, and that he could even now show letters written by him from Saffragam, from which he had gained sufficient knowledge of his work and administration.

Finally, His Majesty asked me to return to my lodgings; which I did, after the usual courtesies.

When I appeared for the fourth time before His Majesty, he at once asked me how I was, whether I had everything I desired, and whether I had orders from Your Excellency to bring anything else to his Imperial notice. Whereupon I answered that I was, and still am, well, and disposed to serve His Majesty and the Honourable Company, and that I lacked for nothing, for which I was thankful,—yea, that I had reported everything to His Majesty faithfully and honestly; and that the only thing wanted was that His Majesty should be pleased to send away our imprisoned and Ambassadors without expense and danger, as sought and demanded by Your Excellency. Whereupon the Emperor asked by what road I desired to go to *Colombo*, and I answered, as it suited the Emperor's will and pleasure. And His Majesty at once, in my presence, ordered a servant of His Imperial court to write and despatch *olas*, so that the roads should be cleared,

and lodgings built on the road by which I should return, with the Imperial orders, our imprisoned [countrymen], and presents.

Finally I returned to my lodgings. No sooner had I gone in, than a packet was sent to me with great honour by His Majesty, in which were various linen cloths, and other things as *per ola* [list], which I thankfully took in on my head, thereby showing in what esteem I regarded His Majesty's present, and with what humility the same was accepted by me.

When I appeared for the fifth time before His Majesty, he said that everything was ready, and that nothing was done in His Imperial Court for two days, except writing the report which was to go with me, together with the captives, and Ambassadors, to His Excellency, and that I should certainly depart in two or three days to *Colombo*, and that I was to consider that I was already there with all our imprisoned and Ambassadors.

And at the same time there was presented to me by His Majesty a cutlass, which I accepted in honour of His Majesty, and for the service of the Honourable Company, with respectful reverence, and when I hastily drew it, the Emperor and his *Adigaars* shouted with great astonishment in the *Cingalese* manner: "*Wy willen zoo niet. Wy willen zoo niet.*" ("We do not mean that.")

But a little while after the Emperor said that two of his chief courtiers were present, before whom I need not be afraid, and if I was afraid the Emperor gave me my choice and wish and said, "See, there are three of your own nation, select the one you think most trustworthy in interpretation, if you are charged with any secret mission, *com fiat.** Let us quietly go to our Imperial inner room," saying that he was disposed to speak with me the whole night. I thanked His Majesty and excused myself, saying that I had nothing further to tell than what I had already truly and faithfully reported.

* (*Sic*) Confide in me?

Whereupon His Majesty said that no one in the world had given such an honest report to His Majesty as myself, yea, one which agreed so well in every respect with the contents of the letters, and it was as if I had read the same to his Majesty.

After which conversation I returned to my quarters with pleasure; but his courtiers have always plied me with women and wine, and day by day sought to set me these two traps. Nevertheless I have, for fear of my freedom and life, always refused and repelled them; but notwithstanding this the same courtiers have brought wine whether I will or no, praying that I should drink the health of the Emperor and Your Excellency. I ordered my lascoreens to pour the wine out of the bottle into a goblet and fill it again with water; but to preserve the bad smell of the wine I rubbed and sprinkled my hands and the bottle with the wine, so that they should not find out my trick. Lastly, having informed my lascoreens, I proceeded to drink the health of the Emperor and Your Excellency, and that not a little, with water, sufficient to break through dykes, and wash away houses. The courtiers tried in vain to make me take to the drink and women, as I pretended to be so drunk as not to be able to stand; but God the Lord so directed my tongue with respect to the Emperor and the Honourable Company, that some of them said in *Singalese*, that I was a *horra*, that is "a traitor," on which I drew my cutlass and wanted to cut them down, when they all fled and no one remained with me. After this the courtiers did not come with their wine for some days, but afterwards offered me it again. I said I was not used to it, but that if they had any French wine they might bring it; if not, I thanked them all the same; and thus I saw no more of the wine.

About six or seven days afterwards, I again appeared before His Majesty, and was a little surprised when I had understood the contents of the various *olas* which had been sent to His Majesty, from which it appeared that the Hollanders had gone so far out of their fort to commit some wrongs upon the

*Wannias;* which expedition was unsuccessful. Also that the chief of *Jaffnapatnam* and some officers and soldiers, altogether about thirty, were killed, the rest having fled. Nevertheless the Emperor said that I should be sent away to announce to Your Excellency his Imperial affection and regard, which the Emperor has always shown before this, and still showed, to his trusty Hollanders in my presence, and although this had happened, the Emperor said that his trusty Hollanders had stolen his Imperial heart, and that therefore he could not be angry or offended; for the Emperor said there was not a man before him or before the Honourable Company, who did not believe absolutely that the same took place without orders from Your Excellency, his trusty Governor; and God forbid that Your Excellency should send out a force to revenge yourself; they had brought it about on themselves, for they are beasts who dwell in the woods and wilds, and never hold converse with men.

The Emperor having uttered these words, I returned to my quarters, on the orders of His Majesty.

A few days after I had appeared before His Majesty there came to me in the middle of the night about fifteen to sixteen chiefs, with a dead fowl and a stinking elk, which they presented to me, saying, "We chiefs are come to you on the orders of His Majesty to present you with an elk; in that the Emperor has always been much pleased with the letters, with you, and with all the Hollanders, he could not, and should not, neglect from day to day to make more and more presents to the honour of the Honourable Company." Adding that the Emperor had also presented such a beast to the Ambassador *Draak*, of blessed memory. To which I replied, and acknowledged that, although a private individual, I had enjoyed the greatest honour from His Majesty, for which I was bound to be thankful; and asked the chiefs to bring in the elk, which was done. No sooner, however, had those who brought the elk removed the cloth, than they all ran away without taking leave, except two, who remained to hear what I had to say, and to witness my pleasure and

gratitude to the Emperor for such a present. This greatly astonished and gratified these two, and they said that they must themselves, or through another, acquaint His Majesty of this. Whereupon they left, and I desired to accompany them a little outside the door, which they would not hear of.

I at once took my leave and went to the stinking beast, and called the *lascoreens* of the watch to skin it; which was done. After skinning it, I took the four feet and the same night distributed them among the chiefs who kept watch round my quarters, viz., one *Oedepalate Dessave*, one *Tompine Raterale*, one *Oedenoere Rale*, one *Jadenoere Rale*, and *Haccrougammene Rale*, addressing them thus: "As you have kept watch round my lodgings so long in honour of the Honourable Company and my person, necessarily you cannot partake of the presents from His Majesty. Therefore I ask that having accepted such present in honour of His Majesty, you should take the same and eat it to the honour of His Majesty and his health." And they, rising from their sleep, received it and held Council all night till daybreak: then the chiefs caused the flesh to be cut up, and distributed among their *lascoreens*.

But I kept for myself the tongue and heart, and told the chiefs that the Emperor's tongue and heart were always true and upright towards his trusty Hollanders, and that I should use the same to eat to the health of His Majesty. His Majesty's guards at once communicated this to His Majesty, through a certain courtier, who brought me my food daily on the orders of the Emperor. I said at the same time that I should be glad to be soon sent away. Whereupon the guards replied that my departure was certainly nigh, and that I should be ready at any hour, as there was wanting nothing but His Majesty's order.

I have always shown a cheerful and friendly face; and having waited some weeks, I desired again to appear before the Emperor, which was promised me by many messengers, with thousands of lies from day to day.

But some time after the messages and lies I was, by my repeated requests, about three months after the gift of the stinking beast, allowed to appear before the Emperor, in another place, in the same Court; which place appeared inpregnable and quite fortified to resist with his little bodyguard all the forces of his kingdom. He had girded his Imperial loins with a great heavy sword mounted with gold, and in his right hand he had a small halberd. On the same side stood two rare field-pieces, curiously wrought, and on the left, and behind the Emperor, were many *Cingalese* weapons, such as javelins and bows.

For some time the Emperor hid them a little behind his Imperial chair, and caused inquiry to be made after my health, and said further that the cause of my having to remain so long had been because the Hollanders do not await his Imperial commands and orders ; which, if they had done, the Honourable Company would long have had what it wanted. He also showed some displeasure at the closing of his ports, and taking away of his subjects. But his Imperial heart, as he said, could not yet be roused against his trusty Hollanders. Whereupon I said that although it appeared that the Hollanders had done this on the orders of your Excellency, it nevertheless so happened for the sake of revenge, in return for what the rascals and traitors, with their lies and treachery, had done at *Arandore* and *Ruanelle;* and His Majesty's honourable and trusty Admiral, thus sought nothing save punishing the traitors in this manner to save His Majesty, his kingdom, and his life. Whereupon the Emperor said that he had called me to write a letter to Your Excellency, as we were all mortals before God, wherever we were, and whether I served in *Candia* or *Colombo*, it was a service for the Honourable Company. Whereupon I remarked that His Majesty was right and I congratulated myself that the king had sought my services,—yea, that I was always ready to serve His Majesty and the Honourable Company in everything. The Emperor then said that he expected it from me, for that I knew how the Emperor was and is still in every way disposed towards his

Honourable and trusty Governor and the Hollanders, as he had said before this; he had such an Imperial heart towards Your Excellency as he had towards Heer *Hulft* of blessed memory, whom he said he cautioned against going out for seven days, which if Heer *Hulft* had not done, he would not have been wounded unto death. But His Majesty's warning was in vain, as he truly found to his cost.

In the meantime the Emperor walked up and down within, and ordered that I should be presented with a silver plate, through a courtier, which the Emperor himself commanded that I should accept. Whereupon I took it, and thanked His Majesty and did obeisance according to the custom. Thereafter I was ordered by the Emperor to return to my house and at once to write a letter to Your Excellency about all I had seen and heard, saying that I should appear again in the morning, and first show the letter to the Emperor; and that I should not forget to write that the people from *Mature* would be first sent with my letter, and if the Emperor saw that the Hollanders were a little quiet and kept themselves in check, then would be sent with me all our Ambassadors and imprisoned, by the first opportunity.

I then came back to my house and got the letter ready, as the Emperor said, that the people from *Mature* should go at the same time with the letter.

But in consequence of the manifold duties which hindered the Emperor, the day was put off, and my letter was ready to be presented to His Majesty; which being reported to the Emperor, he sent me an *Adigaar* and two *Mohoterales* to bring the same to him. But I did not like to hand it over, but to present it personally to His Majesty, as the Emperor had so requested me. I therefore sought the honour to present it personally to the Emperor, which was announced to the Emperor by the two *Mohoterales*, and I awaited with the *Adigaars* the Imperial order, which the two *Mohoterales* were to bring. Order was brought that the *Adigaar* should remain with me till next morning, and that we should then appear with the letter, that it pleased his Imperial heart that

I had sought the honour for myself; but that day was also put off and messengers were sent to tell me that His Majesty was hindered, and that the days were not good. This delay lasted three and half weeks, and the messengers who, within this period, came day by day, to make excuses for the Emperor, remained in my house to await further orders.

In the meantime there were sent to me (as the chief said, on the orders of the Emperor) a silver inkstand and hour glass, with pen and penknife, and all other belongings to write with. And I had to receive the same as being, the chief said, a Secretary of the Emperor. Whereupon I resolved to accept the inkstand and its belongings, but as I said for the honour of the king and to the service of the Honourable Company. The chiefs replied that it was well and good, and that they would report the same to the Emperor.

But these same chiefs being two *Adigaars*, two *Dessaves*, three *Mohoterales*, with two Hollanders, and two Portuguese, also said that they had orders to read and interpret to me an *ola* through the Hollanders and Portuguese; which was done. The *Cingalese* first held Council one with another, and after consultation, and listening, sat close together. The contents of the *ola* was as follows:—*Signor Dom Joan de Costa Monamperij Rajapasse Modiace* has written this on the orders of His Honour (Governor) to the chief of *Hijtewaecke* called *Bemmewatte Tinneconnerale*, the said *Dom Joan* advising that *Golahelle* would within a few days be sent with a letter from His Honour to present the same to the high and mighty Emperor; and that His Honour and Council were well, and His Honour remained a faithful servant of the Emperor, and *Dom Joan* was and remains one of the most obedient servants of the same Emperor; ending with compliments to me. The *ola* was dated Monday, September 5, 1671, in the Imperial Fort, *Colombo*. Having informed me of the contents of this *ola*, they returned to report what had taken place to the Emperor.

Nevertheless I was summoned with all the messengers who had been sent, as before stated, three and a half weeks after the appointed day. I had to take my letter

with me to show it; which I did. Having walked in, I made obeisance, and the Emperor asked after my health, and I, as before, said that I was ready and well to serve the Honourable Company and His Majesty, as is the duty of all faithful servants. The Emperor hereupon replied that he was satisfied and pleased, and might God grant to all Hollanders good health or such a disposition. Whereupon the chiefs all together shouted in my presence, and sought to wage war with the Hollanders. But the Emperor said that he would not order that, and it could not be, as his trusty Hollanders had come to his kingdom on his invitation and that their fidelity was known to him; when His Majesty was busy in open warfare with the Portuguese, the Hollanders only were and still are the protectors and defenders of his Imperial person. Whereupon I answered that the Honourable Company was always kindly disposed towards His Majesty, and ready to defend His Majesty's kingdom and life. And I urged further that His Majesty ought to release our imprisoned out of the hands of the traitors; and more that our Ambassadors, messengers *(portedeurs)*, and others were detained, which was the greatest wrong and disgrace to such a generous and wise Emperor; and that the detention of our people did not comport with Imperial affection for the Honourable Company; but that such would fully be shown by sending them away. Whereupon the Emperor said that I must write a letter to *Battecaloa*, *Jaffanapatnam*, *Cotjaer*, and to the chiefs of those places, that there was peace between the Emperor and his trusty Hollanders; and, if I commanded and ordered in the letter, that they must abandon hostilities and return to their former stations and forts, he (the Emperor) said, he had no doubt that such order would be obeyed. Whereupon I replied that I was not come to do that but to deliver over to His Majesty the letters and papers, as had been done openly, before the whole world; that the Honourable Company did not desire to desert His Majesty, but was disposed to assist him against his enemies, and to show His Majesty by writing and verbally how the rascals and traitors have misled our people by their perfidy

and to hear how His Majesty may have resolved to live with them, and if the Emperor fails to send them back, free of cost and securely, that the Honourable Company will be obliged to take its revenge by land and water, on those rascals, who the Honourable Company knows, are guilty, and the Honourable Company would in that case so surround His Majesty's land, that the rascals and traitors will not be able to escape or flee, and all this, the better to secure His Majesty's kingdom and life. Further I declared to His Majesty that I had delayed nine months, for the service of His Majesty and the Honourable Company, but I thought that I was from the first as near my departure as I was now. And I also said, as regards the desire of His Majesty's chiefs to make war, that they were free to do so, but I assured him that they would not find His Majesty's trusty Hollanders asleep, and that they cannot mislead them with their treachery, as they know the knavish tricks of the *Cingalese*. Thereafter, at the same time I asked, by the order of His Majesty, how he would be pleased to despatch me, and said that if he did not do so I should at once die for the service of the Honourable Company and the honour of His Majesty, before I should betake myself from His Imperial Court.

The king then stood for an hour, as if agitated and astonished, without speaking a word, casting up his eyes to heaven, then down upon the earth, and shrugging his shoulders. But I continued my address about the Emperor and his chiefs, and said : "All you who stand there have no strength and courage to put me down ; whereas I alone have the courage to annihilate you!" There was then in my presence, besides the *Cingalese*, one *Gale Mohoterale* of the Imperial Court, a faithful servant of the Emperor and interpreter for the Honourable Company.

But one *Dionij Gens*, a native of Denmark, must rightly be called by me a beast of beasts, and a born traitor to his own blood, who dared to say certain words in my presence to the following effect :—The Hollanders, when they are here, always speak soft words, but behind

the back of the king they speak nothing but abuse and calumny. Whereupon, I, in the presence of the king and all the chiefs, threatened to crush him; but lifting up my hand I saw his beard and gray hair, and asked him not to speak again without orders from His Majesty. But the traitor said that he had already been there twenty-one years, and he did not feel sorry for it.

And I again spoke to the Emperor in Portuguese and said, that if His Majesty was not pleased to at once give me leave to go, I sought, at that very hour, to die in His Imperial presence, for I had resolved to no longer sit as a prisoner and criminal. The king then gave me leave, and ordered that I could depart when I wished, and that I could take my leave and go to my house. But I had first to hear an *ola*, that was then interpreted to me, and, not to forget the contents of the same, I was ordered to copy it, and to report to Your Excellency, on the orders of the Emperor; which also I did. No sooner had I come out, than I threw the letter which I was enjoined to write to Your Excellency before my feet, and my *lascoreens* took it up and brought it to the house.

The next day there came courtiers to me and asked why I had yesterday thus thrown the letter down. I replied that I had before this hoped and believed that I should be sent away with the customary Imperial gifts and presents, and the Ambassadors and all our imprisoned, as the Emperor had promised with his mouth; but that notwithstanding everything, I had only received leave to withdraw; and that I would faithfully and honestly report to Your Excellency what I had heard and seen.

Next morning about midday, I expected the Imperial order, and, as no order came that day, I informed His Majesty through my guards that I had been and still was ready to depart, and that I was making arrangements with that end.

These same guards came about evening and asked, on the orders of the Emperor, how many coolies (*coolien*) I required for the transport of my luggage, that the gentlemen (*Monsieurs*) would give as many as I wished, but the chiefs said that

even if I wanted a thousand, or a thousand and a half, there would be no lack of them, and they could be given me. Whereupon, I answered that seven or eight coolies would be sufficient. The chiefs then said :—"You will depart in the morning on the orders of the Emperor to *Colombo*, and you will be pleased to report there what you have seen, and what happened on the way." Whereupon I replied that I hoped so, and that I was bound to report the orders of His Majesty faithfully and honestly to your Excellency.

Then the chiefs went away, and I longed for the morning again ; but it was the same falsehood I had heard from them the whole time I was up there.

The next day I again ordered my officers of the watch to notify to His Majesty that I was ready ; which the chiefs before-mentioned undertook to do, and did. But the aforesaid chiefs reported to me that there were still some coolies wanting who had to be got together, and that in the morning there would certainly be nothing more wanted. These messengers having first left, returned a little while afterwards, on the orders of His Majesty ; but were ashamed, and would tell no more lies.

They thereupon brought with them *Anthonius d'Orte*, and *Paulus* of Copenhagen, who said that they had been sent by the Emperor to keep me company, as I was alone, and if I was not satisfied and not willing to remain there, I should certainly depart next morning. The two persons abovenamed said also, "God grant that we be sent away for certain"; whilst speaking these words, the tears burst out of their eyes, and they wept bitterly. They sought my assistance in money, which I gave them, according to my means and the order of your Excellency, in the presence of the chiefs and my two *lascoreens*, for which they most gratefully thanked the Honourable Company and myself.

These two men also told me in the course of conversation that the Emperor had caused *Vandenbergh* to be beheaded ; because he, *Francois Vandenbergh*, who had been in the service of the Emperor as Commander-in-Chief of his

forces, had, without orders, written some letters to *Jaffna* and *Coetjaer*, &c., which were seized between the Fourth and Fifth *Gravet*, and at once placed in the hands of the Emperor. Whereupon the accused, aforesaid, had to appear before His Majesty ; but denied that he could read the letter, nor did he acknowledge that he wrote it : yet *Vandenbergh* as stated before was judicially punished.

The same *Anthonij* and *Paulus* said that not long ago there was a conspiracy to poison the Emperor, and poison was put into his food by his own people. The Emperor became aware of this, and caused his stewards and cooks, from the highest to the very lowest, to be publicly impaled, hanged, and thrown before the elephant ; and that therefore he has no one of his own nation in his Court, but foreign nations, such as Portuguese, Moors, Caffres, Malabars, and other black races, such as coast fishers from the Continent, and fishers from Madura, whom the Emperor always first ordered to taste his Imperial food and drink ; that having eaten and drunk of the tested food, they had to sleep for clear three hours ; and when they arose, they were asked whether they had any pain in their bodies. If there was no such complaint the Emperor also proceeded to eat and drink of the tested food and drink.

And the same *Paulus* and *Anthonij* said—and even other chiefs of the Emperor's own race called *Rana Mohotale* and *Jadenoere Rale*, &c.—that the Emperor suspecting that *Draack* of blessed memory was poisoned, because he was so swollen, caused some thirty to forty *Cingalese* to be put to death. They said further that the Emperor was now and then drunk, and then many had the misfortune to lose their lives ; but that murders were always of the great before I had come to *Candia ;* that whilst I resided in Kandy not more than two or three at the most were killed, as the Emperor had, in a way, some pity for the poor and needy. They said further that they were certain that the Emperor kept up his weak and unstable government simply on account of the fear which the traitors have for the arms of the Honourable Company.

They then took leave of me, and I asked them to tell the Emperor truthfully that I was ready, and that I relied on his Imperial promise, which he himself had given me, otherwise that I would still desire to lose my life for the service of the Honourable Company and the honour of the Emperor, as I had proposed to His Majesty the last time I appeared before him, and that then, as now, I was prepared to keep my word. Finally, they took their leave, and I accompanied them to the gate of my house, and they betook themselves to the Imperial Court to acquaint His Majesty with what I had told them.

No sooner was it day than the Emperor said to some of his chiefs "Alas! there are some coolies wanting to carry the baggage, and it has also rained much." Wherefore I at once said "*Fiat*, let there be no coolies!" and I caused all the presents of the Emperor to be brought outside the house, and placed them on a white cloth, and I asked my *lascoreens* to call together *Dessave Oedepalate*, *Tompune Raterale*, *Oedenoere Raterale*, and two other *Rales*. When they came to me, I said: "You wished yesterday that I should ask for a thousand or a thousand and a half coolies;" (and as there were wanting only a few, as I had to go away) "you are not yet ashamed of your lies [adding] that I, in order that the Imperial word should be true, would abandon the presents seen by them, if coolies are not brought to [carry] them; and that as regards the rain which had fallen, it could not frighten me, but that I would out of love obey and carry out the order of the Emperor (whether it were to go through fire and water), and that in the service of the Honourable Company." The chiefs, who kept watch outside my court, wished that the presents be hidden or locked up. Whereupon I tore my shirt and *Cingalese* clothes in anger, and put on my Dutch clothes, thus to go to the Emperor; which I did not do, as all the chiefs bowed down before me.

Thereupon, I received orders from the Emperor himself; but I delayed four days on account of the rain and other obstacles. During this time I and my *lascoreens* suspected

that the milk brought to us by the chiefs was poisoned, in consequence of which neither the dogs nor the coolies would take it; and I must say that never before for eight months had I seen such milk as that which the chiefs had brought for four days after my taking leave of the Emperor. My *lascoreens* were for complaining, but I told them not to do it, as we were on the point of departing; which we did on the fifth day after obtaining leave from the Emperor.

*Anthonij d'Orte* and *Paulus*, of Copenhagen, came with some chiefs and said that the Emperor had ordered my luggage to be strapped up, and that I should at once go to the Court with them, as the Emperor was out, and that I should there take leave; as happened. I did the courtesies before the Emperor from a little distance, in the Dutch and *Cingalese* fashion, shouting with a loud voice under the blue sky, "God grant His Majesty long health and prosperity to the exaltation of his Imperial name and fame," and falling a second time on the earth cried out in a loud voice, "God the Lord, preserve His Majesty's honourable and trusty Governor, who resides within the Imperial Fort of *Colombo*, and grant him lasting health and prosperity," and falling for the third time to the ground, shouted, "God the Lord grant the Emperor lasting and prosperous peace with his trusty Hollanders, by means of which the lands and ports of His Majesty and the Honourable Company may flourish and increase." Lastly I thanked His Majesty with all gratitude for the Imperial gifts which I had received from His Majesty for the honour of the Honourable Company.

Thereupon I left, but not without distributing some money, given to me for the purpose by the Honourable Company, among the people who stood there in the open, our Ambassadors and other poor people. First of all I assisted *Paulus*, of Copenhagen, and *Anthonij d'Orte*, who complained and cried out, and *Francois Has* and *Toedecolle;* also to some English, French, and Hollanders, whom I did not know, I gave Portuguese money, and asked them to drink with it to the health

of the Honourable Company. Whereupon many cried out, "God preserve the Honourable Company always, and the Ambassador."

I left *Kanckerancketenoere* about 2.30, being Friday afternoon, and for my escort there were *Oedepalate Dessave* (who everyone said had saved the life of the Emperor when his own people were against him), *Egullitijraterale*, *Attanacorale*, and four or five *Arachies* and their *lascoreens*, but without drums. We remained the night at *Pallana* about, I think, 2½ hours from *Kanckerancketenoere;* but found that for four months there had been great dearth of salt and cloth, about which I had often heard complaints against the Emperor whilst in *Candia*, and on my return not only from the chiefs but also from the common people.

Leaving *Pallana* in the morning I arrived in the evening at *Moligudde*, when *Egullitijraterale* was on the way, sent by *Oedepalate* to report to the Emperor that I had put on my *Cingalese* clothes to appear before Your Excellency, as I had promised the Emperor.

I remained here a night and left in the morning, and came to *Kapuijttewatte*, where I remained a night. *Oedepalate* took leave of us between *Moligudde* and *Kapuijttewatte;* but I sought first to take my leave of the king, which I did, and I used the same words which I had uttered about the Emperor and his Court. And this *Oedepalate*, after many blessings and embraces, left us with sorrow, and showed towards the Emperor and the Honourable Company, inwardly and outwardly, his good disposition, as he always showed whilst at the watch and on the march with me.

I have on the way seen and heard that the *Cingalese* above the great hill to *Candia* were not men, but craftier than beasts, and were more favourably disposed towards the Emperor than towards his chiefs, because they so pillage and plunder that nothing is left for the sustenance of the people; but on this side below the hill the *Cingalese* desire the arrival of Hollanders, and would take them on their heads. Because the government of the Emperor is not good, but the

Honourable Company would be to them a solace and pleasure, for the maintenance of their wives and children by its good government; not that I heard such complaints only on the way, but also in *Candia*, when in the Imperial Court.

Leaving in the morning for *Ruanelle*, [we] saw on the way two or three of our men who were prisoners, but, as before said, naked and bare almost like wild men. In the evening we came to *Ruanelle*, where, having remained the night, we left for *Citawaacke*, which we reached about evening. The chief of the place, *Bemmewatte Tinneconnerale*, sent his under-officers to me to ask whether I would spend the night there, and, however I was disposed, it would please him if I did so, as I had come away on the Emperor's order. He had, according to his confession, no authority to receive me, and I answered and said if the gentlemen (*Monsieurs*) so desired, I was, and am, ready for the service of the Honourable Company. Whereupon his officers asked, on the order of the said *Bemmewatte*, whether we were not tired, and whether my feet were not sore: but I replied again that I was ready and felt no pain and fatigue, notwithstanding the heavy rain, Meanwhile the evening drew near, so *Sr. Tinneconnerale* asked me to spend the night there (which I did); and I could in the morning depart comfortably to *Orwevel:* so the aforesaid *Bemmewatta* recommended and asked me to do, as there would be fewer leeches.

Whereupon I left in the morning with an escort of the following officers: *Attanakorale*, two *Arachies* of *Oedepalate* with their *lascoreens*, who had escorted me from above to the last *gravet* of *Hijtewacke*. There came also *Sr. Tinneconnerale* with all his *lascoreens*, as an escort to the Honourable Company and myself as far as the last *gravet*. Here the aforesaid people took their leave, and returned to the hills, and *Sr. Tenneconnerale* enjoined his officers and lascoreens that they should lead me to *Orwevel*. Thereupon I again sought to take my leave first from the Emperor, afterwards from the aforesaid chief, which was done. Leaving that place I

arrived in the afternoon at *Orwevel*, where a volley was fired in honour of my arrival, and I was received and welcomed by the officers.

Having rested here a night, I left with a sergeant and six soldiers for *Colombo*, and having come close to the pass *Nacklegam*, I was welcomed and received by a certain captain-lieutenant.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon on Friday I returned safe here; and finding and seeing your Excellency in good health, I was so glad that I could not restrain myself, and was therefore not able to give your Excellency a full and satisfactory report of what I had at one time heard with my ears, and at another time seen with my eyes.

According to my suspicions, the king showed (as also appeared from many other circumstances) that he would, if he could, turn bankrupt and give up his business and flee to no one else save his trusty Hollanders and the Honourable Company. And certainly *Gopale Modiace*, who was a Moor, a man held in high esteem by the Emperor and always friendly disposed towards the Honourable Company, gave such indications.

Finally, the Company could not employ for such a journey and embassy a man too bold or confident in speech, the bolder and more confident the better for the Honourable Company and the Emperor; as a frank and bold person can win the heart of the Emperor, and that by his courage and honest reports.

In conclusion I declare that all I have written above is the honest and plain truth; but I ask that your Excellency may be pleased to excuse and take into consideration my want of intelligence and youth.

Signed and sealed by me on Sunday, the 15th November, in the year 1671, in the Fort of *Colombo*, I who was, am, and remain the most obedient servant and messenger of the Honourable Company and your Excellency.

(Signed) HENRICUS VAN BYSTERVELT.

*Actum ut supra* 15th November, Anno 1681.

[Lower, his usual signature, confirmed in red wax.]

# THE ANIMAL-SHAPED ROCKS OF KURUNẸ́GALA.*

By F. H. Modder.

(*Read August* 30, 1890.)

> "Among these rocks and stones, methinks I see
> More than the heedless impress that belongs
> To lonely Nature's casual work : they bear
> A semblance strange of power intelligent,
> And of design not wholly worn away."
>
> *Excursion.*

THE town of Kurunẹgala, the capital of the North-Western Province and the seat of the Government Agency, is situated at the base of a contiguous chain of rocks, which, from the fantastic shapes into which their gigantic outlines have been wrought by the action of the weather, and their fancied resemblance to the animals which they are supposed to represent, bear distinctive names. They are called *Ẹtá-gala*, "Elephant rock"; *Ibbá-gala*, "Tortoise rock"; *Kuruminiyá-gala*, "Beetle rock"; *Ándá-gala*, "Eel rock"; *Eluwá-gala*, "Goat rock"; *Kimbulá-gala*, "Crocodile rock"; and *Ẹttini-gala*, "She-Elephant rock." *Góni-gala*, "Sack rock," and *Yakdessá-gala*, "She-Demon's Curse," complete the chain.

There is an isolated boulder standing opposite to the head of the imaginary stone elephant which the villagers designate *Lunu-kẹṭa*, or "lump of salt," and towards the Wenoruwẹwa tank there is another rock called *Kola-pẹlẹlla*, or "tat of leaves."

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* I cannot adequately express my thanks to Mr. H. M. Ekanáyaka, of Galweheragama, Kurunẹgala District, for information on different points dwelt on in this Paper, and his willingness to afford me every assistance to make it complete; to Mr. George de Silva, of the Public Works Department, Kurunẹgala, for aiding me in the transcription of the pictorial representations made by me on the spot; to Dr. Modder, of Kẹgalla, for some of the legends embodied in this Paper; and to Messrs. F. H. M. Corbet and D. M. de Zilva Wickremesinghe, of the Colombo Museum, for their help in obtaining valuable details from the Sin̥halese and other works I have quoted. I beg to offer these gentlemen my grateful acknowledgements.

Tradition has it that during a severe drought which visited the District of Seven Kóralés before the granite hills were placed *in situ*, the animals after whom they are named made an incursion into the town in search of water in the direction of the Wenoruwẹwa tank. A venerable Sinhalese dame, sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, fearing lest these formidable intruders might exhaust the water supply of the town in quenching their thirst, and considering that the animal to whom her attentions should first be directed was the noble monarch of the forest, ingeniously deposited a lump of salt before the elephant, who, weak and famished, lay down and began licking the proferred dainty ; while she improvised a tat of leaves and placed it so as to screen off the tank from the sight of the thirsty monster. This was only a temporary device to permit of the aged dame devoting herself to prayers, and tendering her offering to the gods to avert the impending calamity. This she lost no time in doing. Before the lump of salt could be appreciably reduced in size the devotee's petition was answered, and lo ! the ruthless invaders were petrified on the spot, while the tat of leaves as well as the lump of salt were similarly transformed !

Apart from the legends and traditions connected with these gigantic cliffs, which would doubtless form an interesting contribution to "Sermons in Stones," they are remarkable in other respects.

Writers of books and papers on Ceylon, in describing the chief features of Kurunégala, have never gone beyond the third or fourth rock in the chain, and grave errors have occasionally crept into the accounts. It is with a view of collating all the attainable information available to me of an authentic nature, and of rectifying, as far as lies in my power, the mistakes into which previous writers have fallen, that this Paper has been written.

The etymology of the name of the capital of the North-Western Province is referred by some to the principal rock in the town (*Ẹtá-gala*), but there is a great diversity of opinion on this question.

Some derive it from the circumstance of a part of its original inhabitants having come over from Kurukshétra or Kururaṭa (the scene of the bloody wars between the Pandava and the Kaurava princes) and settled there; others from *kuruni*, "bushel," and *gala*, "rock," alleging that the *dhatu*, or tooth relic of Budha, was concealed in a bushel under the cover of a rock somewhere in the neighbourhood; some again from the rock *Kuru*[*mi*]*niyágala*, "Beetle rock," on which the Wiháré belonging to the place is situated; but these derivations are fanciful, and grounded on vague traditions. It would appear from the works in the Elu and Páli languages that the name is formed of an Elu compound *Kuruna-gala*, that is, "Elephant rock," which the Páli writers translate *Hastiscula-poora.**

The last name, a misprint for *Hastisailapura*, is doubtless the correct derivation, and that which is most generally adopted.†

From the time when Kurunẹgala became the capital, and even for hundreds of years after it was abandoned as such, these stupendous rocks were held in great religious veneration by the Sinhalese, and so impressed were they by their awful aspect that they refer to them in their *sannas* and other old documents as symbols of eternity. For instance, it was usual to insert a clause in the ancient grants of lands in the District conveyed in perpetuity that such lands were to be held "so long as the sun and moon, so long as Ẹtá-gala and Andá-gala, shall endure."‡

These rocks, which are the natural ramparts of the capital, and no doubt once formed the impregnable defences of a royal city, are the means of sheltering the town from the disagreeable influences of the monsoons, the effects of which are greatly modified by them, so much so that one monsoon can hardly be distinguished from another. In this connection

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* Casie Chitty, "Ceylon Gazetteer," 1834, p. 145.

† *Hasti-saila (-sela) pura (-nagara)*, and *Kurunẹgala* mean one and the same thing :—

*Hasti*, S. *kuru*, from *kara*, E. "having a hand," meaning proboscis; *na*, "elephant," *saila*, S. *sela*, P. *gala*, E. "rock"; *pura*, E. *nagara*, P. and S. "town."

‡ Sir J. Emerson Tennent's "Natural History of Ceylon," p. 168. Casie Chitty gives the original and translation of two *sannas* in the Appendix No. 1 to his work, containing these characteristic clauses.

perhaps it is not out of place to mention the circumstance that a portion of the country within the compass of these rocks lies in the Dewamẹdi Kóralé, now Hatpattu. *Dewamẹdi* is a Páli compound formed by the words *dewa*, "cloud," and *madhya*, "middle," and would signify the land which is not exposed to the full force of the rains, that is, neither to too much nor to too little, but to a medium degree of rain.

Campbell, in speaking generally of these rocks, says :—

> Quaint bare rocks* rise from two to four hundred feet above the plain. The plain is a kind of rolling gneiss sea with waves on the strike, north and south. The dip is nearly vertical in general. Yet all the outlines are rounded curves. The tops of these stone-rollers peer out from under the roots of great tree cacti and cocoanut palms, and the wild mat of trees and creepers which men here call jungle. The stone breaks naturally along the curved surface and shells off like the shell of a fruit. There is no boulder clay, and there is no rolled gravel to be seen. Yesterday I came down barefooted on a gneiss rock, and nearly burned my feet where the sun shone. That great heating process is of daily recurrence, and the daily heat must penetrate an equal distance, for the nightly cooling must stop the march of the sun's rays. Thus, for a given depth these bare gneiss rocks must daily expand outside of a colder shell, and so in time a Ceylon rock becomes like a crackle cup. When the rains begin the crackle shells off.†

The fever, for which Kurunẹgala has earned an unenviable notoriety, is attributed by the natives to the heat radiated by these rocks, but medical opinion is certainly opposed to this theory. The impression, no doubt, originated in the fact so well stated by a learned writer on Ceylon, that :—

> At times the heat at Kurunẹgala is intense, in consequence of the perpetual glow diffused from these granite cliffs. The warmth they acquire during the blaze of noon becomes almost intolerable towards evening, and the sultry night is too short to permit them to cool between the setting and the rising of the sun.‡

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* This writer, as well as others, who have doubtless viewed the rocks only from the direction of the town, describes them as bare and barren. That they are so to a great extent is due to the dip on that side being too abrupt to permit the growth of any vegetation. But one has only to observe them from their opposite flank to realise that Nature could hardly display a more varied scene of luxuriant vegetation than on the enormous sides of these rocks.

† "My Circular Notes," by John F. Campbell, 1876, vol. II., pp. 186–7.

‡ Sir J. Emerson Tennent's "Natural History of Ceylon," p. 168.

Ẹtá-gala, "Elephant Rock,"

rises, nearly perpendicularly, above the level of the plain in which the town lies. Sir J. Emerson Tennent describes it as :—

An enormous rock of gneiss upwards of 600 feet* in height, nearly denuded of verdure, and so rounded and worn by time that it has acquired the form of a couchant elephant, from which it derives its name.†

Bennett, writing of the "Elephant rock," remarks :—

It is said to have answered the same purposes as the Tarpeius Mons, in the neck-breaking system of the ancients (but its elevation exceeds by 220 feet the height of the latter), in order to get rid of the princes who had incurred the hatred, and, consequently, the revenge, of the pagan priesthood.‡

This rock or any other of the chain may have equally well answered such a purpose, but, doubtless, the assassination of the Moorish usurper by precipitation from this rock (an incident more particularly related hereinafter) suggests a reason why it should be preferred for identification with, and comparison to, the Tarpeius Mons.

Writing of this rock in particular, Campbell states :—

From some points of view it rises 700 feet above the plain. The gneiss there is much contorted : the dip is vertical, and the strike and long axis of the hills are northerly. Distant hills on the same strike are broken to the westward. Great part of this strange rock is bare. It shells off in thick layers, which correspond to the curved surface, not to the bedding. To avoid slipping on a slope of 30° I walked down barefoot and realised the effect of tropical heat. I could hardly endure the heated surface. To a given depth the gneiss is daily heated to 100° or more. At night it cools. Expansion and contraction produce something like cleavage and fracture on a crackle cup. Mechanical and chemical action of rain and air make the surface crumble. Fresh and growing pot holes are in the bare gneiss.§

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* The exact height is 1,096·6 feet above sea-level. The milestone at the corner of the high road near the jail stands on an altitude of 295·86 feet above sea-level, from which the rock rises 800·74 feet.

† Sir J. Emerson Tennent's "Natural History of Ceylon," p. 167.

‡ "Ceylon and its Capabilities," by J. W. Bennett, vol. II., foot-note at p. 393.

§ Paper on "Period of Polar Glaciation," appended to "My Circular Notes," pp. 288–9.

There are many ways by which the summit of Ẹtá-gala can be reached, but the easiest ascent to it is from behind the Kachchéri premises by a rugged path leading to Ibbá-gala, the first portion of the climb being difficult and trying. There are over 70 steps hewn out of the rock in the most abrupt portion of the ascent, with an iron hand-rail running along them. This passed, you arrive at the first landing, on which stands the Ibbá-gala temple.

With reference to this place of worship, Tennent observes loosely :—

> Kornegalle is the resort of Buddhists from the remotest parts of the Island, who come to visit an ancient temple on the summit of the great rock, to which access is had from the valley by means of steep paths and steps hewn out of the solid stone. Here the chief object of veneration is a copy of the sacred footsteps hollowed in the granite, similar to that which confers sanctity on Adam's Peak, the towering apex of which, about forty miles distant, the pilgrims can discern from Etagala.*

The temple in question is not on the summit of the great rock, Ẹtá-gala, but on Ibbá-gala, which is often confounded with it owing to its contiguity, and to the fact that the path by which the former is ascended passes over the latter. The footprint to which Tennent refers is not held in such high veneration as to attract to it pilgrims from distant parts of the Island. Moreover, Adam's Peak is visible not only from this rock, but on a clear morning from a point about half-way on the road between Polgahawela and Kurunẹgala. Skeen and other writers, following the authority of Tennent, have perpetuated these errors.

To continue. Leaving Ibbá-gala temple on the east you proceed by a path which increases in steepness as you advance. The remains of the site of a bungalow are to be seen about a hundred yards before arriving at the top of the rock. This building, it is said, was erected by Dr. W. H. Clarke, then District Judge of the Province, as a pleasure resort, and kept up at his own cost and expense during his

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* Sir J. Emerson Tennent's "Natural History of Ceylon," p. 168.

residence in the district, but after his departure it fell into disrepair and ultimately into ruin.

There are the remains of a wall built across a hollow blocking up a path—another approach to the summit—and evidently intended in former times to prevent access to it.

The *Kurunẹgala Vistaraya* (an interesting topographical account of the city of *Hastisailapura*, said to have been written by Pusbadéwa Terunnánse, probably during the period when Kurunẹgala was the seat of Government, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) states that "on the rock where the Sun god is worshipped there are four parapet walls surrounding it." It does not say on which particular rock, but one may fairly presume it to be the principal one, namely, Ẹtá-gala. It further records that four palaces stand on the rock, and below it four parapet walls. For the protection of the city there is an embankment (*ádára bẹmma*) or rampart. About a hundred large bows' distance from the sleeping palace of the king (*Sẹtapena Máligáwa*), the situation of which is given as twelve fathoms from "Beetle rock" (*Kuruminiyá-gala*), is the Daḷadá Máligáwa. On the east of it, at nine fathoms distance, stands the Náta Déwálaya. In a pit excavated in the rock, four cubits deep, lie buried 21,000 *masuran*, or pieces of gold coin, with a relic of Buddha of the size of a grain of *undu*. On the opposite bank of the stream stands the Mahá Déwálaya (probably dedicated to Saman)* ; on the west, at a distance of sixty fathoms, the Náta Déwálaya; sixty fathoms therefrom the Pattini Déwálaya; and eighty fathoms away the Kattaragama Déwálaya.

According to the *Maháwansa*, King Parákrama Báhu II., son of Vijaya Báhu III., and called Kalikála Sáhitya Sabbaññu Paṇḍita, "the all-knowing paṇḍit of the Kaliyuga era of literature," who reigned in *Hastisailapura* (Kurunẹgala) from 1240 A.D. to 1275 A.D., caused his brother Bhuvanéka Báhu, the sub-king, to build a large viháré in the noble city

* Rather to Vishṇu.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

of Hatthigiri (Kurunégala), and a beautiful pariveṇa, which was called Mahá Mahinda Báhu.* The remains of the royal founder were buried in the Mahá Viháré.

On a visit to Hatthigiri (Kurunégala) by Vijaya Báhu IV., son of Parákrama Báhu II., during the lifetime of his father—

He caused an excellent image-house of three stories to be built, and a great image of Buddha to be made there. And then he caused a beautiful likeness of his uncle to be made, and adorned it with every royal ornament, and set it up in the same place. To the image-house, as also to the image of his uncle, he dedicated fruitful lands that were able to produce what was lawful for their support, and many servants and attendants; and the prince called it (the establishment) Bhuvaneka Báhu Pariveṇa, after his uncle. Then he turned it into a city filled with people, both men and women, and surrounded it with a wall and a moat and such-like works.†

King Parákrama Báhu IV., also called Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu, owing to his scholarship, who began his reign at Kurunégala in 1295 A.D.—

Caused a three-storied temple of the tooth-relic, of great beauty, to be built within the court-yard of the King's palace, with beautiful walls and pillars and paintings, surmounted with spires of gold, and adorned with door panels also of gold. And he covered the ceiling thereof with cloths of silk and the like, of divers colours, which was adorned with beautiful chains of gold and silver and of pearls, hung on every side. And when he had fixed a beautiful curtain-wall of silk, he raised a splendid throne and overlaid it with exquisite coverings. And this covering he adorned all round with rows of vases of gold and silver. And then, with great reverence, he placed thereon the casket of the tooth-relic and the casket of the bowl-relic, and commenced to hold daily, in a worthy manner, great rejoicings in connection with the relic feast of the Teacher. It was a feast that delighted the world—smelling with perfumes of divers flowers and the incense of smoking censers ; served with all kinds of meat and drink ; pleasing the ear with the joyous music played on the five kinds of instruments, and made pleasant by the songs and the dances of divers players. And he made offerings to the tooth-relic of houses and lands, of men servants and maid servants, and of elephants, oxen, buffaloes, and the like.‡

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* *Maháwaṇsa* (English translation), chap. LXXXV., p. 290.

† *Ibid*, chap. LXXXVIII., p. 305.

‡ *Ibid*, chap. XC., pp. 316-17.

Moreover, he wrote a book in Siṇhalese entitled "The Ceremonial of the Tooth-relic," and enjoined the daily performance of the rites to the relic in accordance with the tenor thereof.

Major Forbes writes :—

On the bare rock above are the remains of buildings which must have been intended to contain either penitents or prisoners; for nothing less than fanaticism or compulsion could have furnished tenants to houses situated where the rock gets so heated during the day that its proper temperature is not regained until long after sunset, and is then succeeded by chill blasts or damp exhalations from the flat country beneath. On the very summit are the remains of the building which contained the Dalada relic during the reigns of the four pious and powerless kings, who held their court at Kurunaigalla, in Páli history called Hastisailapoora : it was the first of these four, Bhuwaneka Báhoo the Second, who removed the Dalada to this place from the more ancient capital of Polonnaroowa, A.D 1319.*

The *Maháwaṇsa* does not support this statement, as will be seen from the extract above quoted.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who also refers to these ruins, concludes—

That they must, in former days, have not only been intended for religious purposes, but we may likewise suppose that they might, in times of trouble or danger, have been converted into a place of defence and security.†

These remains are no longer visible. Square holes cut into the rock indicate that some sort of structure, probably a *patirippuwa*, or audience hall, once stood on the summit.

As to the rock being a place of refuge from danger, we have ample testimony even in modern times. During the rebellion of 1848 most of the townsfolk, including some of the officials, took refuge there, while others, who had not the time to make the ascent, took shelter in the cooling waters of the tank, keeping only their heads out of it !

On "Elephant rock" there is a stone-built reservoir, about 30 feet by 30 feet. This is known as the "King's

* Forbes' "Eleven Years in Ceylon," vol. I., 1841, pp. 193–4.

† "Excursions, Adventures, and Field Sports in Ceylon," by Lieut.-Col. James Campbell, 1843, pp. 81–2.

bath." According to the *Kurunégala Vistaraya*, it was called *Aushadha-pokuna*, owing to the medicinal plants and creepers growing in it. Alas now!

> "Neglect and time
> Have marr'd the work of artisan and mason,
> And efts and croaking frogs, begot of slime,
> Sprawl in the basin."

The stream which flows out of this tank is wearing small "pot holes" below.

The rock is also ascended from the back of the "elephant," but the climb is at an angle of 29° to 30° in many places, and only the venturesome try it. Campbell came down by this way. His pithy description, "I took off shoes and stockings and got down with whole bones," conveys some idea of the precipitous scramble.

A splendid bird's-eye view of the whole town and its environs, with the tank in the middle distance choked and smothered with a mass of floating vegetation, may be had from the crown of the rock. A trignometrical station was established here many years ago.

Ẹtá-gala is a popular resort of visitors to the town and of picnicers, who delight in inscribing their names on its summit.

On the occasion of the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee in Kurunẹgala in June, 1887, bonfires were lighted on this rock, as well as on Yakdesságala, Handurukkanda, and other eminences, which command a view of the town and district.

Ẹtkanda Viháré is a temple on the Kandy road, about a quarter of a mile from the town, and is built at the base of "Elephant rock." There is nothing noteworthy in this temple. The Buddhists worship here, and litigants who challenge the oath of their adversaries in legal suits, generally resort to this temple for the purpose. Great faith is placed on the punishment visited in the next world on those who swear falsely on the *Játaka-pota*. Instances where such oaths were falsely taken, with disăstrous results in this world,

often with death, are glibly cited as a warning to parties intending to swear, though, if the truth could only have been ascertained, it might have been discovered that the alleged perjurers had, by a strange coincidence, died from natural causes. However, such is the superstitious belief of those who resort to this temple, that a person will ponder well before he risks his life by incurring the penalties of taking a false oath.

Almost opposite to this temple, and across the road, is the *Rája pihilla*, the "King's spout." An oblong basin, about 20 feet by 10, and 10 feet deep, supplied by a spring of clear water welling up from beneath the rock, forms a reservoir, from which the water is conducted into a larger basin about double the size and of the same shape. A pipe from this basin forms a spout, which is much availed of for bathing purposes. The original spout is on the left, but is not now in use. When Kurunẹ́gala was a royal city, tradition has it that this was the bathing-place of the king. The water supply of the town is, to a large extent, still drawn from it.

There is a small temple about a mile from town, on the other side of "Elephant rock," facing Gẹṭuwané, once a royal village. The temple is said to have been erected by the Durayás, who now inhabit the village, in opposition to that at Úrupákaḍa, hereinafter more minutely described.

A short distance from the foot of Ẹtá-gala, in the town of Kurunẹ́gala, and approached by Wathema Lane, stands a rude little shrine, dedicated to a Moorish usurper of the power of the last king who reigned in Kurunẹ́gala. The popular tradition connected with it is not only interesting from an archæological point of view, but suggests a reason why Kurunẹ́gala, from being the capital of the kings of Ceylon from 1293 A.D. to 1347 A.D., ceased to be a royal city, and the seat of Government came to be transferred thence to Gampola. The individual to whom the temple is dedicated is worshipped to this day under the title of *Galé Baṇḍára*.

Like Ẹtkanda Viháré, this temple is resorted to by suitors for the purpose of taking the decisory oath in legal contests.

It is remarkable that, although the present incumbent is one professing the Mohammedan faith, and the temple has for many generations been a place of worship of the Moorish community, many besides the followers of Mohammed believe in the powers for evil and good which the presiding deity is said to possess and exercise. Casie Chitty* gives an account of the tradition, which is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, correct. I have summarised and supplemented it with information I have gleaned from other sources to make it as complete as possible.

The king (the *Kurunẹgala Vistaraya* gives his name as Bhuwaneka Báhu) who last reigned at Kurunẹgala, it is said, left a son by his queen-consort and another by a Moorish woman (said to be of Aswẹdduma, a village about a mile and a half from Kurunẹgala), one of his harem.

The legitimate issue being a minor when the king died, Vastuhimi, or Vathima Kumárayá, the bastard, gained over the ministers to his side by liberally bestowing on them the immense riches which were at his command, and from the acquisition of which he received his name, and got himself crowned king to the exclusion of the lawful heir, who, despairing of his ability to recover his rights, privately retired from the capital and lived in disguise at a village in Uḍapola Kóralé. Here he took to wife Sirimal Etana, daughter of Paṭabẹndirála, one of seven sisters, the eldest of whom was named Kaḷu Etana. The prince was first captivated by the latter, but she having rejected his addresses, the royal suitor was forced to transfer his affections to the object of his second choice.

Vastuhimi reigned for some time with great popularity, but his predilection for the faith of his mother soon gave offence to his Buddhist ministers, who plotted to assassinate him. He was accordingly invited to attend a meeting of priests to be held on the top of Ẹtá-gala, for the purpose of reading *baṇa*. On his way alone up the rock to the meeting, and

* "Ceylon Gazetteer," pp. 146–8.

ere he could gain the summit, he was precipitated headlong down the hill and killed. Another account states that a *dais* of plantain trunks covered over with cloth was erected at the preaching hall on a slope of the rock, and no sooner had the royal guest taken his seat than the fragile structure gave way, and he fell over the precipice. It is also related that the spirit of the king forthwith assumed the form of a demon, and killed about sixty of the treacherous courtiers on the spot by striking their heads together, two at a time. The spot where the corpse was found—at the foot of the rock—was consecrated by the erection of the present shrine.

It is believed to the present day that an apparition of a man dressed in white, riding a gray horse, is occasionally seen at the dead of night in the vicinity of the fatal rock, and is identified as the ghost of Vastuhimi.

To resume. The ministers then having caparisoned the state elephant, let it go blindfold to find the lawful heir to the throne, following the animal in its search, with the insignia of royalty.

The prince having been engaged in ploughing the field, which he had undertaken to cultivate for his landlord in *anda*, had adjourned for breakfast. His wife had brought the repast to the field. Having partaken of the meal, and finding the midday sun too powerful to work in, he laid his head on his wife's lap and dozed off. Suddenly awaking from his nap, he told his wife that he had dreamt that a colony of "bumble bees" (*bambaru*) had built a hive on the handle of his plough. The interpretation of such a dream is that the dreamer will become a king. The very thought of it, however, was absurd, and the cultivator's wife laughed outright, observing in jest: "What crowns are there for you and me?" Scarcely had the laughter subsided, when the royal elephant was seen coming in the direction of the couple, with a multitude following it. No sooner had they perceived the grand procession than they concealed themselves in a bush behind a rock, apprehending that the usurper was in quest of the prince; but the sagacious elephant

approached the boulder behind which they lay hid, and thrust his tusks into the solid rock—the holes made thereby are still shown !—which was a sign to indicate that the lawful sovereign of the country was discovered. The ministers thereupon hastened to the spot, and having greeted the whilom cultivator as the rightful heir to the throne, robed him and his wife in the royal vestments they had brought with them ; and, like "Cincinnatus awful from the plough," the prince was installed in sovereignty.

Kaḷu, the sister-in-law of the prince, then came upon the scene, as the villagers poured in to witness the extraordinary proceedings, and began to lament and bewail her position, expressing her regret at having refused to become his wife.

The *Kaḷundapaṭuna*, which is a metrical composition setting out the above-stated particulars, thus records the näive observation of the prince, as well as the sequel of the incident :—

" කළුඋන්දෑ පින් නොකළේ මන්ද " වදාල ට
කළුන්දෑව පින්නපොළේ පෑවත එදාසි ට
පලන්දාන සළුඅබරණ සිරිමල් එතන ට
කළුන්දෑව සිරිවර්ධන බිසව එදාසි ට

*Transcript.*

" Kaḷu undẹ pin nokalé manda " vadálata
Kaḷundáva Pinnapólé pẹwata ẹdá siṭa
Palandána saḷu abaraṇa Sirimal Etanaṭa
Kaḷundáva Sirivardhana Bisawa ẹdá sita.

*Translation.*

Owing to the saying : "Why Kaḷu did you not acquire merit" ? Kaḷundáva and Pinnápola were so called since that day. Having adorned the Lady Sirimal with royal apparel, she was since that day styled Queen Siriwardhana of Kaḷundáva.

The prince and his consort, having been placed on the back of the royal elephant, were carried in state to Kurunẹgala, where he was raised to the throne of his father, according to the *Kurunẹgala Vístaraya*, under the title of Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu.

The field which the prince was ploughing has henceforth been called *Nanbambara keta*. He gave much land to his father-in-law, Patabẹndirála, on a royal grant ; and impaled

the Mahá Durayá of Ranáwatta, who had refused an application of the royal cultivator for the loan of some cattle to plough his field, with the jeering remark : " You can impale me for the refusal when you become king."

A Moorish usurper having polluted the throne, the king removed his court to Dambadeṇiya,* and the seat of Government was thereafter transferred to Gampola, Kurunẹgala being altogether abandoned. In consequence of this, the nobles and the chiefs gradually deserted the place, seeking the new capital, and from this time Kurunẹgala dwindled down into a small and insignificant village of Duráwas.†

Although Vastuhimi was nominally crowned king, he is traditionally known as *Vastuhimi* or *Vatima Kumárayá* ("Prince Vastuhimi"), the reason being perhaps that the people did not recognise him as their lawful sovereign ; while the rightful heir, on his being raised to the throne, was called *Dambadeṇiya Rajjuruwó*, "King of Dambadeṇiya."

Pridham considers the legend about Vastuhami " either an anachronism, or to have reference to the local sovereignty of an independent prince, as it by no means agrees with the more authentic annals."‡

Two pairs of stirrups and some cooking utensils were found near the Galébaṇḍára shrine some years ago, and sent to the Colombo Museum, where they are at present exhibited. The place where they were discovered was probably the site of the royal stables (mounted orderlies) or cavalry guardroom.

Referring to Ẹtá-gala, Casie Chitty says : " At the west end of this hill the kings of Kurunẹgala had a palace,"§ on the site of which now stands the residence of the Government Agent

* The *Maháwansa*, chap. LXXXV., gives a most elaborate and gorgeous description of the city of Siriwaddhanapura, the birthplace of this king, and which has not yet been identified, and of the festival held there when the king conveyed the tooth-relic from Dambadeṇiya thither. [The capital was transferred from Dambadeṇiya to Kurunẹgala, and thence to Gampola.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

† "Ceylon Gazetteer," p. 148.

‡ Pridham's " Ceylon," 1849, pp. 648–9.

§ "Ceylon Gazetteer," pp. 145–6.

of the Province, known as the Máligáwa. Tennent refers to "the ground being strewn with fragments of columns and carved stones, the remnants of the royal buildings."* Some of these are yet to be seen, but the most valuable ones (including a stone window from the palace at Yápahu) were transported to Colombo many years ago, and now occupy a prominent place among the archæological exhibits of the Museum.

## IBBÁ-GALA, "TORTOISE ROCK."

Of the rocks in question, which appear to be composed of solid granite, Ibbá-gala, according to a writer in "Young Ceylon,"† possesses some interest from a geological point of view, owing to the existence of fossil footmarks on its surface :—

> Some of these appear to be the footprints of hogs, others those of some feline beasts of prey. The impression of the paws, as well as the toes, are so well and distinctly marked and continued along whole tracks, as not to be mistaken or confounded with any ripple marks or other irregularities produced by the denudation of its surface. Though Ibbágala appears to belong to the class of primitive or plutonic rocks, it appears that there must have been a subsequent superimposition of sedimentary formations, which, while in a soft state, received the impressions that were rendered permanent by the consolidation or crystallisation of their particles. The whole structure of the rock appears to the eye to be composed of hornblende, mica, and felspar, with traces of an impure carbonate of lime.

The approach to this rock, which has already been described, is from behind the Kachchéri buildings.

On the summit of Ibbá-gala is a tableland (partly cultivated with cocoanut, the trees being now over fifty years old, and other products), on which the temple stands.

The viháré, it is said, was founded as a residence for priests of the Araṇya sect‡ (who cannot reside in, or own, endowed vihárés), during the reign of Bhuwaneka Báhu II. A portion of land covering about 15 acres was set apart for

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* Tennent's "Natural History of Ceylon," p. 167.

† Vol. I., No. 2, March, 1850, p. 49.

‡ A sect of ascetic priests who live in caves and forests, also known as *Kelé Samágamé Unnánselá.*

the use of the viháré, and marked out by a stone wall, remains of which still exist. From that time the viháré was maintained during the reigns of Wanni Bhuwanéka Báhu III. and his successors, and endowed with magnificent donations by these royal personages.

In 1815, and during the rebellion of 1817, the edifice, it is said, was pillaged by the soldiery, and valuable property, including old documents, stolen and lost.

The incumbents of the temple in modern times were Mahá Madugala, Kuḍá Madugala, Kaṭupatvẹwa Unnánsé, who successively resided on the viháré premises, and Doraṭiyáwa Attadassi Mahá Terunnánsé,—who placed the temple in charge of his pupil Saranaṅkara, from the low-country,—Pallégama Náyaka Unnánsé, and Millewána Sóbita Unnánsé, the last of whom died about five years ago, and was cremated in Kurunẹgala.

The temple is situated deep under a ledge of rock, which overhangs the façade. It contains at present nine images, five of which are in a sitting posture and four in a standing attitude, the former being 4 feet in height and the latter about 6 feet. The rock roof of the interior is painted most elaborately with the fantastic designs common to the general run of temples.

Campbell, who visited the temple on May 9, 1875, thus describes the interior and the roof-painting. His description needs no alteration, while the painting stands as fresh and unchanged as it did fifteen years ago :—

Inside sits a Buddha with two standing Buddhas, one on each side. A pair of tom-tom beaters and a couple of conch blowers are painted on the doorposts. On the roof Buddha is painted with a glory round his head, an umbrella over it, and the bó-tree, with its rat-tailed leaves, over all. Allalia, sacred flowers, are painted on the roof and strewed on the altar. To the right of the central figure on the roof is a Nága Rája, with two snakes looking over his shoulder ; he has a grinning case of formidable teeth, and a pair of buck teeth, which Darwin attributes to primæval man. To the right is a black-bodied elephant-headed person, supposed by me to be Gunputty,*

* Ganapati. [*Ganesha*, or *Gana Deviyo*.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

god of wisdom. I find that I was right. He is an Indian god, converted to Buddhism, one of that more ancient pantheon. To his right is an alligator-headed brown monster. Next a man with long teeth, and two fish-like snakes looking over his shoulders. Then two more men in the dark. Six in all. To the left is (i.) a toothy figure with a sword in one hand and a snake in the other, (ii.) one with a star-spangled tambourine over his head, (iii.) figure holding a cobra in both hands, (iv.) a black figure. All this painting is fresh.*

There is a vault on the viháré premises which contains a copy of the footprint on Adam's Peak, hollowed in the solid granite. The footprint measures about 4 feet 6 inches long and 2 feet broad and an inch deep.

Tradition reports that the impression of the foot had been modelled at the time when Kuruṇégala was a royal city,† to gratify the pious desires of a daughter of one of the kings, who was unable to perform the pilgrimage to Adam's Peak and personally make her offerings on the holy footprint.

Lamenting her inability, the priests had compassion upon her and resolved that a copy of the footprint should be cut on the summit of Ẹtá-gala.‡ This was done ; the distress of the princess was removed, and the place soon became recognised as a legitimate place of pilgrimage."§

"The supposed footprint," says Campbell, "was 6 feet long—I lay down in it to measure." It is the right leg, and goes N.E. The length and breadth, as given by me above, would bring it closer to the original, for Skeen gives its dimensions as 5 feet 7 inches long and 2 feet 7 inches broad at the point where the heel begins to curve. He further says that the interstices between the toes are formed of cement, and the outlines of the foot, which consist of a thick raised edging, every now and again need repair.‖ This, no doubt, gave occasion to Lawrence Oliphant to write of the Srípáda as "so misshapen : that it required some stretch of imagination to detect in it a resemblance to a human impression on a

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* "My Circular Notes," pp. 182–3.

† Forbes, p. 195. Pridham, pp. 648–9.

‡ Not Ẹtá-gala, but Ibbá-gala.

§ Skeen, "Adam's Peak," 1870, p. 268.

‖ *Ibid*, p. 203.

gigantic scale, more especially as the toes were almost undefined."* In this respect perhaps the copy is better than the original, for it never needs repairs, and the toes are clearly defined. Moreover, even what looks like the joints of the toes are distinctly marked in the copy footprint.†

A dágaba stands on a square about 50 feet by 50 feet, surrounded by a stone wall, and is said to have been built about eighteen or twenty years ago by Miléwana Unnánsé, the last incumbent. The edifice is seen many miles away from town, and its pinnacle, glistening in the morning sunlight, presents a striking appearance.

Just in front of the dágaba, and on a slightly higher elevation, is a shrine where alms and oblations are offered. On the stone table are to be seen "temple flowers" *(áraliya)*, the offerings of visitors who come to worship by day; and at night the pilgrims light little earthen saucers, —numbers of which are heaped up by the side of the shrine,—supplied with cocoanut oil, and place them on the stone altar.

There is no bó-tree in or near the temple precincts, but *ná*-trees (*Messua ferrea*), which are considered holy by the Buddhists, abound. They produce no fruit, but bear a white flower with four petals and a round yellow centre, a collection of which Campbell likens to "a wreath of everlastings on a French tomb."

There are two basins formed in the clefts of the rock, in which the rain water collects and is used by the priests for drinking and culinary purposes. The *Kurunégala Vistaraya* says that the pond so formed was named *Vẹtakeyiyá pokuṇa*, owing to the *Pandanus* trees growing near it.

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* "Episodes of a Life of Adventure; or, Moss from a Rolling Stone," by Lawrence Oliphant, 1887, p. 20.

† These details are omitted in the sketch given by Campbell at page 182 of his work. These two volumes, by the way, have an outwardly Buddhistic appearance, owing to a facsimile of the sketch being impressed in silver on the gray covers!

The Buddhists go regularly to worship at this temple, and on festivals the concourse is large.

In 1880, on the land belonging to the viháré having been reported to be Crown property, an inquiry was held, and after investigation the then Agent recommended to Government that the planted portion be allowed to the resident priest of the viháré, who petitioned that the premises would be bereft of their character of *Araṇiya sthánaya* if alienated. Accordingly, a certificate of quiet possession was issued to the incumbent of the temple under section 7 of the Ordinance No. 12 of 1840, and the rest of the land, to which the applicant priest's claim was not acknowledged, was declared to be Crown property, but ordered not to be sold.

### KURUMINIYÁ-GALA, "BEETLE ROCK,"

is so called after its supposed resemblance in shape to the back of a beetle. The name of the town has been by some derived from this rock, owing, it is said, to the viháré of the place having stood on it, and the *dhátu* having been concealed under the cover of this rock, but, as has been pointed out, the etymology is traced to other and different sources.

According to the *Kurunẹgala Vistaraya*, below this rock stood the royal treasury (*Mahá gabaḍáva*), the dimension—probably the length—of which is given as eighty cubits ; and twelve fathoms from it stood the sleeping palace of the king (*Sẹtapena Máligáwa*), from which it was thirty-five fathoms to Ibbá-gala and twenty fathoms to the great stone wall (*mahá táppé*, or *ádára bẹmma*), probably a battery on the west.

### ÁNDÁ-GALA, "EEL ROCK."

This rock, tradition has it, originally formed one unbroken chain with Ẹtá-gala, Ibbá-gala, and Kuruminiyá-gala. King Paṇḍuvasa, second king of Ceylon, who reigned at Paṇḍuvas Nuwara (a city founded by him, and said to have been near Heṭṭipola, about twenty-four miles from Kurunẹgala), was

afflicted with insanity.* The only personage who could effect the necessary cure was Malaya Rája, King of Malaya-désa, who is said to have sprung from a flower. But how was he to be brought to this Island? Indra devised the means. Ráhu, King of the Asurayas, was engaged for the purpose, and, upon the edict of Indra, he assumed the form of a wild boar. He was directed to enter the royal garden of King Malaya and to damage the plantations therein; which he accordingly did. The king, being informed of the depredations, became very indignant, and, being a keen sportsman, armed with his bow and arrow, and attended by his retinue of huntsmen, hastened to the scene, and ordered his followers to drive the boar towards him. The animal, on being pressed, leaped over the head of His Majesty, escaped from the garden, and effected an entrance into the king's palace, where greater damage was done. Enraged at the wanton destruction and at the audacity of the unclean beast, the king gave chase, and pursued the animal as far as the sea-shore. The boar leaped into the sea. The king and some of his trusty attendants followed, while the others remained on shore watching the chase. Hotly pursued by

* Davy ("Account of Ceylon," pp. 119–21) gives it as the "tiger disease," said to be a complicated malady of cough, asthma, fever, and diabetes, "in consequence of Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon, having discarded his benefactress and mistress Kuvéni, who, in the shape of a tigress, endeavoured to avenge her slighted charms." The *Kuvéni Asna* relates that after Vijaya's marriage with the Páṇḍiyan princess she was anointed queen. When living thus in connubial bliss, Kuvéni, enraged at the perjury of the king, took the form of a tigress, and put out her tongue, which was one of glass two gows long, so that it may, piercing through and bursting seven doors of the royal palace, enter the heart of the king. The king suddenly awaking broke off the tip of the glass tongue with the point of his finger nail. When this was done, and hearing that a herd of tigresses was moving towards the city in order to hurt the king, a host of gods came to his rescue, and surrounding, protected him from the impending attack. The calamity which threatened his life having been thus averted, Vijaya reigned in the glory of Indra for thirty-eight years, when he passed away to regions of happiness! The tradition that obtains in the Seven Kóralés points to insanity as the disease which Paṇḍuvasa was suffering from—a visitation resulting from *divi dosa*, or the curse of the gods, invoked by Kuvéni from the heights of Yakdessá-gala. The *Rájavaliya* supports this version. *Vide* Upham's Translation, p. 181.

the king and his attendants the beast swam across Palk's Strait and landed in Ceylon at *Úrá-toṭa*, "Hog-ferry" (modern Kankesanturai), near Jaffna. To accomplish its object the beast passed through the city in which King Paṇḍuwasa dwelt, crossed the chain of rocks at the spot where Andágala joined the rest of the chain, effecting a breach in the range, which was thereafter called *Úru-pá-kada*.* The high road to Dambulla passes through here. A piece of sweet potato that the beast brought from the royal garden in his mouth, and which he dropped at Aṭṭápiṭiya in his flight hence, was immediately changed, it is said, into a rock, which preserves its original form, and is called *Batala-gala*, or "Sweet Potato rock." It pursued its course up to the Hantana hill near Kandy, where King Malaya instantly attacked it with his sword. On receiving the wound the boar became transformed into a rock, which is called *Úru-gala*, and is said to retain the mark of the wound !

King Malaya, surprised and perplexed with the marvels he had witnessed that day, was visited by Ṣakra, Vishṇu, and other gods, who explained the mystery to him. The royal physician was thereupon taken to King Paṇḍuwasa, who was attended on and cured of the disease by oblations and sacrifices to the gods, attended with the usual religious formalities, King Malaya appearing as a Brahmin.

Davy, in tracing the origin of the Vẹddás from legendary sources, relates that King Malaya left behind some of his retainers at the special request of the grateful Paṇḍuwasa, who allotted them large tracts of land for their exclusive possession, that they might enjoy their favourite diversion of hunting. These, it is said, were the progenitors of the

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* The present incumbent of the temple at Úrupákaḍa gave me another derivation. He said that there was a slab of rock in the village, under which two heaps of treasure were supposed to have been buried, one consisting of "eight measures of pearls," hence *Mutt-eṭṭu-gala*, an adjoining village, and the other pieces of gold, *warágan*. On the stone were carved the feet of a wild boar—hence *Úru-pá-kaḍa*.—[The legend is applied in the Kẹgalla District to Úrákanda and Batalagala.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

Vẹddás, who "possessed originally more than human powers, but, gradually degenerating, have become what they are now—wild and savage."*

At Úrupákada there is a temple, which stands at the head of Ándá-gala. Access to it is had by a rugged path, with here and there a rude flight of steps formed of loose slabs of rock, which strikes off to the west from the Dambulla road, a mile and a quarter from the town. Originally a viháré stood in a cave under a ledge of rock hereabouts, built, it is said, during the reign of King Devanampiyatissa. The overhanging ledge slipped down and buried the viháré with all its images and shrines—a catastrophe which seems to threaten the majority of rock temples in this district, judging by their perilous situation.

### Úrupákaḍa Viháré.

The present viháré stands on the north-east of the buried temple, on an elevation, and was in existence when the latter stood. It was repaired and improved, according to an inscription in Siṇhalese on an adjoining rock in 2424 A.B. = 1880 A.D., by the present incumbent, Bógoḍa Nandajóti Unnánsé, who has officiated here for the last thirty-nine years. A shrine for offering flowers stands by the side of the temple.

The exterior of the building, with a tiled roof projecting from under the over-hanging rock, is built after the Kandyan style. There are no rock or other inscriptions beyond those that have been indicated before. The incumbent stated that the royal device of the sun and moon was carved on the top of the rock under which the temple lies, but this cannot be seen, as there are no means of access thither.

At the entrance into the interior of the temple is an archway (*makara toraṇa*), containing numerous designs and pictures of the pantheon. Against the wall, on the right of the archway, are the figures in relief of a guard, Vessantara Tapasayó, his wife, Mandri Dévinwahansa, holding her

* Davy's "Ceylon," pp. 119–21.

two children, Jaliya Kumárayó and Krishna Jenavó, by the hand, and near this group is the statue of a deformed and diseased Brahmin asking for alms. Against the wall, on the left of the archway, are similar figures of a guard and of Sumedha Tapasayó.

The most prominent figure inside the temple is an image of Buddha in a sitting posture, about 6 feet high, against the northern wall, occupying the whole of it.

> " Behind stand Seriyut and Muggalan,
> Chiefs of the calm brethren in the yellow garb,
> A goodly company."*

Against the western wall are three small images of Buddha in a sitting attitude, decreasing in size as the roof inclines to the south. On the right of the entrance is a figure of Buddha in a standing position, and on the left is a painting of Kandaswámi, god of Kataragama, and an image of Vishṇu. On the southern wall are the images of Maitri Rájaya, Dévatá Baṇḍára, and a small figure of Vastuhimi Kumárayá, highly coloured.

The *Su-visi-vivaraṇaya* is painted on the roof overhead.

At Maraḷuwáwa, a vihárégama, about three miles from Kurunẹgala, there is another temple. Although it stands on a rock separate from Ándá-gala, called by the villagers Maraḷuwáwa-gala, the temple is known as Ándá-gala viháré, perhaps by a stretch of imagination, which would place the sacred edifice on the elongated tip of the eel's tail !

The approach thither is by a path which strikes off to the left of the Wẹllowa road, between the 3rd and 4th mile-posts, across fields and low jungle, and then over rocky ground. About half a mile from the temple is a *ná*-tree, under which there is a pile of stones to indicate the spot (*nágaha-maḷuwa*) where the ashes of some eminent priest lie buried. From here the path passes over rock, steep in some

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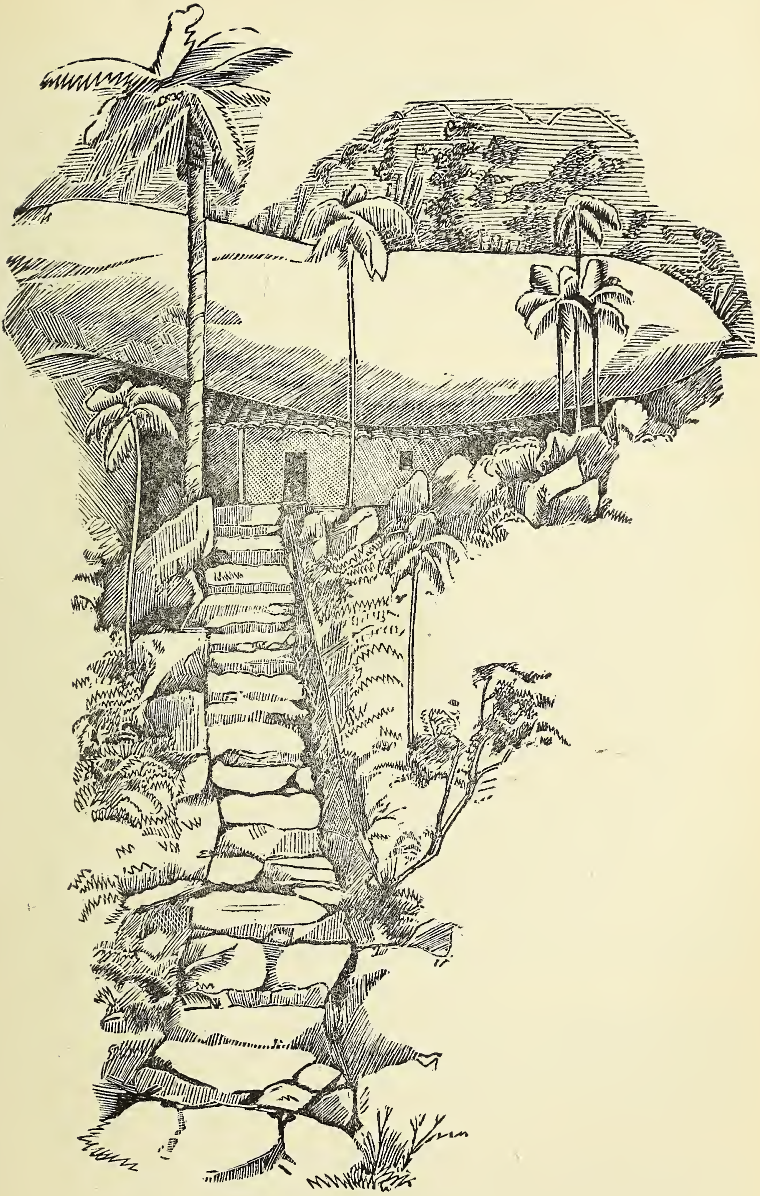
* Arnold's "Light of Asia," 1891 : new ed., Bk. 8, p. 211. On this page there is an excellent reproduction of the picture of Buddha and these favourite pupils of his from the sculptures found at Gándhára (Yuzufzai) in the Punjab.



ÚRUPÁKAḌA VIHÁRÉ.

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places, and lined with *áraliya* trees in full blossom, with here and there a *kinihiriya** displaying its pretty pale yellow flowers to advantage. A splendid view of the flat country on either side of the rock can be had from here, with the hills clothed with verdure in the far distance.

Two long basins, formed in the cleft of the rock, containing water, with the lotus in flower floating on its surface, are passed as one proceeds along the rocky path. Near these are the remains of a dágaba and a stone slab which once formed part of a shrine.

### Ahas-lena.

The site of the dágaba is marked by a pit, whence the buried treasures have been removed.

A few yards thence is a small bó-tree, surrounded by loose rocks arranged in the form of a square with a niche for offerings, and close to it is the site of a *baṇa maḍuwa*, or preaching hall. Beyond this is a room built under an overhanging boulder of rock, once used as a déwála, dedicated, it is said, to Galébaṇḍárá Dewiyó. Opposite stands an old bó-tree with the usual shrine for offerings. A run down a flight of steps, a walk of a few fathoms over a flat space of ground, and the sight of another flight of steps, makes one look inquiringly upwards, when the temple and the rock suspended over it burst into view, and for a moment strike the spectator with awe! A massive boulder with apparently nothing to support it, save the viháré and other buildings peeping from underneath it, it has very aptly been designated *Ahas-lena*, a cave suspended in the air!

Similar, though smaller, rocks stand in the neighbourhood, forming caves with projecting roofs, and capable of conversion into rooms or houses by the addition of a wall and door to form a frontage.

The original temple is said to have been built at the same time as that at Úrupákaḍa, in the reign of King Devanampiyatissa. Being abandoned, it fell into ruin. It has since

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* Cochlospernum gossypium, *D.C.*

been repaired and used as a *pansala*—the residence of priests. The present temple was built, it is said, at the instance of King Bhuwaneka Báhu and Pusbadéwa Rája (nephew of King Devanampiyatissa), who furnished it with the images which it now contains.

Inside the temple there is a gigantic image of Buddha, measuring 18 cubits in length, in a recumbent posture, resting his head on his right arm, and covering almost the entire length of the chamber. There is nothing remarkable in the figure save its enormous proportions, and the elaborate devices painted on the soles of the feet.* There is a small figure of Buddha standing against the wall, as well as a painting of Maitri Diwiya Rája towards the feet of the colossal image, and towards the head is the figure of Buddha in a sitting attitude. The roof is elaborately painted with the *Su-visi-vivaraṇaya* and lotus flowers. There is also a painting of Vishṇu on the left wall.

The *makara toraṇa* at the entrance into the temple is being re-done, the work having advanced only as far as the clay outlines and formations.

On the northern side there is a *Budu-gé*, with two figures of Buddha in a standing and five in a sitting posture, to which access is had by a flight of stone steps on the right of the principal temple.

The present incumbent is engaged in collecting subscriptions to effect the repairs, which are badly needed in the temple, and, failing to obtain the required aid in the village, he travels about the Island with the sole object of raising funds to carry out the work which he has undertaken, and has been forced to suspend owing to want of money. The estimated cost of the repairs is Rs. 5,000, which he is more than sanguine of obtaining.†

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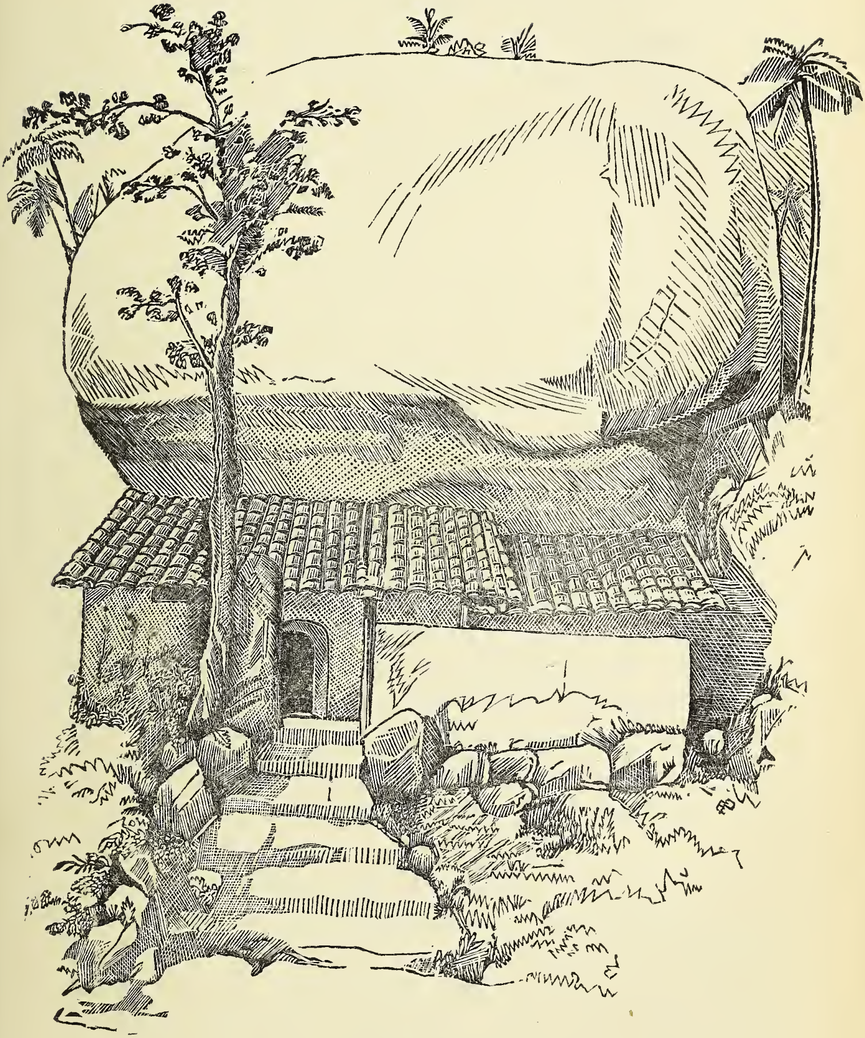
* Probably "the 108 marks which indicate their possessor to be a Buddha," referred to by Skeen, "Adam's Peak," p. 155.

† Since the above was written the incumbent has died, and there is some dispute with regard to the incumbency. which has led to litigation.



AHAS-LENA.

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### EḶUWÁ-GALA, "GOAT ROCK,"

comes next in succession to Maraḷuwáwa-gala, and stands in the village Eḷuwápola, between the 4th and 5th mileposts on the Wẹllowa road. It wants a vivid imagination to trace any resemblance in the rock to the animal which it is supposed to represent. A little way from the foot of the rock there is a small temple on the roadside at the village Mẹddégama, near the 4th milepost. *Eḷuwá-gala* is also called *Hú-kiyana-gala*, the "Echoing rock." The villagers say that this rock, unlike others, echoes every description of sound—from the ploughman's song to the bark of the village dog! The "Goat rock" is divided by some into *Mahá-eḷuwá-gala* and *Kuḍa-eḷuwá-gala*,—the Great and the Little Goat rock,—but the distinction is without a difference.

Adjoining the "Goat rock," and running in continuation with it, is—

### KIMBULÁ-GALA, "CROCODILE ROCK,"

in which, too, it is difficult to discover any likeness to the huge saurian to which its name would imply a semblance. There is nothing peculiar about the appearance of this gigantic mass of gneiss save its uncouth and elongated form, in which it is hard to distinguish what is imagined to be the head from the tail of the crocodile. No temples stand on or near it. This rock, too, lies in the village Eḷuwápola.

Proceeding along the same road, at Handamágama, at the 5th milepost, is seen perhaps the best specimen of the whole range—

### ẸTINI-GALA, "SHE-ELEPHANT ROCK."

The beast appears as if sculptured in relief on the side of a larger rock, which forms its background, and concealed in the jungle and undergrowth, from which only its massive head and back can be discerned. Its resemblance to the noble beast of the forest is more marked than even that of Ẹtá-gala at Kurunẹgala, the eye, ear, and so much of the trunk and back as can be seen from the roadside through the brushwood being quite natural and life-like. Perhaps

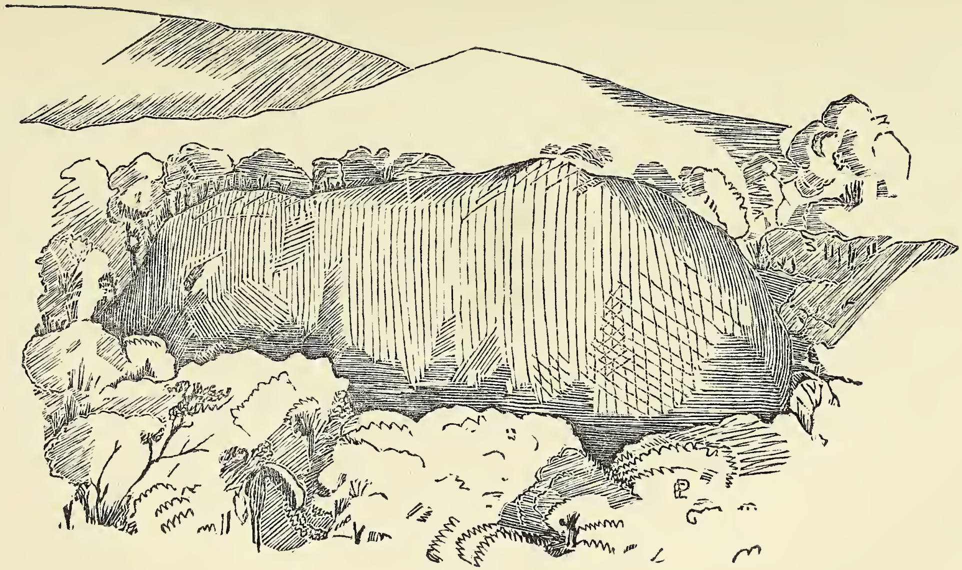
it is in consequence of its size, as compared with the larger rock in the capital, that it is designated Ẹtini-gala. Near it is a temple not in the best of condition, and which is not much frequented by Buddhists.

GÓNI-GALA, "SACK ROCK,"

lies at Ginikarawwé, about seven miles from Kurunẹgala. This rock, or rather pair of rocks, is so called owing to its likeness to the sack which is usually packed on the back of tavalam ponies or bullocks. Tradition would have us believe that the sack was carried by the she-elephant, whose petrified form lies a little distance off, and dislodged at the spot where it now stands, whilst the beast, relieved of her burden, made her way towards the Wenoruvẹwa tank in quest of water.

A prettily situated temple stands to the east under the shadow of the rock. It is approached from Wẹllowa, six miles from Kurunẹgala, across the Gẹṭuwan-ẹla, through paddy fields, and by a short climb over the "Temple rock," as it is called. As you go to the temple, on the right, perched on a hill, are the remains of a dágaba, surrounded by a group of *áraliya* trees, and a little way off stands a stately example of the same species, which marks the spot where the ashes of a departed incumbent priest lie buried. Ginikarawwé is a Vihárégama, and does service to the temple, which was built in the reign of King Kírtti Ṣrí Rája Sinha, who endowed it with over 300 amunams of high and low land by a royal grant. The temple does not show any indication, however, that the income from its endowments has been expended for its benefit, and, in this particular case, the supervision to be exercised under the Buddhist Temporalities Bill cannot but have a salutary effect.

As with the majority of temples in the district here, there is a déwálé as well as a viháré built in contiguity, and standing within the same enclosure. The former consists of a small building under a ledge of rock facing Góni-gala, and is dedicated to Vastuhimi. Inside are piled together sceptres,



ẸTINI-GALA.

BRITISH MUSEUM
NATURAL HISTORY.

cutlasses, tridents, and other antique and rusty weapons ordinarily used by *Kapurálas*, and which are called into requisition on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when particular ceremonies take place.

At the entrance to the viháré, on the right, under a monstrous boulder of rock, is a long chamber, the whole length of which is occupied by an incomplete image of Buddha in a recumbent position. The decorations of the entrance to the chamber, too, are unfinished. On the left there is a smaller chamber partitioned off from the larger one by a mud wall. Facing the doorway sits a figure of Buddha, about four feet high, under a *makara toraṇa*. Two figures stand on either side, and are of about the same height. Two more in a sitting attitude, also about the same height, face each other from the right and left walls. Rahat priests are painted all over the bare and unoccupied portions of the walls. A long wooden table stands opposite the principal image, for the offering of flowers. Over the heads of the side figures are paintings of the bó-tree, rudely executed. On the roof is a painting of Buddha, whose head is surmounted by a bó-tree. Surrounding it on all sides are Máraya and his puissant army. Mahí Kàntáva, with a golden pot on her head, is depicted below. This is the bust of a woman, who, it is said, emerged from the earth, coming out as far as the waist, on Buddha stretching out his hand towards her. On the left wall is a picture of the *Ṣrí-páda*, and the outside walls are bare, and, unlike other less richly endowed temples, contain no paintings or figures in relief.

From Gónigala, *Dig-gala* stretches its length along till it terminates at *Radá-ul-kaḍa*—a village so called from the circumstance that a dhoby was there impaled, during the time of the Kandyan kings, for a capital offence. *Bambara-gala*, so called in consequence of the numerous hives of [large] bees to be found on it, occupies the interval between it and *Yakdessá-gala*, which forms the last link of the chain.

YAKDESSÁ-GALA

is the most striking and prominent of the whole range, with its castellated peak rising from the verdure which clothes the rest of the rock, and standing out in bold relief. It is 1,712 feet above sea-level, and is visible from distant and different parts of the Seven Kóralés.

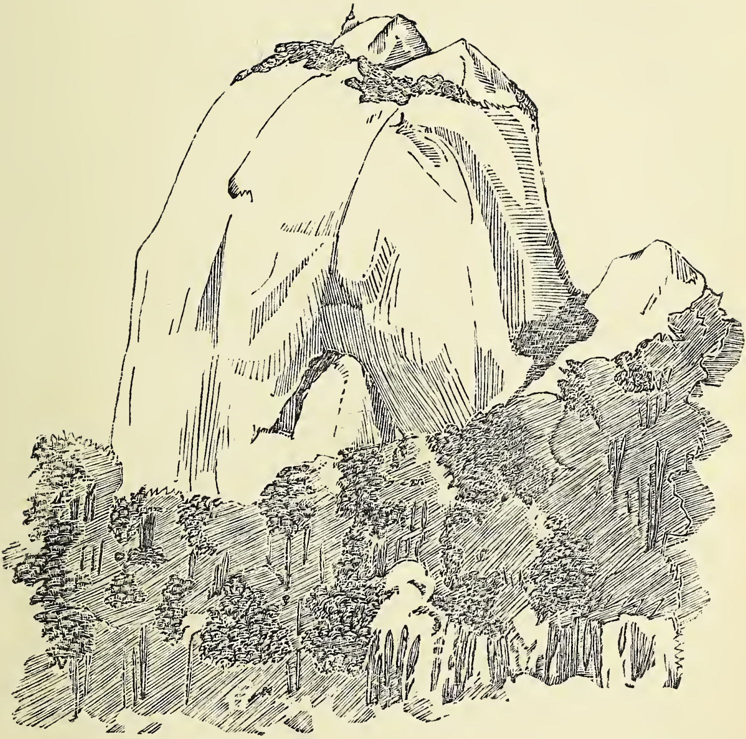
Tradition invests it with more than ordinary importance, and gives it a premier place in the legendary lore connected with the historic eminences of the district. It is on this height that Kuvéni,* being discarded as his consort, and

* Chap. VII. of the *Maháwaṇsa* sets out in detail the landing of Vijaya and his followers in Ceylon. One of the band wandering, discovers a princess—who is no other than the beautiful demon Kuvéni—near a tank, and she imprisons him, and eventually the rest of his companions, 700 hundred in number, who followed him, in a cave. All these persons not returning, Vijaya proceeded after them and met the princess. Seizing her by the hair with his left hand, whilst with his right he raised his sword, he exclaimed, "Slave, deliver my followers, or die!" The Yakkini, terrified, implored for life: "Spare me, prince, and on thee will I bestow sovereignty, my love, and my service." He forced her to swear, and she brought them forth, and distributed to them rice and other articles. A feast follows, and Vijaya and the princess retire to pass the night in an apartment which she causes to spring up at the foot of a tree.

As pointed out by Sir J. Emerson Tennent (Ceylon, vol. I., pp. 333–4), it is impossible not to be struck with a curious resemblance between this description and that in the 10th book of the Odyssey, where Eurylochus, after landing, returns to Ulysses to recount the fate of his companions, who, having wandered towards the palace of Circe, had been imprisoned, after undergoing transformation into swine. Ulysses hastens to their relief; the story proceeds:—

"She spake; I, drawing from beside my thigh
The faulchion keen, with death-denouncing looks
Rushed on her;—she, with a shrill scream of fear,
And in winged accents plaintive, thus began:—
* * * 'Sheathe again
Thy sword, and let us on my bed recline.'
The goddess spake, to whom I thus replied:—
'Oh, Circe, can'st thou bid me meek become,
And gentle, who beneath thy roof detain'st
My fellow voyagers? * * *
No, trust me, never will I share thy bed
Till first, oh goddess, thou consent to swear
That dread, all-binding oath, that other harm
Against myself thou wil't imagine none!'
I spake; she, swearing as I bade, renounced
All evil purpose, and her solemn oath
Concluded, I ascended next her bed."

(Cowper's *Odyssey*, book X., p. 392.)



YAKDESSÁ-GALA.

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forsaken by King Vijaya, is said to have taken refuge, in maddening desperation, and implored the gods to witness and avenge the injustice done her by her faithless and heartless husband. The rock thence received its name *Yakdessá-gala*, that is, *Yakseni-des-kí-gala.**

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The *Kuvéni Asna*, which gives the details of all the incidents connected with Vijaya's nuptials, &c., goes on to say that on the day following that on which Vijaya took the "marriage vow," Kuvéni assumed the form of a mare, astride whom Vijaya entered the stronghold of the Yakkho, and routed them by the aid of the Yakkini. A beautiful city was thereafter founded near Tammana forest, said to be about six miles from Puttalam, and Kuvéni was raised to the dignity of queen. She gave birth to two children, a girl and a boy. It being necessary to formally instal Vijaya in sovereignty, and one of the chief requirements being that he should have a consort of equal rank, arrangements were made by his ministers for his marriage with the daughter of the King of Páṇḍiya. On receiving the news of her arrival at Mahátoṭa, Vijaya drove away the Yakkhá princess whom he had espoused, on the plea that her unequal rank rendered her unfit to remain the consort of a king, and that his Indian bride-elect would be too timid to bear the presence of a being so inferior. After this cruel treatment Kuvéni's sorrow knew no bounds. In agonising shrieks she wailed: "When shipwrecked and forlorn I found thee and thy followers food and accommodation. I aided thee in defeating the Yakkho and in rising to be king. Swearing fidelity, thou took me as thy spouse. Did'st thou not then know that I was a Yakkini? Loving you with an unquenchable love, and living in such love, I bore thee children. How can you separate from me to-day and transfer your affections to another? The mild rays of the rising full moon are now to me like the blaze of a heated iron; the once cool and spicy breeze from the sandal forest is hot and unwelcome to me; the bed once spread with fragrant flowers is covered with briars and thorns; even the sweet song of the *Kokila* pierces my ear as with a spear. Alas! how can I be consoled when Anaṇgaya wages such war against me? How can I soothe my troubled breast?" Crying "O! God! O! God!" and with much lamentation she entered the forest.

Tradition points to *Tonigala* (an abbreviation of *Le-toni-gala*, "rock of lamentations"), 15 miles from Puttalam, and *Wilakatupota*, "vale of tears," 15 miles from Kurunẹgala, as the spots which Kuvéni has immortalised on her way to the "Rock of Curses." The *Maháwaṇsa* records that Kuvéni was killed by a Yakkhá. It is said that her children fled towards Sabaragamuwa, and lived under the shadow of Adam's Peak, and that they are the progenitors of the Vẹddás. According to the *Kurunégala Vistaraga*, Vijaya is said to have bestowed the village Vilbáwa, or Virabahugama, on his son, and Talkoṭṭa on his daughter. The former was afterwards a city known as *Vilbá-nuwara*.

* Pridham interprets *Yakdessá-gala* as "the devil-dancer's rock," owing to its supposed resemblance to that character. This rendering is without foundation. The rock bears no resemblance in form to a devil-dancer, and the mistake is, no doubt, attributable to the Siṇhalese word for "devil-dancer," *Yak-adessá*, contracted into *Yakdessá*. Nevertheless, many writers after Pridham have blindly followed him, and repeated the error.

The gods, it would appear, were rather dilatory in passing sentence responsive to the appeal made to them, for it was not till King Paṇḍuwasdeva, a lineal descendant of Vijaya, had assumed the reigns of Government that the vengeance of the deities was wreaked, and the *divi dosa* visited on the representative of the peccant sovereign, in conformity, perhaps, with the denunciation that the sins of the fathers shall be visited on the children.*

*Yakdessá-gala* is approached from its eastern flank from Séruwẹwa, a village three miles north-east of Wẹllowa, and about nine from Kurunẹ́gala on the Anurádhapura road. At this village, perched high on the rock, is an old temple, to which 200 steps lead, built during the time of the Muḍa Koṇḍapola rulers. It realises the poet's description of—

> "A hollowed gloomy cave with moss o'ergrown,
> Where antique images by priests are kept,
> And wooden deities securely slept;
> The temple join'd of nature's pumice stone."

A dedicatory writing for the temple and its premises was granted by King Kírtti Ṣrí in favour of Kanumulla Náyaka Unnánsé, the then incumbent. The inscriptions are on the rock forming the cave temple, and are quoted by Dr. Müller as belonging to the first four centuries.†

The residence of the priests is to the right as the visitor enters the premises. A few yards away from it is a spring, which derives its source from the hill above, and the water is collected in a dismal cave under a ledge of rock. The dislodgment and descent of the overhanging rock is said to have covered nearly a half of the space originally occupied by the reservoir.

A large bó-tree, grown from a twig said to have been brought from Anurádhapura by Millewana Náyaka Unnánsé, one of the incumbents, grows on a rock on the left of the path to the temple, and its long and twining roots creeping over

* For further particulars. see under "Ándá-gala."
† "Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon," 1883, p. 63.

the front of the rock have penetrated the earth. Hence the access to the temple is by a zig-zag flight of steps rudely constructed of loose slabs of rock, extending over three quarters of a mile. The climb is very wearying, and not likely to be forgotten once made. On arriving at the first landing only a portion of the temple, which peeps from underneath the overhanging rock, is to be seen. Another short flight of steps brings the visitor to the second landing, from which the temple is entered from the northern side.

There are Λ shaped cuttings in the rock overhead, intended, it is said, to arrest the flow of rain water into the interior of the building.

Inside the temple there is a large figure of Buddha in a reclining posture, 18 cubits in length, two small figures, one in a sitting and the other in a standing attitude, being placed at the head and feet, respectively. The *Su-visi-vivaraṇaya* is painted over the roof, and Rahat priests all over the walls. There is a painting of Vishṇu near the head of the large image, and of Maitri in his paradise over the entrance in the interior of the temple.

The irksome and trying ascent thither is compensated for by a most beautiful view of the surrounding flat country, with *Doḷukanda* and other hills in the distance.

There is a gap in Yakdessá-gala, about a mile from Séru-wẹwa, which is known as *Goḷuwákaḍa*, and leads from Mahágalboḍa Megoḍa to Kuḍágalboda Kóralé, between which is the rocky ridge.

The best view of Yakdessá-gala is obtained from the Puttaḷam road. Six miles along this thoroughfare there is a village path which branches off to the right and leads to Marágama; thence about a mile and a half across country brings you to Gaṇégoḍa, which is a *vihárégama*, lying at the base of the rock.

Not a hundred yards from the foot of Yakdessá-gala stands a huge boulder of rock, from underneath whose overhanging sides peep the temple and its appurtenant buildings. Judging by the comparatively small space allotted to the

temple, the visitor is impressed with the idea that the priests have shown less solicitude for the temple itself or the convenience of worshippers, than for their personal comfort and ease; for, while the sleeping and cooking apartments take up nearly two-thirds of the rock-roofed interior, only an insignificant segment of it is walled off to serve the purpose of a viháré.

The temple was built, it is said, during the reign of King Devanampiyatissa, who endowed it with considerable immovable property. Its present appurtenances extend over 40 amunams of high and low land. A stone pillar, about three feet high, resembling a milestone, stands on the right of the entrance to the temple, and is said to contain the dedication. The front of the stone exhibits a rude engraving of a crow and a dog, and below three rows of an inscription in ancient Sinhalese characters, which the natives invariably style "*nágara*," and believe indicate some hidden treasure. The back of the stone contains nine rows of an inscription in a good state of preservation. The figures of the animals signify, according to the interpretation of the natives, a curse, threatening that whosoever shall violate the property of the priesthood shall be punished by being re-born in the ignoble shape of one of these animals.*

Inside the temple there is a small image of Buddha, about 2½ ft. in height, in a sitting posture, with two other smaller ones on either side, and the central figure is surmounted by a *makara torana*. The roof is painted with the *Su-visi-vivaranaya*, and the walls with Rahat priests and other fantastic devices. There is a bó-tree in the premises, which is said to have been raised from a twig brought from Anurádhapura.

About half a mile from the temple lies a square column of granite, under the outspreading branches of an old and venerable nuga-tree. The column is about eight feet in height

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* See Goldschmidt's "Report of Inscriptions found in the North-Central Province." (Sessional Paper IX., 1875.)

and about a foot square. On one side, probably the front, are the figures of the sun and crescent moon, and of a man holding a long pole, possibly a spear. Below these are eight rows of an inscription in character known to the natives as "*gal-nágara*." On the side opposite to it are fourteen rows of an inscription. On the left side are the figures of a crow and a dog, similar to those on the stone at the temple, and some inscriptions.

It is said that this granite column was placed here to mark the utmost limit of the temple endowments, and the boundary between the villages Haŋwẹlla and Ganégoḍa. For this reason, perhaps, those interested do not desire to remove the column from where it lies, which, if done, would certainly ensure its better preservation, for at present its semi-burial in the earth and jungle, and exposure to the sun and rain, render the inscription almost illegible. Müller ascribes these inscriptions to King Kassapa V. and his successor.*

About half a mile from the paŋsala, on a rock called Piṭadeṇi-gala, there is an inscription in Siŋhalese, dated Ṣaka 1751 (= 1829 A.D.), which records the erection of a *poya-gé* close to it. This rock once formed the limit between Ganégoḍa and Miṇhetiya. On it is a dágaba in the course of construction, and the relics deposited underneath it have, it is said, cost the parties interested upwards of Rs. 500. Owing to a dissension among the people who worshipped at the Ganégoḍa temple, caused by the preaching of the Rámáñña sect by priests who paid a visit to the village some time ago, the dissentients have refused to conform to the teachings of the Siamese sect, of which the present incumbent is a member, and have formed themselves into a separate body. It is this body that has undertaken the construction of the dágaba in question.

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* [Dr. Müller merely speaks of them as "two fragments of pillars with inscriptions partly effaced" (of the 10th–11th centuries), without assigning them to any king (*loc. cit.*, p. 60).—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

The priest of the Ganégoḍa temple is quite helpless, and receives no assistance from his congregation; but he seems to be absolutely indifferent to their treatment, and bears his troubles without murmur or complaint, though probably to the detriment of the cause he represents.

On the side of the rock there is a cave designated *Yakkadi-lena*. A former incumbent of it, tradition says, was the author of the Páli work *Dhátumanjusa*,* a very valuable contribution to Oriental literature, and largely used by Páli scholars for purposes of reference.

Yakdessá-gala is ascended from the western flank from behind the Ganégoda temple. There is no beaten track leading up the precipitous incline, but a guide is always procurable to pilot visitors through short cuts over the rugged and intricate paths.

The ascent is very steep, and in places at a gradient of 1 in 2, necessitating the most cautious progress. Climbing at all would be almost impracticable but for the trees and plants which grow on the slanting sides, by clinging to which the ascent may be made. Loose slabs and boulders of rock are scattered all over, and in descending these should be carefully passed over or studiously avoided, for when dislodged they are hurled down with tremendous force. A large jak-tree marks half of the distance to the summit. From here the ascent becomes steeper, more abrupt, and rugged, huge boulders of rock being of more frequent occurrence, and rendering progress more difficult.

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* The *Dhátumanjusa* literally means "a casket of verbal roots," and is, according to the preface of the work, which begins with a salutation, "To the sage who has reached the furthest shore of the shoreless ocean of Grammar," intended "to serve as a pathway to the sacred scriptures" (of Buddha). The author has, in the preparation, consulted "the sacred writings of Buddha and the various grammatical works." At the conclusion of the book it is stated that the "*Dhátumanjusa* has been composed in alphabetical order, in correct and perspicuous language, for the benefit of the uninitiated, by the learned Thero Sílavaṃso, that chief of ecclesiastics who was like a royal swan in the pond of sacred writings, who longed for the firm establishment of religions, and who was the incumbent of Yakkadi-lena."

After several stoppages to admit of a little rest, and a most toilsome, fatiguing, and wearisome climb, extending over a couple of hours, what is known as *Kuḍá Yakdessá-gala* is reached. Another irksome scramble over this acclivity and *Mahá Yakdessá-gala*, the highest point, is attained. But the visitor is amply rewarded for his labours when the summit is gained. A scene of extraordinary grandeur opens upon him. An extensive view of the district can be had from here, with its villages (which look like mere specks) and plantations from recently cleared chenas to groves of cocoanut and other products. The whole of the range from Ẹtá-gala can be distinguished, and beyond the wooded hills and rocky points of the district the mountains of Kandy and Mátalé rise in the distance from the morning mist.

On the highest point in the rock there is a trigonometrical station. About fifteen years ago there was a *póya* ceremony on this eminence, and a large number of tom-tom beaters were engaged to supply the music on the occasion, while the hill resounded with the hum of human voices from sunset till break of day.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell speaks of the trip up to the summit of Yakdessá-gala as—

> A somewhat dangerous pursuit of beautiful and delusive scenery, for the range of wooded rocks is much frequented by elephants and wild hogs, but particularly tigers [*sic*].

With the cultivation of the land at the base of the hill, these formidable animals have long since removed their haunts to places more distant from human habitation, and they have been superseded by families of playful monkeys. A solitary deer or elk may occasionally be met with on the rock, beyond which and the winged tribe Yakdessá-gala affords no field for the sportsman.

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* From *gal-keṭimá*, "stone inscription," and *gama*, "village." This village is about two miles from Pubbowa, which is about ten miles from Kurunẹgala on the Kaḷugalla road.

## Mal-asna.

At Galkeṭiyágama,* about five miles north-west of Wẹllowa, and a mile and a half from where the range of rocks above described terminates, on the bank of the Dẹduru-oya, stands a stone column surmounted by a square slab of rock, said to be over eight hundred years old, called *Mal-asna*, which is held in high religious veneration by the Buddhists. It is also known as *Gal-asna*, *Mẹnik-asna*, and *Payawahansa*, owing, respectively, to the inscription on it, the gems of which it is believed to be composed, and the sanctity in which it is held.

The approach thither is by a desolate jungle path, and save for the sacred structure, which attracts devout Buddhists, the spot would in all probability never be visited by any human beings.

An old triumphal arch, as well as a small gable roof thatched with straw and supported on two wooden pillars, about six feet in height, stands at the entrance to the sacred premises. To the right of the entrance is the déwálé building, a rude mud-and-wattle construction thatched with straw, which contains old cutlassẹs, swords, tridents, and other weapons used by the *Kapurála* on ceremonial occasions; and on the left is a small temple built of stones, with half walls, and thatched similarly, which contains the stone altar. The buildings lie in the shade of enormous forest trees, whose huge overhanging branches shelter them from the sun and rain.

The structure known as *Mal-asna* consists of a stone column with its capital and base moulded in a fashion resembling the Ionic style of architecture, and is about three feet from the ground. The capital supports a slab of rock about 3½ to 4 feet square, and about two inches thick. The quaint inscription, supposed to be "*nágara*," runs in eight rows, about an inch broad on each side, and the lines dividing the rows compose the sides of squares within squares, terminating in a square in the centre, the side of which is about twelve inches long. There is no writing on it. Müller thinks that

the "stone seat," as he calls it, "evidently was not always in the temple, which is rather a modern construction, but must have been exposed to the weather for a long time, as about half of the inscription is almost completely effaced"; even at the time of his visit it was "not in a favourable position for reading, as the temple gets its light only from the door, and has no windows."*

Tradition has it that Indra brought this structure to Baṭuvẹwa, or Ṣak Baṭuvẹwa,† an adjoining village, so called after his descent thither, and placed it where it now stands. It is also supposed that Maliya Déva spent his hours of meditation here, repeating the formula which the inscription on the tablet is thought to contain.

Müller was "not quite sure that this inscription belonged to Niṣṣaṅka Malla," as that part of it which should contain the name is effaced, but the words which immediately follow induced him to ascribe it to him, as they are identical with those at the beginning of the inscription of Dambulla.‡

The villagers say that the stone altar lay hidden in the jungle for many years, and that a Durayá of the village Talawita came upon it by chance whilst out hunting. He broke off a portion of the moulding from the base, intending to use it as the upper-stone, or *dá-gala*, for grinding curry stuffs, &c., on. No sooner had he taken it into his hand than he lost his way in the jungle, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he returned home. On reaching his house he was attacked by a swarm of hornets (*debaru*) and stung to death. Those who went to his rescue met with a similar fate, and the attack on the villagers continued

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* "Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon," 1883, p. 64.

† *Ṣakraya-bẹhapu-vẹwa*, the tank into which Ṣakraya is said to have descended: modern Batalagoḍawẹwa, the headquarters of the Dẹduru-oya scheme, which is being worked under the able supervision of Mr. H. Parker. This is an ancient tank, and Müller refers to "stone pillars and a fragment of a stone bearing an inscription in the character of the fifteenth century" (*loc. cit.*, p. 71).

‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 65.

unabated. The cause of the disaster having been ascertained, the fragment of rock was taken back and restored to its place; but it was not until the premises were cleared, an arch (*toraṇa*) erected, and offerings made to the enraged deity, who presided over the hallowed spot, in expiation of the desecration, that the plague ceased, and the offender's family and other relatives saved from immediate harm and danger. It is said however, that the unfortunate Durayá's children were, nevertheless, visited with sundry afflictions, and not a descendant was born but was either deaf or dumb!

The fragment of the moulding is yet missing, and it is reported that it was buried near the column.

The villagers state that when the river runs high the waters of the Deḍuru-oya sweep over the premises of the *Mal-asna*, washing off the déwálé and other buildings, but, wonderful to tell, not even the petal of a flower placed as an offering on the sacred tablet is disturbed!

It is, moreover, asserted that a lamp lighted and placed on the arch in honour of the presiding *Dévatáwa* will not go out, however violently the winds may blow!

The path which runs past the *Mal-asna* slopes down to the edge of the river, just at the brink of which there is a stone called *Bat-dena-gala*, on which offerings of rice in *goṭu* are made to the *Dévatáwa* on Wednesdays and Saturdays, which are days set apart for the ceremonies connected with the Déwála, and on these occasions large numbers of Buddhists from distant villages congregate to take part in the services, and to invoke and receive the blessing of the presiding deity.

In the bed of the river there is a group of rocks, on which offerings are made when the river is low. When the river is swollen, alms and oblations have, from necessity, to be placed on the stone on the edge of the river, as the others are submerged.

The offerings, which consist of rice, cloth, money, &c., are the perquisites of the *Kapurála* of the Déwála, and of the *Upásakayá*, who is the incumbent of *Mal-asna*.

While it is a solitary life for those to lead who perform the offices of this desolate place of worship in the heart of the wilderness,—the haunt of the elephant, the bear, and the cheetah,—yet they support the burden of their trusts with calm resignation and steadfast belief in the reward hereafter; and their consolation in their solitude might appropriately be described in the words of the immortal bard :—

> " And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

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## THE REBELLION OF CEYLON, AND THE PROGRESS OF ITS CONQUEST UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF CONSTANTINO DE SÁ Y NOROÑA.

*Translated from the Spanish by Lieutenant-Colonel H. H. St. George.*

[The following Introduction to Lieutenant-Colonel St. George's translation of Joao Rodriguez de Sá e Menezes' "Rebelion de Ceylan" was read by Mr. D. W. Ferguson at a General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) on November 22, 1890.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

JOÃO RODRIGUEZ DE SÁ E MENEZES, the author of this work, was born *circa* 1608, and was therefore but a child when his father left Portugal for India in 1614. His life history is unknown to me; but apparently it was not until nearly fifty years after his father's death, when he himself was about seventy years of age, that he undertook the filial task of defending his father's memory from the slanders which seem to have been levelled at it by his enemies. According to Barbosa-Machado (*Bibliotheca Lusitana*) he died in 1682, the year after this book was published.

The late Doctor Arthur Burnell, misled by Pinelo and Ternaux-Compans, records in his "Tentative List of Books and some Manuscripts relating to the History of the Portuguese in India Proper" (1880), two editions of Sá's

work, viz., a Portuguese one of 1681 and a Spanish one of 1684: the Spanish edition of 1681 being really the only one ever published. The Bibliotheca Naçional of Lisbon, however, possesses a Portuguese manuscript of the work, which differs from the printed Spanish edition, and which the curator of the Library, Sr. Pessanha, considers to be the original. It is certainly rather strange that the author should have written his work in Spanish; for, though at the period during which the events recorded therein took place Portugal was united to Spain under one Crown, this was not the case when the book was published.

Apart from its own intrinsic merits, this work possesses an interest from the fact that it was one of those utilized by the Abbé le Grand in the additions made by him to his translation of Ribeiro. Another work which Le Grand mentions as having been lent to him, namely, the narrative by the Sinhalese priest Felippe Botelho of the war in Uva, which, he says, gave a much fuller and more detailed account of the defeat and death of Constantino de Sá than even this volume does, has, unhappily, disappeared from view, recent efforts to trace it having proved fruitless.

Ribeiro, who wrote his book on Ceylon in 1685, was evidently indebted to the younger Sá's work for his description of Constantino de Sá's campaign against the Sinhalese and its disastrous termination.*

A Sinhalese poem, apparently by a native Christian, entitled *Kustantinu Haṭana*, celebrates the victorious march of the Portuguese General and his army on Badulla; but says nothing, I believe, of his defeat and death.

Knox† has a quaint reference to Constantino de Sá, as follows:—

> *Constantine Sa*, General of *Portugals* Army in *Ceilon*, when the *Portugueze* had footing in this land, was very successful against this present King. He run quite through the Island unto the Royal City itself, which he set on Fire with the Temples therein. Insomuch that the King sent a message to him signifying, that he was willing to become his Tributary. But he proudly sent him word back again. That that would not serve his turn; *He should not only be Tributary, but Slave to his Master the King of* Portugal. This the King of *Cande* could not brook, being of an high Stomach, and said, *He would fight to the last drop of Blood, rather than stoop to that.* There at this time many Commanders in the General's Army who were natural *Chingulays*; with these the King dealt secretly, assuring them that if they would turn on his side, he would gratifie them with very ample Rewards. The King's Promises took effect; and they all revolted from the General. The King now daring not to trust the Revolted, to make

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* See "Ribeiro," book II., chapters I. and II.
† "Ceylon," 1681, p. 177.

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# REBELION
## DE
# CEYLAN,

Y LOS PROGRESSOS
## DE SV CONQVISTA
*EN EL GOBIERNO DE*
## CONSTANTINO
*DE SAA, Y NOROÑA.*

Efcribela fu Hijo

JUAN RODRIGUEZ DE SAA,
Y MENEZES,

Y DEDICALA

*A LA VIRGEN NUESTRA*

*SEÑORA MADRE DE MISERICORDIAS.*

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LISBOA

*Con las licencias neceſſarias,*

Por Antonio Craesbeeck de Mello Impreffor
de S. Alteza Año 1681.

tryal of their Truth and Fidelity, put them in the forefront of his Battel, and commanded then to give the first Onset. The King at the time might have Twenty or Thirty thousand men in the field. Who, taking their opportonity, set upon the *Portugueze* Army, and gave them such a total overthrow, that as they report in that Countrey not one of them escaped. The General seeing this Defeat, and himself like to be taken, called his Black Boy, to give him water to drink, and snatching the Knife that struck by his Boy's side, stabbed himself with it.

This description of the General's death differs entirely from that given by his son, and is evidently an invention of his enemies. The *Maháwaṅsa* does not make special mention of Constantino de Sá's disastrous expedition ; but the *Rájavaliya* has the following account :—

Don Constantine, with an army, went to make war upon the high country ; and, while yet marching through the provinces of Oeva, was met at the foot of the mountain of Welley Wawey, in the field called Rat Daneiyey Wela, by the Princes Koumara Sinha Wyaya, Pawla Dewa Rajah, and the King Senerat Rajaoroowo, and there the battle began.

In this battle the Portuguese General, the abovesaid Captain, and four Portuguese Dessavas, were taken prisoners and put to death ; and sparing the 15,000 Cingalese which went with the Portuguese to battle, they cut down the Portuguese in heaps. The said three princes and king, after this battle, came down to the low country in order to possess the same, but finding the people not well disposed to receive them, they returned to the high country again.*

The statement as to four "Portuguese" Disávas being "taken prisoners and put to death" seems to be founded on some mistake ; nor is it easy to reconcile the two descriptions of the scene of the massacre.

In spite of its inflated style and tedious digressions, Sá e Menezes' work is of considerable value, giving as it does much information respecting the Portuguese occupation of Ceylon not afforded by other writers.

The title of the original work is as follows :—

*Rebelion de Ceylan, y los Progressos de sv Conqvista en el Gobierno de Constantino de Saa, y Noroña. Escribala su Hijo Juan Rodriguez de Saa, y Menezes, y Dedicata a la Virgen Nuestra Señora Madre de Misericordias.—Lisboa con las licencias necessarias, Por Antonio Craesbeeck de Mello, Impressor de S. Alteza Año 1681.* †

After the title-page follows the dedication to the Virgin. Then come eleven sonnets and a *decima*, some in Spanish and some in Portuguese, the first two being by the author

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* Upham's "Sacred and Historical Works of Ceylon," Vol. II., pp. 323–4.
† See woodcut opposite.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

himself in memory of his father, and the others by friends of the author, in praise of his filial piety and his father's courage.* After these are the *licenses*, eight in number, in Portuguese, bearing various dates, from 28th July, 1678, to 6th May, 1681.

Coming now to the body of the work, we have a proem, in which the author states the object of the book, viz.:—

To describe the rebellion of the *Zingalas* of *Ceylan*, of the year [1]6 30, and the progress of its conquest in the days when Constantino de Saa y Noroña, with the title of Governor and Captain-General, commanded in the war, and administrated in peace that Island until his death (happier in the cause than in the manner thereof), put a glorious end to all the actions of his life, which he had always governed with valour and prudence, and finally ended by being cut to pieces for God's service and his king's by the hands of the greatest enemy their Divine and Catholic Majesties ever had.

This war, he says—

lasted one hundred and twenty-seven years with equal obstinacy on the side of both the *Zingalas* and the Portuguese, the latter fighting for empire and the elevation of our Holy Catholic faith, and the former for the liberty of their bodies, leaving their souls in the wretched slavery of idolatry into which the devil had drawn them by blindness and error.

He also says, referring to his father :—

If fortune had not got tired of favouring him, and heaven, by its hidden and secret judgments to mortals, had not permitted his destruction by means so contrary to human prudence and more considerate foresight, I am certain that the Portuguese monarchy would have added this time to its glorious titles the absolute empire of the Island of Ceylon, and the Portuguese arms would have triumphed over that barbarism when most aided and assisted by foreign support with the power and reputation of the most valiant nation in the East, and at a time when the Portuguese had fallen into disrepute and were on the downward slope of their decline.

He then speaks of the glory accruing by the General's death to his descendants and the Portuguese nation, and draws an unfavourable comparison between the Portuguese warriors of former times who fought for glory and those of his own day who fought for gain. He commends the policy of Philip the Second, who had counsellors scattered all over his kingdom instead of trusting in a few ; and concludes the proem by deprecating any accusation of partiality owing to his relationship to the subject of his work, whose fair fame was so dear to him.

Chapter I. contains a "Description of the Island of *Ceylan* in ancient and modern times," which is a compilation from the works of Barros, Couto, and other antecedent writers.

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* These Lieut.-Colonel St. George has not translated.

Chapter II. treats of the "Origin and Succession of the Emperors of *Ceylan* to the Arrival of the Portuguese."

The first portion, describing the origin of the Sinhalese, contains the usual mythical absurdities; but in the latter part we come to firmer ground, the writer describing the interfraternal war by which the Portuguese profited to acquire a title to the Island, and showing to his own satisfaction the righteousness of their methods of making converts by the edge of the sword. The names of the various Governors of Ceylon from Pedro Lopez de Sousa to Nuno Alvarez Pereira are given; and our author describes the fictitious peace concluded between the last-named commander and the King of Kandy.

Chapter III. treats of the "Authority, Jurisdiction, and Forces of the Portuguese Generals in the Island: its Fertility, Religion, Rites, and Customs of its Natives."

The details in the latter part of the chapter are evidently borrowed from Couto and other writers. The natives, as might be expected, are painted in the blackest colours; at the same time, however, the writer has to admit some good traits in their character; and he even acknowledges that their contact with his fellow-countrymen may have tended to corrupt them. The authority of the Portuguese governors is shown to have been supreme; and the writer says:—

Considering that in all these things they represented to the *Zingalas* the person and authority of their emperors: they performed *Zumbaya* [reverence or worship] to them, calling them Highness, and used all the royal insignia and ceremonies.

We also read:—

The Governors held their Court in *Malmuara*, three leagues from Colombo, in sumptuous palaces which they called *Rosapani*:* here three times in each year came to visit them the principal *Zingalas* of the Island, who brought with them large presents, as a sign of their friendship and allegiance.

Details are also given of the military posts, troops, their pay, &c.

In chapter IV. we are told "who Constantino de Sá y Noroña was, his election as Governor and Captain-General of *Ceylan*."

The lineage of the family of De Sá is given, and we are told that Constantino de Sá was born in 1586, and was brought up by his grandfather, his father having died while he was young. In 1604, when eighteen years of age, he was betrothed to a daughter of a noble of the house of Olivença, whom he married three years later, embarking the same

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* Malvána, in Siyanę Kóralé; *Rosapani* appears in the older Dutch maps of Ceylon.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

year on a coasting expedition ; but falling ill of a dangerous fever, he returned home and suffered from ill-health for three years, during which time two sons were born to him. In 1612 he went to Morocco to serve as a *frontero*, which he did with distinction, and returned home after two and a half years' service. But the warrior spirit burned too strongly within him to allow him to rest ; and he resolved to go to India, that "sepulchre of the De Sá's," as it was called by the nobles of his race. This fatal resolve he took in spite of the opposition of his relatives, and especially of his wife, and the fact of his having a family of four young children and the expectation of a fifth. "Leaving the Court at last in March, 1614, he embarked for India on board the ship Almiranta, in which were other noblemen, and whose Captain was Paulo Rangel de Castel-Branco : but leaving Lisbon late in the season (a common mistake of the Government, and an old and almost irremediable error of its officials, whose mistakes and carelessness caused so many grave losses) they could not arrive at Goa that year, for when they reached the latitude of Sacotora they had to put back to Mombaça as a last resource." At length, after a voyage fraught with many dangers, Constantino de Sá arrived at Goa in the year 1615, Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo being then Viceroy of India. Here he conducted himself like a true gentleman, keeping himself apart from all the corruption that was then rampant, and seeking in every way to put it down. This course naturally brought upon him the enmity of the evil-doers ; one of whom (supposed to be a kinsman of his own) made a cowardly attempt on his life, inflicting a wound on his hand,—the only wound, says our author, he ever received until his death. In the summer of 1616 he embarked on an expedition with his kinsman Dom Bernardo de Noroña, who was Captain-General of the Malabar coast ; and his conduct being favourably reported to the Viceroy, he was subsequently intrusted with the command of various expeditions, and in the following year he was appointed Captain-General of Cape Comorin. In this post he acted with such ability that the Viceroy employed him in several dangerous expeditions, which he conducted with courage and success. In 1618 Dom Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, succeeded to the Viceroyalty, and the first thing he did was to look into the affairs of Ceylon, which at that time were in a wretched condition ; and the king, on receiving his report, ordered the Count to set them to rights with the assistance of some worthy and renowned subject, the choice of whom he left to him. The Viceroy and his Council unanimously chose Constantino de Sá, and he left for Ceylon, arriving at Colombo in September, 1619.

Chapter V. treats of "The beginning of Constantino de Sá's Government: he reforms abuses, and continues the war with success."

The first thing that the new Governor did was to re-organize the Portuguese military forces in the Island, a task which he carried out with firmness and tact. He then sent a conciliatory embassy to the King of Kandy, who responded in like manner. The "rebels" under "*Madune*,"* however, showed no desire to come to terms; and it was therefore resolved to take the field against them: and as a preliminary to this a fortress was built in Sabaragamuwa.

In the heading of chapter VI. we read how "Constantino de Sá conquers *Madune*, and destroys his power and drives him from the Island; finishes the fortress of *Safragan;* repairs and garrisons that of Gale; relieves that of *Manar;* drives the English from the Bay of *Triquilimale* and of *Cotiar;* and finally beheads *Cangarache*, and the renegade Barreto dies by the hands of his own men."

The "English," who are said here to have been driven out from Trincomalee, become "heretics of Denmark" in the chapter itself; and presumably the reference is to the Danish embassy under Ove Giedde; if so the date given is wrong, and the story of the encounter and defeat is pure invention.

Chapter VII. treats of the "Conquest of *Jafanapatan;* the General introduces the monopoly of cinnamon; the Conde de Redondo dies; and Hernando de Alboquerque succeeds to the Government, recalls Constantino de Sá from *Ceylan*, and sends him to the relief of Ormus, dies, and the Conde de la Vidiguera, Admiral of India, arrives, who restores our General to the Island."

The details given of the history of Jaffna are interesting, but probably largely taken from other writers. The removal of Constantino de Sá from the Governorship of Ceylon was a piece of jobbery, the Viceroy appointing his own son to the post, which, however, the young man held for only a short time, his father dying in 1623 and the new Viceroy restoring the *status quo ante*, and sending Constantino de Sá back to Colombo in April, 1623. During his absence Jorge de Alboquerque had governed cautiously, the most noteworthy event of his rule being the erection of a fort at Kaḷutara.

In chapter VIII. we are told how "Constantino de Sá enters the second time on the government of *Ceylan*, erects the fortress of *Triquilimale*, and by prudence established a peaceable government."

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* Máyá Dunné—not to be confounded with the illustrious father of Rája Siṇha I., who died 1581.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

The erection of the fortress at Trincomalee in 1624 was undertaken by order of the Viceroy and at the advice of the Governor's oldest and most experienced captains, with a view to blocking the Kandyan monarch's outlet on the east coast. This step naturally incensed the king, and it also enraged his Hindú subjects, whose temple, standing on the eminence where the fortress was built, was thus profaned. Details are given of the various measures adopted by the Governor to strengthen the Portuguese position, offices of trust being bestowed with impartiality on the worthiest, whether European or Asiatic, the General himself setting a good example by his temperate life and unassuming manner. The chapter ends with the close of the year 1624.

In chapter IX. we are told of further "Acts of the government of Constantino de Sá, he fortifies the fortress of *Gale*, erects one on the Island of *Cardiva*, repairs that of *Columbo*, and carries out other works of great importance; reforms abuses, corruption, and vices, and makes new regulations for the administration of the royal treasury."

The year 1625 was a peaceful one on the whole, though the Portuguese soldiers' arms were not allowed to rust for want of use. Besides finishing the fortification of Galle (which had been suspended owing to want of funds) and erecting a fortress on Karaittívu, the Governor "built on the point called *San Lourenco*, in the bay of *Columbo*, a strong curtain of stone and lime, eighty-six arm's lengths in circuit, and demolished the old one that was there; he mounted it with eleven pieces of artillery; and as the royal treasury was so exhausted and so small that it could scarcely meet the pay and salaries of the army, he availed himself of the lands belonging to the citizens of *Columbo*, who assisted him with all the money he spent in that work with great zeal and liberality." Again: "With the moneys he received he made another curtain of thirty arm's lengths, as necessary as the first, and with all these works he so insured the defence of the bay of *Columbo* that there was no opening without protection for the ships that anchored in that port." He also "built a powder-mill, which was worked by the water of the lagoon which surrounds the city, and turned out five arrobas a day." This work he paid for out of his own salary. Instances are given of the abuses which Constantino de Sá set himself to reform; and it is stated that there were Portuguese so unpatriotic as to make money by importing arms to sell to the Kandyans.

Chapter X. tells us how "Constantino de Sá expels the Moors from the friendly parts of *Ceylan*," and gives a "Description of the Kingdom of *Candia*, origin of its Princes, and the claim under which the Portuguese undertook its conquest."

The expulsion of the Moors took place at the commencement of 1626, and we are told that "Christianity called for it, and it was executed with courage and prudence." The King of Kandy, however, received those of the Moors who had not been slaughtered, and placed a garrison of them in Batticaloa. The description of the Kandyan kingdom and its inhabitants is interesting, though doubtless borrowed to a large extent from earlier writers. The author also gives a historical sketch of Ceylon affairs during the Portuguese occupation; and when referring to Admiral Spilbergen's arrival in the Island, he takes the opportunity of venting his wrath upon the Calvinist heretics who, at the time that he wrote his work, had ousted his nation from their most valuable possessions in the East.

Chapter XI. informs us "How the Captains of *Ceylan* were employed with a view to the conquest of *Candia;* Constantino de Sá erects two new fortresses at *Manicravarê* and *Batecalou;* the Vice-Roy gives him charge of the royal treasury."

The General, we are told, desirous of speedily bringing the whole of Ceylon under the power of the Portuguese, wrote to the Viceroy setting forth the many advantages possessed by the Island owing to its geographical position and its natural fertility, which made it more suitable than Goa to be the headquarters of the Portuguese in the East. The Viceroy, in reply, urged the erection of a fortress at Batticaloa; and this Constantino de Sá proceeded to carry out after building a new fort at *Manicravarê.* This took place in the year 1627. Our author says of Batticaloa that it was "the most capacious maritime port in the Island, into which could sail an Indiaman fully loaded, contrary to the common opinion of the Portuguese, who knew little about its depth." The King of Kandy tried to prevent the work, first by force and then by the offer of a large bribe: but all in vain. He then, says our author, employed spies to spread false accusations against the Governor of misappropriation of funds. The chapter ends with an account of the arrival in the Island and death soon after of Felipe de Oliveira, "a man of great parts, whose religion and valour had caused him to destroy more than 500 pagodes; as much a conqueror of peoples as of souls, so that the natives called him God of the sword, Bulwark of iron."

Chapter XII. tells us of the "Movements which preceded the war with *Candia;* its commencement and obstinacy; and some of the events in its progress." The Kandyan monarch, seeing himself now shut in on every side, resolved to strike a blow for freedom, and made an incursion into the territories occupied by the Portuguese. Thus begun the war which was waged fiercely during the next three years, ending in the

disastrous defeat of the Portuguese. In March, 1629, we read the Governor resolved to march on Kandy itself, and before setting out he made his last will and testament. The latter part of this chapter is occupied with a description of the terrible hardships which this expedition involved, and which the General shared in common with his soldiers.

Chapter XIII. describes the "Misfortunes of the war; the Idolator of *Candia* sues for peace; he sets on foot the *Columbo* conspiracy; the General falls ill; his will and disposition."

The Kandyan monarch, alarmed at the advance of the Portuguese, made overtures of peace, which the General was glad to agree to, as he was seriously ill, doubtless with malarial fever. He therefore returned to Malvána, the Portuguese sanatorium, where he added a codicil to his will relative to the liquidation of his debts and the carrying on of the war. However, he recovered after a time, but only to fall a victim to treachery at the hands of some of those whom he had most trusted.

Chapter XIV. describes how "The conspirators prepare their plot in *Columbo;* and in what form."

The authors of the conspiracy were four of the richest and most influential Mudaliyárs of Colombo, who had been brought up as Christians, and had been the recipients of many favours at the hands of the Governor. Their names were *Dom Cosme*, *Dom Theodozio*, *Dom Aleixo*, and *Dom Balthezar*. These men for three years had been in secret negotiation with the King of Kandy and the Prince of Uva; and they now began to try and win over the Sinhalese in Colombo to their designs. Dom Cosme was the leader, and having assembled those whom he had imbued with his views at the house of Dom Manuel, to whose daughter his son was married, he harangued them at great length in vigorous language, upbraiding them for their lack of courage in consenting to remain slaves to the Portuguese.* This speech had its desired effect; and the conspirators resolved to send a message to the Prince of Uva to come down and attack the friendly natives, while they formed a plan for betraying Colombo into the hands of the King of Kandy.

In chapter XV. we are told of "Events which occurred during the rebellion; the Conde de Liñares enters on the government of India; and the Conde de la Vidigueira is recalled."

In accordance with the message of the traitor Mudaliyárs, the Prince of Uva made a descent upon the Portuguese

* Our author naively gives what he would have us believe were the *ipsissima verba* of this speech, which is an evident imitation of one of the addresses found in the classic writers which he is so fond of quoting.

territories, harassing the friendly natives for the space of a month, and then retiring and intrenching himself in Badulla.* Rumours of these events reached Colombo; but it was a "far cry" to Uva, and therefore it was difficult to tell how much truth there was in the reports. In order to disarm suspicion, the traitors went to the General and entreated him with tears and cries to allow them to go and avenge the insult. The Governor consulted with his captains, who were divided in their opinions; but a letter from the new Viceroy of India, couched in harsh terms, and insinuating that the Governor was engaged more in trade than in warfare, decided him to proceed against the Prince of Uva. He accordingly ordered the Mudaliyárs to enrol their lascarins, which they did to the number of 13,000 men, the Portuguese troops amounting to scarcely 500, among whom were many boys and old men, not more than 200 being capable of bearing arms. On the 25th of August, 1630, the General left *Manicravarê* with his forces, having given over the care of the government to Lancarote de Freitas. With the army went a number of priests and confessors; and before setting out the soldiers confessed and received the Sacrament of the Eucharist. They then marched forth in the name of the Holy Cross.

We now come to the last chapter (XVI.) of the book, the contents of which are thus summarized by the author:—"Description of the Kingdom of *Uva* and the causes which obliged the General Constantino de Sá y Noroña, to penetrate into the mountains, the Prince of *Uva* purposely retreats, and halts in *Retulé*, the General sets fire to it and encamps there; conspiracy of our Disávas with the Prince and the *Candian* against the General. The resolution which he made against the Kingdom of *Uva*, putting it to fire and sword; he fights at a disadvantage with the Prince and the King of *Candia*. Rebellion of our troops; the General falls fighting valiantly in battle."

After a brief description of the kingdom of Uva, the writer tells us that the General did not halt until he reached Badulla; but when he arrived before that city he found that the Prince of Uva had deserted the place and withdrawn to some mountain fastness, thinking thereby to entice Constantino de Sá still further into the foils. The latter, however, after destroying the city with fire, encamped before it to rest and refresh his men, who were footsore and weary after their long and toilsome march. The traitor Mudaliyárs now sent messages to the King of Kandy to acquaint him with the position of affairs; and now also the

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* Here called *Ratulé*, and elsewhere *Retulé*, the initial letter being evidently a misprint for *B*.

General began to receive olas warning him of treachery, a faithful Árachchi, moreover, confirming these suspicions by word of mouth. Constantino de Sá laid the matter before his captains, and also summoned to his presence the traitors, who after some delay appeared, accompanied by a strong guard of their lascarins, thus confirming the General's fears. He, however, asked them for their advice, and they replied that as the insult received from the Prince of Uva had been sufficiently avenged by the burning of his capital, it would be advisable for the General to return to Colombo. The Portuguese army was encamped on the summit of a mountain facing Badulla; and now on the slopes below the enemy began to appear in large numbers, which continually increased, the estimates varying from twenty to eighty thousand fighting men. The General now saw that he was entrapped; and addressing his Portuguese troops urged them to fight like men, and advised that each man should put in his girdle enough rice for a couple of days, and that taking their arms they should commit everything else to the flames. This was done; and the night was spent in preparation for the morrow's battle.

When the day was dawning the traitors came to the General and asked that they might lead the van, which was granted them; and at eight o'clock the camp was raised and the march was commenced. Dom Cosme led the vanguard, followed by the other three traitor Mudaliyárs with their lascarins, Dom Aleixo coming last. The Portuguese formed one squadron, flanked by a few faithful Siṇhalese; and the General went from one division to another encouraging his men. The enemy prepared to receive them; and now Dom Cosme gave the signal of revolt by killing a Portuguese near him, cutting off his head, and raising it aloft on a pike. The lascarins thereupon faced about and attacked the Portuguese in front, while the enemy fell upon their flanks. The battle raged all day; and when night came the Portuguese force was reduced to three hundred men, with a few natives. Scarcely had the survivors lain down to rest and eat than a terrible thunderstorm burst upon them, with torrents of rain and hail, which lasted for several hours, saturating their food and ammunition as well as the unhappy Portuguese themselves. They now gave themselves up for lost, and spent the night in prayer and exhortation. One of the captains tried to persuade the General to escape to Colombo with a guard of fifty picked soldiers; but his entreaties were in vain, Constantino de Sá replying that he was resolved to die with his men. Next morning the small band of heroes was again in motion; but their swords were now the only weapons they could use, and the Siṇhalese

had the advantage of them with their bows and arrows. The General now seeing that all was lost took his stand with a couple of retainers, who kept loading and handing him their arquebusses, which he continued to fire as long as the ammunition lasted. At last these two men were killed, and "raising his sword like a brave lion he rushed into the thick of the enemy with the courage of despair, and with his own arm killed seventeen of them before they managed to wound him; and such was the havoc he made that they declared that he sent sixty of them to hell before he had done." Seeing this slaughter, the King of Kandy gave permission to his followers to kill the hero; whereupon "they rained shot and arrows upon the General, and one having traversed his breast and another his back, leaning upon his confessor, and whilst on his knees receiving his last absolution, came an arrow, which clave through both their heads, when their united spirits fled to Him who created them." The enemy then wreaked their vengeance on the General's body, hacking it to pieces, and bringing the head in triumph to the King of Kandy, after which it was carried throughout the whole kingdom, and then nailed to a high tree in the Seven Kóralés, surrounded by the heads of other Portuguese captains who had perished in the fight. Our author adds that he had been told by persons of credit that six months afterwards the General's head was still fresh and pure, with a beautiful colour, while the others were dried up and fleshless; and also that from the day that it was nailed on the tree it shed blood which could not be dried up. These wonders so impressed the Sinhalese that they refused to give up the head to the Portuguese, though a large ransom was offered for it.

Thus died Constantino de Sá on the 20th August, 1630, at the early age of forty-four; and the Portuguese power in Ceylon received a blow from which it never recovered.

Our author concludes with a eulogy of his father, whose body lay in no tomb, but to whose memory he had with his pen erected this monument. His final words are *Laus Deo.*

## INTRODUCTION.*

IN this translation of the so-called Rebellion of the Sin̥halese against the Portuguese under the Government of Constantino de Sá y Noroña, by his son João Rodriguez de Sá e Menezes, which ended in the death of his father,—certainly one of the most gallant and devoted of the Portuguese commanders since the great Affonso d'Alboquerque,—I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the original. But it is almost impossible to render adequately into English the style of the old Spanish without appearing at times constrained. The wearisome repetition of platitudes and religious preamble in almost every chapter detracts considerably from the interest of the narrative; but much can be gathered now and then, and there are at times glimpses of interesting pictures which, if they had been more worked out instead of digressing into sermons, the task would have been far easier and much more entertaining.

The author, João Rodriguez de Sá e Menezes, must have been a man of no ordinary culture, and of wide liberal ideas, notwithstanding his bigotry in religious matters, the usual characteristic of almost all Spaniards and Portuguese in those days; he was fully aware of his countrymen's faults, and speaks in bitter terms of the corruption and depravity of some of the officials; he is thoroughly sincere in his aim, and has given an eloquent unvarnished account of the times and the condition of the natives.

The Portuguese had been over a hundred years in India when the incidents related in this narrative occurred; corruption and dishonesty had taken the place of integrity and valour; they had been gradually weakened by long intercourse with the natives, and an enervating climate had given them over to licentiousness and depravity; but, like the last flicker of a candle, all their old energy seemed to revive under a Commander like Constantino de Sá, who, if he had been spared, might have changed the state of things and rendered the task of conquest to the Dutch more difficult and much more prolonged.

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* By Lieut.-Colonel H. H. St. George.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

The first fifty years of Portuguese ascendency in India and the East was an age of heroes, beginning with Vasco de Gama, and producing such men as the great Affonso d'Alboquerque, Francisco and Lourençe d'Almeida, João de Castro, and Duarte Pacheco Pereira, whose daring deeds have been immortalized by the Portuguese arch-poet Camoens, in his famous "Lusiads." This empire, which they tried to establish in India, lasted without any serious opposition from 1500 to 1600; but before the latter end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth it was on the downward slope of decline, and corruption of the worst stamp had entered into every department of its officialism. Even in the middle of the sixteenth century scenes of drunkenness and debauchery were so common that they excited the disgust of Camoens, who, unfortunately for his welfare, wrote his famous satire *Disparates na India* ("Follies in India"), in which he lashes these vices with the scourge of Juvenal.

One of the weak points of Portuguese dominion in India was the intermarriage with the natives. Affonso d'Alboquerque wanting men, in order to supply them baptized his women captives and married them to his soldiery. It might have been necessary at the time; but it was a policy which certainly helped to bring about the ultimate downfall of the Portuguese supremacy; for a race of *Meticos* (half-castes) sprang up, despised equally by Hindú and Muslim, and totally unable to cope with the hardy and stubborn Hollander.

When in 1580 the Portuguese crown was united to that of Spain under Philip II., and the interests of Portugal in Asia came into collision with the Spanish affairs in Europe, it was then that the Dutch, the sworn foes of Spain, began to turn their eyes to the Portuguese possessions in Asia, which ultimately ended in all being wrested from Portugal in Asia, leaving only a few straggling dependencies, such as Goa, Damaon, Diu, Macao, &c.

The Hollanders arrived in Ceylon when the Portuguese were hardly able to hold their own against the native princes. De Sousa had been beaten; Dom Jeronimo d'Azevado had been defeated in the pass of Balana by Kunappu Baṇḍára, when the Dutch Admiral Spilbergen landed in the roadstead of Batticaloa.

These Hollanders had been tampering with the natives for some years when Constantino de Sá arrived as Governor-General in Colombo. The officials in the Island were in a deplorable state of depravity, the exchequer had been rifled, and the soldiers were in rags, discontented, mutinous, and

prowling about like brigands. The condition of society in Colombo must have been even worse than it was at Goa, considering the soldiers who were sent to Ceylon were generally those banished for their misdeeds, and the women who accompanied them *solteras* of ill fame.

Peculation and bribery existed, and were openly practised from the *Vedor dafazenda* downwards, and some were even accused of trading and selling arms to the natives—a thing which unfortunately is not unknown in our own time.

It was only a man of the character of Constantino de Sá who could cope with such a state of affairs; brave, and as undaunted as any of the old *Conquistadores*, he was at the same time without their ferocity. Gentle, mild, and temperate in his disposition, without a selfish motive of any kind, he tempered his government with the spirit of humanity. He began gradually to reform, allowing some of the lighter evils at first; but in his thorough reforms these very evils ceased to exist, and there is no knowing what he might have done for the Portuguese in Ceylon had he been spared; but unfortunately he was surrounded by treachery; for even amongst his own countrymen there were some who, jealous of his fame, hated him for putting a restraint on their luxury and vices.

A deep-laid plot had been hatching by four of the most powerful Siṇhalese Mudaliyárs for some time before he undertook his last fatal expedition; and so secretly had it been kept that nothing was known until it was too late. Starting from Męnikkaḍavara, the Portuguese camp of observation, on the 25th August, 1630, with a force numbering from 13,000 to 20,000 men (of whom barely 500 were Portuguese), the native lascarins being led by the four traitor Mudaliyárs, he forced the Balana pass, surprised Kandy, burning and destroying all on his way, as was usual with both Portuguese and Siṇhalese in those days. The King of Kandy, who was at Haṇguranketa, fled to the mountains of Úva.

Sá's force advanced across country through the jungle in a long straggling line, the pioneers with their hatchets clearing the way. The march was long and toilsome. The Portuguese soldier, with burgonet or iron helmet on his head, a tight-laced jerkin or jacket, and his neck protected by a collar of buffalo hide, went barefoot, sometimes up to his knees in dank ooze and the leaf mould of centuries. He carried either arquebuse with bandoleers or a pike or bow and arrows. The mountains over which they passed

were covered with forest and patana, and almost continually shrouded in cloud and mist. The sun not penetrating through the trees made the air cold and damp, so that fever and ague were added to their misery before they reached their last resting-place.

I shall not repeat the narrative. Constantino de Sá, deserted by the Mudaliyárs, who went over to the enemy with nearly all the lascarins, fell dying gallantly at the head of his few devoted followers; but he did not fall before he had with his own sword, as his son relates, "sent sixty of his bloodthirsty foes to hell."

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## DEDICATION.

*To the Virgin, Our Lady, Mother of Mercy.*

BOOKS are in their records a living copy of the past, and that which cannot be seen by the eye can be related to the ear. This contains a relation of the exploits which the General Constantino de Saa, my father, and his valiant Captains performed in the wild wastes of *Ceylan.*

To your Holy Majesty, O Virgin Mother of God, Queen of the Angels and our Lady, I humbly offer it, and, with your favour, hope that neither filial love will alter the truth of its incidents, nor the poor style of it diminish the dignity of the history; nor may ignorance offend the glory of those notable Champions of your Son, our Redeemer Jesus Christ, whose most Holy Name they first preached with the Sword, and sacrificing their lives wrote it with their Blood, to the amazement of the Gentiles. Accept, most merciful Lady, this small offering, and with your grace shield me that the errors of my pen may not be known under the shadow of your protection.

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## LICENCES.

I HAVE seen this book entitled "*Rebellion of Ceylan and the Progress of its Conquest during the Government of Constantino de Saa y Noronha, written by João Rodrigues de Saa y Menezes.*" In it I find nothing contrary to our Holy Faith or to good manners; and therefore it appears to me very worthy of being printed, so that the heroical deeds and excellent virtues of so illustrious a Governor may be preserved to the memory of posterity.

FREY BALTASAR PINTO.

Lisbon, Saõ Bento da Saude, 28th July, 1678.

I HAVE read this book entitled "*Rebellion of Ceylan and the Progress of its Conquest, written by João Rodrigues de Saa y Menezes.*" As it appears to me most useful for the great information it gives, it is therefore most worthy to be brought to light, containing nothing contrary to our Holy Catholic Faith and to good manners.

Given at Lisbon, in the Convent of Nossa Señora da Porciuncala, 8th August, 1678.

FREY CONSTANTINO DE NANTES,
Capuchin Censor to the Holy Office (Inquisition).

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PURSUANT to this notice, this book, entitled "*Rebellion of Ceylan : author, Joao Rodrigues de Saa y Menezes*" may be printed, and printed may be discoursed, and licence is given for it to be circulated, and without (licence) it cannot be circulated.

Lisbon, 9th August, 1678.

MANOEL DE MAGALHAÉS DE MENESES.
MANOEL PIMENTEL DE SOUSA.
MANOEL DE MOURA MANOEL.
FREY VALERIO DE S. RAYMUNDO.

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IT may be printed.

Lisbon, 13th March, 1679.

FR. CH. BISP. DE MARTYRIA.

I HAVE read the sonnets and remaining papers which are mentioned in this Petition. In them there is nothing contrary to our Holy Catholic Faith and good manners.

Lisbon, Convent of Nossa Señora da Porciuncala, 1st May, 1681.

FREY CONSTANTINO DE NANTES,

Capuchin Censor to the Holy Office.

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PURSUANT to this notice, the nine sonnets and dedication may be printed, and without it this book cannot be printed in the name of its author Joaõ Roiz de Sá, and after printing may be read, and leave is given for its circulation, and without it it cannot be circulated.

Lisbon, 6th May, 1681. SERRAÕ.

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MY LORD,—THIS book, which Your Highness commands me to examine, and which is entitled "*Rebellion of Ceylan and the Progress of its Conquest*," work of João Rodrigues de Saa y Menezes, is most worthy of being printed for the memory of Constantino de Saa y Noronha, who gives unto it such heroic matter, as well as for the writer, whose pure style knows how to immortalize his name; as it has justly gained by the elegant pen of the author and by the intrepid sword of so illustrious a hero. We beg Your Highness to approve this licence, not only for the glory of the Portuguese nation, but for an example of great Generals. May God preserve the royal person of Your Highness, of whom your vassals have need.

Lisbon, 27th May, 1679.

DIOGO GOMES DE FIGEYREDO.

## BOOK I.—Proem.

MY intention is to describe the rebellion of the *Zingalas* (Sin̥halese) of *Ceylan* of the year 1630, and the progress of its conquest in the days when Constantino de Sá y Noroña, with the title of Governor and Captain-General, commanded in the wars and administered in peace that Island, until his death (happier in the cause than in the manner thereof) put a glorious end to all the actions of his life which he had always governed with valour and prudence—(a life) finally ended by his being cut to pieces for God's service and his King's by the hands of the greatest enemy their Divine and Catholic Majesties ever had.

Although a small work, it is full of wars, bloody battles, atrocious murders, rebellions chastised, provinces and entire regions devastated, princes captured, tyrants overcome, condign punishments, changes of dominions, justice rigorously enforced at a time when they lived most without it, forgotten by the honest and the just. Various and strange were the events which happened in a war of conquest which to the States of India was like what Carthage proved to Rome in the long horrid war which, without question, may be compared to the formidable wars of Europe; considering it lasted one hundred and twenty-seven years* with equal obstinacy on the side of both the *Zingalas* and Portuguese; the latter fighting for Empire and the elevation of our Holy Catholic Faith, and the former for the liberty of their bodies, leaving their souls in the wretched slavery of idolatry into which the devil had drawn them by blindness and error. For they, fighting like men without fear, lived like untamed wild beasts in superstition and depravity, whose malice facilitated treason, cruelty,

* This war, says De Couto (*Dec.*, V., part I., chapter V.), was a source of unceasing and anxious expenditure to the Portuguese States of India, gradually consuming their revenues, wasting their forces and artillery, and causing a greater outlay for the government of that single Island than for all their conquests in the East.

robbery, violence, and vice to which they are inclined, and which so often become the common pest of their kingdom and their princes ; and also of our armies, broken up rather than conquered through our over-confidence and their wicked treachery, our patience in allowing them to go unpunished, and by our vain notions and false hopes.

With all this the General Constantino de Sá did not fail to punish such excesses, our arms being the means by which he overcame them by such famous victories and brought to such a happy end the work of conquest that his very name became the terror of those warlike races, which at the commencement, owing to the small numbers of his forces, was scoffed at and scorned by them. If fortune had not got tired of favouring him, and Heaven by its hidden and secret judgments to mortals had not permitted his destruction, by means so contrary to human reason and by more considerate foresight, I am certain that the Portuguese monarchy would have added this time to its glorious titles the absolute empire of the Island of *Ceylan*, and the arms of Portugal would have triumphed over that barbarism when most aided and assisted by foreign support, through the power and reputation of the most valiant nation in the East, and at a time when the Portuguese had fallen into disrepute, and were on the downward slope of their decline.

Although it was enough to brand the idolaters with the name of cowards, the conspiracy by which they prepared the ruin and brought about the death of our General, rendered glorious in so many ways, might justly be considered a triumph, not only for his descendants, to whom the greater share of glory falls, but to the whole Portuguese nation, an honour to his country and the glory of our times which the ancients may have envied us, and posterity who vie with them in pride make a boast of his virtues, and know that the lack of them in these days is not owing to want of subjects ; these would be more than sufficient no doubt if there were rewards to encourage them, as have happened in past centuries, when monarchs, by showing their esteem, taking

notice and extending their favour, inspired their vassals with that courage which was natural to the Portuguese, who always held their king's acknowledgment a greater honour than they ever did reward.

And in this way there was a difference between that age and ours; for then the Portuguese fought valiantly for success alone, but now they fight for reward; for then they fought under the eyes of their king, who was watching and encouraging them, and now they seldom even get to his ears, or only through the mouth-piece of his ministers, who may perhaps be ill-disposed towards them or even worse inclined, fearing that by recommending to the king the great services of another subject they might tarnish their own in his eyes, and would think it an insult if he recognized he was under greater obligations to others than to themselves.

The wisdom of Philip II. made him understand these difficulties. He did not trust such an important duty entirely to the ordinary counsellors who assisted him, but he had many confidential advisers scattered throughout his dominions, who were bound by the most sacred oaths to give him an exact account of the capabilities, talents, services, virtues, and vices of his vassals* : for it being of the greatest worth and most essential to the good of the common weal for its monarch to know the subjects to whom he entrusted his government, since personally he was not able

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**Secret Emissaries of Philip II.*—Motley describes how, "ever occupied with details, the monarch, from his palace in Spain, sent frequent informations against the humblest individuals in the Netherlands. It is curious to observe the minute reticulations of tyranny which he had begun already to spin about a whole people, while cold, venomous, and patient he watched his victims from the centre of his web. He forwarded particular details to the Duchess and Cardinal concerning a variety of men and women, sending their names, ages, personal appearance, occupations, and residence, together with directions for their immediate immolation. Even the inquisitors of Seville were set to work to increase by means of their branches or agencies in the provinces the royal information on this all-important subject."—*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, chap. II.

to look into these matters so carefully. By these means he knew all his subjects and the services they had done for him : the deserving were therefore not at the mercy of any corrupt mind, whose passions so often led them to gather the profits in peace and plenty of what others had gained in war, and who desired that the courtier should obtain the rewards that ought to have been the soldier's—this class of men being the sovereign's greatest creditors, to whom most is due and who receive the least. Contrary to the laws of Alexander Severus, who never gave either gold or silver to any man who was not a creditor or to whom it was not due, and who said that whatever his vassals gave for the public cause was not to be spent to pamper their tastes and for their comforts ; for to spend it otherwise it is certain that when a kingdom came to produce a great man it was due more to the force of events than to the disposition or to the ability of the Government.

From all this I infer that the achievements of the General Constantino de Sá y Noroña will call forth jealous emulators, as the brave and virtuous generally do, and as his death has proved by the variety of opinions and judgments passed on it ; which in all human affairs is invariably the case, especially when it happened to be his good fortune to be born a Portuguese, and to have died amongst Portuguese. For they behold the deeds of their sons with the jaundiced eyes of envy, and deny even the praise they so readily give unto strangers.

With this fear I prepare myself to publish this dissertation, so far that it renders it suspicious from having been written by so near a relation, so much more so for this same reason I am doubly bound to be truthful in what I have written ; for I am too proud of my birth to tarnish such valorous actions by even the shadow of a lie, and to defraud his merits of the reward of fame which is all my pen can give for a consolation and an example to his friends. Neither is it a new thing nor is it ambitious what I undertake ; for whom, if not to those most concerned, either by ties of relationship

or friendship, should be the eulogists of the heroic works of their own kindred, and to hand them down to the memory of mankind, so that envy, which has already hushed up the praise which was due to him, may not be able to bury his merits and leave to posterity by this example a reproach to him who openly follows virtue, and that it may be known that by it alone are laurels, crowns, and triumphs gained; insomuch that there is no Empire, however just it may be, that owes more to fortune than to merits.

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## CHAPTER I.

### Description of the Island of Ceylan, both Ancient and Modern.

For a more complete understanding of this dissertation it is necessary, before commencing it, to give a short description of the Island of *Ceylan*, its importance, strength, situation, government; also the introduction of the Portuguese, their claims, and how they commenced and followed up its conquest: all necessary preliminaries for the better knowledge of the excellence and the results of the actions of the government of Constantino de Sá.

*Ceylan* is the most celebrated Island, as to its proportions, there is in Asia. It lies at its most austral point, in front of the Cape of *Comorin*, at the point which faces the south wind, in latitude from six to almost ten degrees to the north. A strait divides it from the mainland; the gulf, forty leagues from east to west and sixty from north to south, is so full of narrow channels, sunken rocks, islets, and sandbanks that it cannot be navigated except through known channels and in very favourable weather. It is oval in shape, and extends along the coast of India between *Travancor*, *Choromandel*, and the Fishery (*y Pescaria*) to the point of the compass which the navigators call north-east. Drawing a line from the point of the promontory through the middle of the

Island it enjoys a variety of climates at the same time. For this reason it has the summer and winter, which only two seasons prevail at the same time, but in different parts, and are what the natives call the *Cachaõ* (south-west monsoon) and the *Vara*, or north-east monsoon. They experience always both winter and summer; for the south winds, which commence in April and last six months, produce the summer season in the lower and maritime regions, the lands of which lie within the Cape, whilst it is winter in those above, where the wind blows from the north; and when the north wind season blows in these regions, it is winter in the opposite districts.

The ancient geographers vary from the moderns as to its names and dimensions: for Ptolemy, Pliny, and Ariston call it (as it might probably be inferred) *Traprobana.* They made it to extend in the south part until they joined it to the Maldive Islands (*las Islas de Maldiva*), which are more than seventy leagues, and from which it might have been afterwards separated, the sea having submerged the low-country all that space, according to a tradition the *Zingalas* have, and which can be proved by similar occurrences.

Lipsius says that in the time of our forefathers the ocean swallowed up two islands in the neighbourhood of Zealand, and did not hold as fabulous what the ancients relate about the great Island Atlantic, and afterwards of Helice in Achaia and Bura, and when every day increasing and by sudden inundations the sea went eating up the faithless margin of the Frisii, Caninefates, and Cauci.

But at this day it is reduced within such limits that it will have in length about eighty, in width sixty, and in circumference one hundred and sixty leagues, although no author gives it less than one hundred. The Calvinists (Hollanders), with more of boasting than any real knowledge, in the journals they have had printed of their voyage to *Ceylan* in the year 1602, in some parts give it a circumference of nine hundred leagues and in others three hundred and sixty. So scant is their knowledge and so many are the contradictions in their writings.

The primitive name the Island went by, and which is still preserved amongst the natives from their first king and founder, is *Lancab*,* which means to say "holy land." Afterwards, seeing the empire extended beyond the confines, they called it *Illenari*, which in the Malabar language signifies "kingdom of the isle."

But none of these names lasted with the foreigners who came into the Island: in the ordinary course of time and through all the events that happened by the change of kingdom, it remained under the name of *Chinilao*, which in the Chinese idiom signifies "the Chinese reef," originating from a memorable shipwreck which happened to that nation on its shores when they came over to conquer it. Intermarriage with these foreign population of the Island, whom the Malabars expelled and called *Galas*, adding to it the *Zim*, not only gave the name to the land, but also to the inhabitants, who are commonly called *Zingalas*: afterwards in the course of time some of the letters were left out, as it often happens, and others added with some alterations, so that *Chinilao*† changed into *Ceylan*.

Of the name of *Traprobana*, under which the Greeks and Latins made it known, although we find no trace or resemblance to it in the whole Island, being alien to the whole East. Or the author of it might have been Ptolemy, as some wish to denote (from some occult property of the land, as it often happens), or some historian before him.

There is no doubt that the Calvinists are also in error when they make *Traprobana* to be the same as *Samatra*, these islands being so far apart, the latter being in the Golden Chersonese of *Malaca*, whilst *Ceylan* is many leagues away from it, as learnedly testify John de Barros, Blas Virgas, Gaspar Barreiros, and Diego de Couto.

To their writings I refer the curious, adding to the conjectures which they offer to prove that the Romans had a

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* Lańká.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† This information and what follows is taken over by the Abbé le Grand in his translation of Ribeyro's *History of Ceylon*.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

trade with the Island from the time of the Emperor Claudius, during whose reign (as Pliny remarks) it was discovered by a freedman of Anio Proclamo. Moreover (for further testimony are) the chains, trinkets, and coins which were found in the Fort of *Manar* in the year 1575 with the effigy and inscription of that emperor. Also (from the evidence of) those who went about searching and discovering anew in the famous ruins which time had preserved as witness to the greatness, in the district of *Mangulcorla*, of a remarkable population, celebrated enough in the romances and poems of the *Zingalas*, that serve them as chronicles, the name of *Amuraiapura*,* which signifies "the city of ninety kings," from the many that ruled it; putting aside the fables which they relate to illustrate its foundation, antiquity, and grandeur. The marvellous construction and architecture of its buildings appear to be Roman work, particularly that of a palace which contains one thousand six hundred columns of the finest marble, in a style of workmanship never used in any part of the East,† and a temple with 366 pagodas dedicated to each day in the year: twenty-four of strange grandeur and magnificent stone carving. Equalling that number are the tanks (or rather small lakes) and dams which encompass this site, and one so great that its circuit is more than seven leagues, having many aqueducts and sluices which open and shut as the necessity of danger demands. Of the genius and singularity of these works, and of the similarity they hold in common with what we have seen of the Roman works, many argue that they were also the constructors; but as this is only a surmise, it is right that everyone should moderate his belief with curiosity, finding out first, and not seeking to create from antiquity any other evidences than what time has preserved, as readable, worn out, and varied by its effects, and only permanent in its changes.

To return to our Island. Its monarchy having been one of

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* Anurádhapura.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† Presumably the so-called Brazen Palace, or *Mahá-lówa-páya.*—B., *Hon. Sec.*

the largest and most powerful in the East, it gradually grew weaker and weaker than what it had once been, and it proved what a philosopher once said in comparing the prosperity and greatness of kingdoms and states to the ebb and flow of the sea. In the beginning it was governed as an empire, but afterwards it was divided into many small states; the greater subjects began to call themselves lords, then princes, and from rebellious tyrants became kings, usurping under that title the jurisdiction and lordship of lands which they marked out in their greed by force, being by right of arms all that remained to them, and with the power the title to reign. In this way the Island was divided into many states; there appeared more chieftains or titulary persons than princes: for within a space of eighty leagues to the west there were the kingdoms of *Cota* and *Columbo*, then of *Reigan*, and in the extreme southern point that of *Gale*, which borders on the east with that of *Jaula*, and on the north that of *Seitavaca; Candia* and *Uva* are in the heart of the Island, and to the east of it *Vilacen:* the maritime parts opposite these being *Batecalou* in the east and *Cota* in the west; then more removed *Triquilamale*, *Soufragaò*, *Maturé*, and *Cotiar*, and above all, in ten degrees north, lies the port of *Jafanapatan*, with the island of *Manar.**

There was only a shadow of its ancient power left when the Portuguese dominion took over the Island. It was divided again, altering not only the form of Government, but also the names of its kingdoms, for those which were under our jurisdiction were reduced to provinces, leaving only with the name of kings those of *Candia*, *Uva*, *Jafanapatan*, with those of the *Varias*,† *Disavas* (which are like unto our Counts), part of *Batecalou*, *Pacardiva*, and *Balane*, all feudatories to this Crown, and also its bitterest foes. The remaining lands under the name of *Corlas*, which correspond to Provinces, were brought under

* Kóṭṭé; Colombo; Rayigama; Galle; Yálé; Sítávaka: Kandy; Úva; Velassa; Batticaloa; Trincomalee; Sabaragamuwa; Mátara; Koṭṭiyáru; Jaffna; Mannár.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† Wanniyas.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

the Government of four *Disavas*, who resembled in a way the Tetrarchs of Judæa or the Viceroyships of Spain. These last, of which there are thirty-one in all, were subdivided into districts called *Patos;* but the name of *Corla* is especially appropriated to the three kingdoms in general, in the same way as the general name of Arragon includes others of the same name. Thus the kingdoms of the Two, Four, and Seven *Corlas* all have the same common name, which is added to all the provinces ; two *Disavas* have their seats in *Soufragaò*, *Seven Corlas*, and *Maturé*, and to their government is added that of *Batecalou* which lies within their boundaries. The districts of *Cotiar* and *Triquilamale* are subject to the Captain in command at *Jafanapatan*, who only differs from the *Disavas* in name, because his judicial powers and authority are the same.

On one side of the Island in the country of *Seitavaca* is a mountain range called by the natives *Amalalà Saripadi*,* which is the same as the land of Eve, and commonly called "Adam's Peak." It rises gradually, and ultimately divides into two ranges of unequal height. On the summit of the highest is a level space of moderate circumference, in the middle of which is to be seen a building, large enough for two tombs, supported on massive boulders, and well in the centre is traced the indentation of a man's foot, somewhat larger than the ordinary size, according to Diego de Couto, to whom I refer for true information ; although others make it three palms in length, and the Calvinists (Hollanders), with their usual lying, exaggerate it into seven, a size incredible for monstrosity. The impression is so distinct that it appears as if it had been stamped on wax. At the foot of this ridge is a stream, in which the pilgrims who come up to visit this sanctuary wash and purify themselves

* *Amalalá Saripadi:* "Hámalel," said to be one of the names of the Peak. Jacob Bryant, in his *New System of Mythology* (Camb., 1767), says this without any change is Ham-al-eel—Ham the Sun. The Hindus describe Adam's Peak by the term Swargarrhanum, "The ascent to heaven." [Samanala; Ṣrí-páda.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

beforehand, for this place is held in great superstition and veneration by every race in the East, who all contribute to its worship, and make numbers of pilgrimages. After their ablutions they dress themselves with great care in new clothes and then go on ascending, hauling themselves up in many places with cords, iron chains, and ropes ; so difficult and dangerous is this part that it usually staggers the boldest ; and after their bodies are parched by the sun they esteem and look upon them with the same veneration as if they had been relics. Midway up there is a bell which the travellers strike, then make an examination of their conscience ; if it sounds, they are pure and worthy to kiss the footprint. The infidels think variously on it, for the Gentiles say that it is a prophet, whom they call *Budon*, which means "Wisdom," whom they say being the son of a great monarch of the whole East, retired to this spot, where he underwent great penance, afterwards becoming to be worshipped as god ; with a great following of disciples he passed over to Pegu. Inspired by prayer and fasting he left that impression which was miraculously stamped on the ground as a pledge and token of so great a master. And the tooth, which is usually considered to have belonged to a monkey, the Viceroy Don Constantino de Braganza found in *Jafanapatan*, of which we shall speak about in due time. With the lie is mixed up many other lies, celebrating the life and miracles of their prophet, which in many things conform with what is written about St. Joseph, as Diego de Couto notices, making him to be the Buddha *(el Budon)*, and it is very probable that the devil, to confound and throw disbelief on the life of this holy being, surrounds him with fable.

The Moors believe that in this place is Adam's tomb, and that the footprint is his, because he was a giant.

It was an error of some Hebrews to say that our first parents were giants, and so tall that they passed over the sea on foot from the primæval earth about Paradise to Syria, for we gather from Holy Scripture that the giants began

after the death of Adam. Adam being made by the hand of God, came out of the earth so complete and perfect in stature, features, proportion, and beauty, that none of the perfect men succeeded in keeping up that perfection, and such terrible hugeness would savour more of the monster than of man ; and if the giants had come first they would have produced ugliness and not beauty.

This is the pretence under which they worship the footprint. The Calvinists (for we leave them in an error, which they do not prove) follow the false ideas of the Moors, who make out that in this place was the terrestrial paradise, which fable they strengthen with the name, the fertility, and situation of the Island and of the four rivers which water it, whose sources are in Adam's Peak. If there are authors who confirm this, it is contradicted in a manner by all the learned, who demonstrate it by the most solid arguments, being contrary to what Holy Scriptures say, and he would be a bold man who would swear to its truth.

Diego de Couto presumes that the footprint might be that of the Apostle St. Thomas.

In proof of this notion, it is true that in the province of Tucuman,* on the American mainland, and in Peru, are shown in several places impressions of footprints stamped on the ground and similar to this one, as some persons affirm who have seen them, of whom Diego de Couto does not speak ; and although the natives are barbarians without religion, and live according to their natural and corrupt laws in the depraved vices with which the devil has steeped them, they have a tradition that the footprints are those of the glorious Apostle St. Thomas. It is also true that close to Bahia, in a hermitage of St. Thomas, is another footprint, which it is said belongs to the same saint. Others assert that from its worship began the idolatry of India ; but who can get at the facts of a thing of such antiquity surrounded with doubt and difficulty ? The truth is, that the devil, always on the

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* In Rio de la Plata.

alert for the destruction and perdition of souls, has, with whatever is marvellous of this wonder, mixed up and confounded it with a host of superstitions and lies, so that it appears to be his own invention for somewhat of the same reason we have just been discussing.

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## CHAPTER II.

### Of the Origin and Lineage of the Emperors of Ceylan to the arrival of the Portuguese.

There are few kingdoms, if any, on earth into which there has not been introduced a religion of some kind or other, whether it be false or true ; for the divine and the marvellous with certain natural phenomena attract so easily the minds of men as to subject them and take away their freedom, which is the most precious thing in life.

The same thing happened in *Ceylan ;* for it is related in poetry, that the people who migrated from the other side of the Ganges towards the east lived like wild beasts, without Government, laws, or social ties, in caves, mountains, and forests. These coming one day to the plains of *Tanaçarim*, which has since given its name to the kingdom, they were waiting for the rising of the sun, whose light they worshipped. When, with the first rays which spread over the horizon, the earth opened up, and suddenly from its bowels issued out a man in the prime of life, of such beauty and majesty that they felt compelled to prostrate themselves to the ground, worshipping and praying him to tell them who he was, and from whence he came ? He replied, that he was the son of the sun and the earth, and sent from heaven to guide and govern them. They received him for king, and on account of their veneration for the marvellous event, and the awe they held him in, it was easy for him to unite them into a nation. He founded towns, made governors, instituted laws, and introduced commerce, and with the help of arms

extended his kingdom, which surpassed all the other Oriental states, ruling over the land up to forty degrees north.

This empire remained to the descendants of this miraculous prince for more than two thousand years ; and five hundred years before the coming of Christ was the time when it most flourished.

*Vigia-raju*, hereditary son of the last monarch of *Tanaçarin*, became, through his vices, so hated by his vassals, that his own father resolved to banish him from his empire in order to please his subjects, to whom he was more a father than to his own son—an action worthy of a just king, who places the welfare of the kingdom before that of his own flesh and blood.

Expelled from the monarchy and disinherited for his depravity, *Vigia-raju* took with him four hundred young nobles,* who had been his companions in education and debauchery, and embarked in search of new shores and lands to live in. The first land he discovered was the Island of *Ceylan*, until then uninhabited ;† and delighted with the fertility of the land and its situation, he made up his mind to live in it, and married the daughter of a neighbouring prince on the opposite shore, who, knowing *Vigia-raju*, desired to be related to him on account of his celestial lineage, sent over with the princess many of the principal and most noble women of his kingdom for the other exiles. His subjects began by

* Burnouf conjectures that the point from which Vijaya set sail for Ceylon was the Godavery, where the name of Bandar-mahá-laṉká (the port of the great Laṉká) still commemorates the event. De Couto, recording the Siṉhalese tradition as collected by the Portuguese, says he landed at *Preature* (Periyaturai), between Trincomalie and Jaffna, and that the first city founded by him was Mántoṭa. (*Decade*, V. I. L. C., 5.)

† The early inhabitants of Ceylon before Vijaya were said to be the *Yakkho*, or demons, and *Nágas*, or snakes. About the female *Rákshasis* or demons, Hwieen Thsang, the Chinese traveller of the seventh century, says, they continually were on the look out for the merchants who landed in the Island; they assumed the forms of beautiful women, and coming before them with sweet smelling flowers and musical instruments, enticed them into the iron town. Then they feasted them and gave themselves up to their carnal appetites, after which they shut the merchants up in iron cages and eat them up one after the other.

worshipping their prince *Vigia-raju* with all the adulation and reverence due to a god; they introduced the *Cambaja*, which was more a religious ceremony of adoration than of courtesy, for they prostrated themselves on the ground when they addressed him, a custom formerly used by the *Curimavas* (the name under which those idolaters, the descendants of the sun, were known). So great was the superstition with which these men looked upon all to whom they were subjects, and whom they chose for princes. He became one of the most powerful in the east, governing the whole Island as an absolute monarch.

Having no sons he left the kingdom to one whom he made his heir, under whose male descendants the empire lasted until king *Boenagabo-pandar*, who, having two brothers, the second he named king of *Reygan*, and the last, called *Madumepandar*, he made king of *Ceittavaca*, retaining for himself the kingdom of *Cota*, with the supreme title of Emperor of the Island.*

*Madune*, envying the superior greatness of his brother, resolved to dispossess him, and began a long civil war, which ended in his ruin; for *Boenagabo* sought the aid of the Portuguese, with whom he had entered into close friendship; for he was the first who had correspondence with them when they entered the Island,† and they upheld his empire and reputation as long as he lived. He had only one daughter, and wishing to preserve the male descent of his illustrious race, he chose for son-in-law a prince, although poor, of high birth, whose name was *Trioulipandar*, and whose ancestors on both sides were of the Sun caste. From this marriage was born a son called *Dramabellabaopandar*,‡ who in after years was sworn in as Prince of *Ceylan* in Lisbon by

* Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., 1534-42 A.D. (Kóṭṭé); Rája Siṇha Rája, *alias* Rayigam Baṇḍára (Rayigama); Máyádunné, 1534-81 A.D. (Sítávaka).—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† A misstatement. The Portuguese first entered Ceylon during the reign of Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX. (accession 1508 A.D.).—B., *Hon. Sec.*

‡ Dharmmapála Baṇḍára, afterwards christened Don Juan (1542-97 A.D.).—B., *Hon. Sec.*

King John III., his grandfather for this reason sending with his ambassadors an effigy of his grandson as vassal of the crown.

This prince, the *Chronicle* of S. Francisco and the Padre Gonzaga call *Parcapandar*;* and they say that, desirous of becoming a Christian, he sent with this embassy a petition for some Franciscan priests to be sent from Portugal to baptize him, and preach the Christian law in *Ceylan*. Six of them were sent from the *Provincia*† of Portugal, having for their prelate Fray Juan de Villa de Conde; but when they arrived in the Island they found the king had changed his mind, and the result was that he did not become a Christian. Fray Juan had great disputes for the space of fifteen days with the Moorish priests and learned men, and confounded them so by his arguments that they were convinced, and did not venture to contend any more with our friar, who, to prove the truth of his doctrine, offered to walk through the fire with one of their head priests. After this the king precluded them from preaching in *Ceylan*. Although many came and were converted, he tried to prevent conversion by great punishments; he killed his son for having become a Christian, and confiscated the property of many of the principal nobles of his household for the very same reason.

This persecution lasted until his death, when he was succeeded by his grandson in the year 1540, who, being deposed by *Raju*,‡ a bastard son of *Madune* his uncle, retired to a convent of Franciscans, where he was baptized, and taking the name of *Don Juan Priapandar* to the time of his death. Seeing himself without issue he gave over the inheritance and succession of his empire to the Crown of Portugal.

This prince left an elder brother of his own name (not the same whom Diego de Couto mentions, who was of another

* Chron. de San Francisca, 4 p., c. 51, page 59; P. Gonz., 4 p., fol. 1208.
† *Provincia* means a certain number of convents under a Provincial.
‡ Rája Siṇha I., 1581-92 A.D. (Sítávaka).—B., *Hon. Sec.*

branch), whom the Viceroy Don Alonso de Noroña in the second year of his government brought to Goa, and from thence to Portugal, where he was honoured at the court with the title and the ceremonial due to a Count, and returning to Goa married a Portuguese lady; shortly afterwards he died without leaving any children, and was buried in San Francisco de Goa. He was, I believe, the last legitimate prince of *Ceylan*, and with him became extinct the celestial race of the Sun.

For *Raju*, now tyrant of the whole empire, was a bastard; he had *Drama* for son, who was also illegitimate, being born of a common prostitute, and for that reason it was never known who his real father was: perhaps a barber or surgeon of *Ceittavaca*, according to public opinion, as the Calvinists relate, although that is not very certain, for evil report and perfidy of all kinds so easily becomes a fixed opinion, however doubtful it may be. But the tyrant being a great soldier was a favourite, because of his generosity and partiality to the vices of his profession. He killed the Raja, his father, together with his three legitimate sons: his ambition to reign overruling all other natural instincts which induce men, by that secret power of consanguinity, to love their fathers as the authors of their being, and for the life they owe them. This barbarian was so cruel that after he obtained the empire he sought only to preserve it by the same tyrannical measures he had used in usurping it, so that he drew down upon him the hatred of his principal subjects, who killed him by poison, delivering over the empire to the Portuguese. They by this time had already conquered it by right of lordship, as well as by their nomination to the succession from the last legitimate Emperor *D. Juan Priapandar*, also by the common right of inhabiting it and wrenching it from the hands of the infidels as unjust possessors, for denying the glory which they owe, as rational creatures, to their God and Creator, Lord and Judge.

Therefore it is by the common laws of justice that we should conquer them and govern them, seizing all until

we made them capable of reason, teaching and ministering unto them the true belief and evangelical law; then, if they will not adore and recognize the true God, worship and reverence Him by divine, human, and natural laws, they merit (as the Ishmaelites did) the penalty of death and the confiscation of all their goods. Albeit in the beginning it was the common opinion of the Spanish theologians (and as they advised the Emperor Charles the Fifth) that it was not lawful to set out on the conquest of souls in the same way as to the hunting of wild beasts, baptizing and compelling belief by force; for souls should be governed by free will and by the grace and help of God, which alone are of any value in vocations.

In this way the Portuguese first treated them, making use of navigation, treaty, and commerce for their redemption; but, disabused by their inhumanity and barbarism, and seeing that the *Zingalas* were enemies to nearly the whole human race, they used force to domesticate them, priests to teach them, and legislators to make them understand that they were men, and to maintain them in the received faith; for it was thus God gave the power to teach his gospel, so they had to take the proper means to convert the Gentiles and protect the converted. On these principles, which were for the glory of God and the universal good of the Church, the high pontiffs, lords, and keepers of the souls of the universe had the power to distribute amongst the faithful of the Roman Church the lands which were in possession of those who were not her subjects, nor members of its spiritual yoke, who were therefore incapable of enjoying the benefit of our laws so long as they remained in their idolatry. They divided the dominion of a new world between the two monarchs, the pillars of the Church, as were the kings of Castile and Portugal, with ample donations, and to whose title was added the infallible right to the conquest of *Ceylan* as the share of the Portuguese. The tribute of vassalage which *Boenagabo-pandar* was obliged to pay King Don Manuel, through Don

Lourenzo de Almeida,* who was the first Portuguese to land in the Island sword in hand (his father Don Francisco de Almeida being Viceroy of India at the time), four hundred *bares* of cinnamon, which is equal to two thousand quintals of our weight, each *bar* weighing five quintals. But this tribute being nearly all lost, he renewed it twelve years afterwards during his government, reducing it by five *bares* of cinnamon, and adding in its place twelve *surtijas* (rings) of rubies and sapphires and as many elephants; and then he built the Fort of *Columbo*, and placed in it a captain and officers, more for the protection of the factory and their trade than for any idea of ruling over the land with a garrison.

The King of *Cota* with our assistance and friendship grew both in reputation and power; and *Madume* his brother, forming an alliance with the *Camorin* † and other Malabar princes, never once ceased to molest him, waging continual war on him by sea and by land; by which *Columbo* became one of the most dangerous places of arms in India, and a school where military valour was proved and military discipline learnt. For the *Zingalas*, naturally warlike, had become bolder by the prolonged struggle, had increased in strength and courage, and had acquired dexterity and knowledge in the use of arms, being equally careless of life and ambitious of honour: on the other hand the Portuguese fought more with the renown of their victories than with the very limited help the State and

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* Don Lourenzo d'Almeida, son of Don Francisco d'Almeida of the blood royal. Don Francisco d'Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India, was sent out by King Don Manuel, who resolved to govern by his ablest officers, raised to *quasi*-regal powers. Don Francisco was accompanied by his son Don Lourenzo as Chief Captain of the Sea. He left Lisbon 25th March, 1505, with 20 keel carrying 15,000 men.

Mas sis outro, cantava, intitulado
Vem com nome Real, a tray comsigo
O filho, que no mar sera illustrado.—*Os Lusiados*, Canto X., 26.

"Behold now! she sang, 'another comes of Royal name, and with him he brings his son, who on the sea will be illustrious.'"

† The Zamorin of Calicat.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

Captains gave them for the defence and safety of the Emperor and King *D. Juan.*

At whose death, and the resignation of his grandson (already mentioned), our forces began the work of conquest, being already masters of the greater part of the Island, which was abandoned by the *Zingalas* after they rebelled against the tyrant *Drama.*

For the better management of their supreme government it was necessary for a person of higher rank and greater authority than the ordinary Captains of *Columbo*, who until then had governed and commanded the armies, although their post had always been occupied by noblemen.

Matias de Alboquerque being Viceroy of India, nominated Pedro Lopes de Souza (until then Captain of *Malacca*) to be Governor and Captain-General of the Island of *Ceylan*, of whose end we shall say something when we relate the war with *Candia.*

To Pedro Lopes succeeded Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, in whose time the Emperor *D. Juan* died. For eighteen years he governed the possession with fitful fortune, and passing over from this post to the vice-regal post of India, left in his place Don Francisco de Menezes, who had been up till then his Field-Captain-Major, as they were called by his Lieutenants and Camp Master-Generals.

After a year he died, and was succeeded by Don Francisco Manuel Homem Mascareñas, who during the ten years he governed acted with valour and prudence, bravely opposing the designs of the king of *Candia*, the most formidable enemy we had in the Island, and against whom a cruel and obstinate war had waged. Amongst the laudable acts this knight did during his Government was the division and distribution of the *aldeas* (villages), which were subject to us (they are what in the West Indies are called *encomiendas* or charges). They were very numerous, and as they gave the chief ones to his arbitration, there was no lack of rewards, nor of pay for the services.

At the death of Manuel Homen, his post was filled by Don Nuño Alveres Pereira, second son of the Count de la Feyra, of many and illustrious services.

Now, at this time the great part of the Island was in open rebellion, following the summons of *Madune*, descendant of the old one, who, as native Prince, drew over to him almost all the *Zingalas*, and principally two famous rebels, whose names were *Cangarache* and *Barreto*. They at one time were faithful to the Portuguese, but afterwards, being convicted of high treason against the Divine and human Majesty, were forced into an alliance with *Madune*, more for their own selfish interests than for any patriotic cause; but using that name as a subterfuge to remove the susceptibilities of the *Zingalas*, they remained ready to help them in their need.

Don Nuño Alveres worked hard to pacify the Island, using milder remedies than what the disease called for, infidelity being at the root, the most contagious disease that could happen to the republic; it appeared impossible to cure it other than by drastic measures, and as he did not use them, he did nothing more but superficially heal it, leaving the souls in the same diseased state as he found them, that it may be said although he ended the war, he did not obtain peace; for within the Island there remained the smouldering fires of discord, the rebels proud, powerful, and rich, with great retinues and numbers of followers, and the King of *Candia*, not like a barbarian, but making the best of the occasion, and fully aware of the opportunity he had of extending his territories, seeing the straits Don Nuño Alveres was in, and that it offered him peaceful means of getting advantages, which he could not get otherwise than by victorious arms. Like Sertorious, as Plutarch relates, when at the lowest ebb of fortune, showed himself more unyielding, prouder, and more active than ever, he refused the easy terms of peace which the triumphant Romans offered him, and would have nothing less than the restoration of his country.

He came to propose terms to the General if he would concede the lands of *Triquilamale*, *Batecalou*, *Pamniva*, and part of *Balane*, which that prince very much desired and pretended to without any more right than that of convenience and neighbourhood, remaining with these lands lord over the greater part of the Island, with free trade and entry to the northern enemies, his ancient confederates. Don Nuño Alveres met these demands as a soldier, and answered with caution to the conditions of peace which the King of *Candia* proposed ; much more so when he saw that the title alone was given as a dowry by the Emperors of *Cota*, and placed us in possession of the coasts of *Ovorocalava*.* But at this time this conquest was not favourable to the wishes of the Indian states, and badly off for both men and money, more than ever necessary to Don Nuño Alveres, he was compelled, rather than perish by their hands, to sign a peace, declaring at the same time that it would only take effect with the sanction of His Majesty, or that of the Viceroy of India.

This declaration appeared more to preserve the credit of the General and a motive for a new war than any resolution to finish the old one, for the peace was not only considered an insult to the prestige of the Portuguese, but also detrimental to the conquest, especially when it made the King of Kandy more powerful. But considering what Socrates advised to princes and subjects that they never should make bonds of friendship nor alliance with any who were in the habit of breaking them, that those alone are friends whose friendship is useful, Don Nuño Alveres well understood that the merest pretext would be sufficient to break down the peace. He depended only on the authority of His Majesty for any decisive action with them, and under this pretext he sheltered himself from present danger, and whatever he might have apparently lost he did not lose so very much after all to the Crown, for the King of *Candia* remained its vassal with a

* Nuwarakaláviya.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

tribute of two elephants a year, which was an acknowledgment that he knew the straits we were in, and the idolater gave in easily so as not to push us to extremities.

Such was the state of affairs in *Ceylan* when our Constantino de Sá, who succeeded Don Nuño Alveres, arrived to govern it.

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## CHAPTER III.

### The Authority, Jurisdiction, and Forces of the Portuguese Generals in the Island; its Fertility, Religion, Rites, and Customs of the Natives.

It was a matter of serious deliberation to the Crown of Portugal the election of a Captain-General and Governor for the Government of *Ceylan*, for besides this title, which was very necessary to give prestige to the conquest, it was moreover a subject of the greatest importance as to the forces which were to accompany him, his powers of administration to enable him to govern with equal authority both in peace and war time. Considering all these things, he represented to the *Zingalas* the person and authority of their Emperors; they made to him the *Zumbaya* (profound reverence), called him Highness, and used all the insignia of royalty. The administration of justice was done verbally without any further judicial procedure; all cases were disposed of by his arbitration alone. He also elected the *Modeliares* (judges), who assisted him with their counsel and votes, also two *Motiares* (secretaries)* for the despatch of ordinary business. In these functionaries were combined all the tribunals of the Government, over whom ruled, with absolute power, the General, preserving at the same time the suzerainty of the native princes: but, as they were so barbarous, and distinguished nothing between the divine and

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* Mudaliyárs, Mohoṭṭiyás.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

the human, profanely mixing up religion with politics, the Christian zeal of the Portuguese separated everything which belonged to ecclesiastical government from secular jurisdiction; tempering many excesses which savoured of tyranny, such as the cupidity of the Emperors who inherited from their vassals, defrauding them of their own legitimate rights by taking a third part of every inheritance, which made the sovereign always one of the heirs of the family.

The Governors held their court in *Malmuana*, three leagues from *Columbo*, in sumptuous palaces at a place they called *Rosapani*.* Here three times in each year came to visit them the principal *Zingalas* of the Island, who brought with them large presents as a sign of their friendship and allegiance, a custom derived from the Government of their own princes, who, like all tyrants, know no law but their own selfishness and greed; but this was discountenanced by our General, because of the danger it incurred of corrupting the integrity of the Chief Magistrates by these baits for cupidity.

When the Governor made journeys through the Island, the people received him with much feasting, and his entry was made through triumphal arches, the magistrates and citizens prostrating themselves on the ground to give him welcome. His progress is with great state and ostentation, and even more so when on any warlike expedition.

The strength of the militia was kept up and regulated according to the necessity of the times: it was raised or disbanded as the Viceroy of India considered necessary for the conquest of the Island, although that was always kept up by a standing camp of the Portuguese army at *Manicaravaré*,† conveniently situated on the Kandyan frontier at a distance of seven leagues, and nine from Colombo. It was under the command of the Master-General of the camp, who, with the rank of Captain-Major, had the power and state of a Governor.

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* See *ante*, p. 431, note. The Governor-Generals were styled "Kings of Malváne" (*Ribeyro*, Cap. X.).—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† Mẹnikkaḍavara, in Beligal Kóralé.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

It was a post usually filled by only the most capable and deserving, for it was the most important one in the Island, to which the whole military force was subordinate.

The native levies called *Lascarins*, and the more plebeian *Pachas*,* were under the *Modeliares*, *Araches*, and *Disawas*; the first were like the Masters of Camp, and the others the same as Captains of Infantry. They usually lived in their own houses, and were enlisted when the General required their services; and as a surety for their fidelity they received as salary the rental of villages.

The pay of the Portuguese was very limited: the General only received 4,000 *xarafines* ($60\frac{1}{2}$ *reales*), his Lieutenant 1,000 *xarafines*, the Captains 200, and the *soldados* 20, over and above the ordinary rations of food and drink they got in billeted quarters at the public expense: and in these there was no rigorous law which they did not profess with pain of death, and if peradventure they escaped the bullet, they did not escape the Captain's punishment, so that these quarters may be termed barracks rather than lodgings.

Besides the ordinary paid soldiery, the four *Disawas* who governed the provinces had others enrolled and always ready at the General's call, who had the provision of all the places, posts, governments, villages (*aldeas*), *Disawas*, regiments, companies' governments, their wages, and other advantages the Island contained at her disposal.

At this time we held, scattered over it, the fortresses of *Columbo*, *Negumbo*, *Galle*, *Sofragaò*, *Beligao*, and *Manar*. The first three contained a great number of Portuguese with the privileges of cities. The chief town of all and capital of the whole empire was *Columbo*, containing more than a thousand closely packed houses, a city raised on the ruins of *Cota*, usurper of its dominion and fortunes, and posted at two leagues from it. On the western coast of the Island, surrounded by a lagoon, stood the fort, built on a promontory jutting out into the sea for a short distance,

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* Siṇ. *Paḍuvá*.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

which, forming a small bay, left open and exposed to the north winds, made a very stormy roadstead. The naval power so necessary for the guard and security of the coast was little or nothing, for the royal revenues were small owing to the many expenses continually incurred by the ordinary allowances to the forces which were necessary to keep up our prestige, which had waned as the revenues became exhausted, and in order to prevent this a *Veedor de la hazienda** (what in Castile are called Accountant-Generals) was appointed over the Treasury who administered the accounts.

In this way the Island of *Ceylan* was governed in military and civil affairs, always keeping in view the increase of Christianity, which was the main object of the Generals by command of their sovereign. Many orations, which in the Western Indies are called doctrines, were delivered by the religious orders of the Franciscans and Jesuits, who, in the name of the Apostles, never ceased a single moment by word or deed for the conversion of souls; and although the harvest was great, still the greater number of the *Zingalas* was saturated with superstition by their contact and union with the *Moros* (Moors), of whom there were a great number in the Island, and when they were converted to our religion it was often to suit their own convenience, remaining in it as long as it served their interests, and apostatizing the moment anything happened to thwart them ; so that they never were greater heathens than when they appeared to be Christians. They were naturally stiff-necked and deaf to the voice of the gospel, like unto those idolaters of *Malabar*, whose superstitions and customs they usually follow, being more prone to the worship and veneration of idols than all the nations of Asia, which many make of the most irrational thing they meet with during the day. In many ways they

* *The Veedor de la hazienda*, "the Upper Surveyor of the king's goods."—It was the most important office in Ceylon as well as at Goa, where he was next to the Viceroy himself. As there was no efficient audit of his accounts, and it was no crime for a Portuguese at this period to cheat the King of Spain, his embezzlements were on a vast scale.

appear to be the apes of our ritual, for they have priests whom they call *Changatares*,* who live in monasteries, chant in unison, walk in processions, and go about with their heads shaved ; clothed, as a rule, in yellow gowns, and like madmen walk about muttering to themselves ; people look up to them with great veneration ; but those who hold the first place and are looked upon as saints are the *Jogues*,† almost the shadow of, or corresponding unto, the Gymnosophists of the Ethiopians ; these last wander from pagoda to pagoda, and for penitence and vices the devil has no greater martyrs. Only in the succession of estates is there any great difference between the *Zingalas* and *Malabars*, for the former adhere to the natural laws of inheritance to the sons and not to the nephews, if we are to believe Diego de Couto as an eye-witness against that which the author of the *Life of St. Francis Xavier* says to the contrary.

As to what relates to the customs, the cause of the Island's fertility and cheapness, and to the natural corruption which predominates there more than in any other part, there is not a prouder, more sensual, and vainer race in all the East than the *Zingalas*, nor one which hates more agricultural labour or any other labour for the acquisition of property : for they are contented with little or nothing, not through lack of greed, but from over-confidence. Since with only four *larins* (equal to two *reales*) they fancy themselves rich, and afterwards become vain ; although I think this vanity may have been somewhat caught from their communication with the Portuguese : for defects and vices adhere to one more easily than virtues do. By this false parsimony they are born in poverty, living disgracefully, and taking such little care of

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* *I. e.*, those who practice *Saṅgata* (Siṇ.), the religious observances of Buddhism.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† *Jogee*, S. Hind. *Jógi :* Hindú ascetic, and sometimes conjuror.—One who practices Yoga, a system of meditation combined with austerities, which is supposed to induce miraculous power over elementary matter. In fact the stuff which of late has been propagated in India by certain persons under the name of Theosophy and Enteric Buddhism, which is essentially the doctrine of the Jógis.

their families and children that when they die they leave their money buried, which they had kept hidden with such secrecy that it might be kept as a fund for their resurrection, —a Pythogorean superstition they continually follow, but for which they also accuse the covetousness of the princes who had despoiled them of their inheritance. But neither this nor greater tyrannies ever ruffled the unswerving constancy, esteem, and love they showed towards their native princes, hating so much foreign yoke that they could not believe in any generosity even when assisted (so miserable was their nature): for any rebel who pretended to free them from slavery, they were always ready to lose both their lives and property in order to recover their freedom. To the Portuguese they were usually traitors in word and deed, and it is very true what an historian remarks about them, that they are a people full of lies, fraud, and treachery, considering they derived their origin from the Chinese, the most treacherous nation on earth, and on the other hand from the aborigines of the Island, whose evil life was well known for its depravity. By this alliance it appears there came to be mixed up in their flesh and blood all the vice and corruption of their habits, preserving in their descendants the malice and depravity of their forefathers; yet, notwithstanding so many vices, they had still some moral virtues which might be set forth as an example to the Catholics, for they greatly detest robbery and theft, and have such confidence that they never put locks to the doors of their houses; and it is told of a Rája, wishing to put their confidence to the test, that he ordered all the black cattle with gold bells to be left to wander at large about the fields. It is marvellous the immutability and self-possession with which they look upon death, without changing countenance or uttering a word. They consider it noble not to kill their enemies by poison, and to obey with great submission and fidelity their superiors. They observe with such nicety all gradations of rank, separating the nobles from the common people, that in no way will they consent to intermarry with any one of unequal station or of different

caste or office, holding separate even the judges who decide common disputes from those who settle criminal cases. As they only consider the profession of arms (for peace is an accident with them, war the ruling custom), the *Modeliares*, *Araches*, and *Disavas* are their captains as well as their judges and magistrates. They know of no other titles, and are governed by the same laws and discipline in peace as in war time; for it was in that manner they gained their empire, and how they preserved and increased it. There is no doubt that this is why they became so warlike: the exercise of arms and contempt of death instilled more courage into them than they had given them by nature; for rarely we expose ourselves to danger without the feeling of self-preservation keeping us back, and although our courage might be increased by continual war, yet no spirit contemplates being carried off without some trepidation.

For this reason that profane Florentine politician commended so highly the ancient sacrifices, because it made men accustomed to kill and shed blood to look upon their own death with complacency, hardening their hearts, and making them courageous; and with still greater blasphemy he condemned the long-suffering patience the Gospel law teaches, commanding to forgive and tolerate the trespasses against us, and to love our enemies. He desired that vengeance should invariably be taken, because tolerance promoted both weakness, ignorance, and impiety, an error without reason and unworthy to be considered. For the generosity of one who pardons possesses qualities of a superior courage to the greatest worldly valour; since no one can compete with him who puts up with the contempt of an enemy he has forgiven, and no one wishes dead whom he does not fear alive. It is very certain that only the Gospel teaches true courage, as exemplified by the singular courage displayed by so many martyrs of all ages, irrespective of sex or position, and whom the Church glorifies, who showed themselves undaunted under the awful tortures inflicted by the greatest of tyrants. There are many other considerations which are

entirely opposed to the erroneous opinion of this blasphemer, even speaking politically ; for in the West Indies those who are continually in the habit of shedding blood in their sacrifices are great cowards, insomuch that a thousand of them will fly before the face of a single Spaniard, as related in the history of their discovery. And so with the *Zingalas* when the Portuguese landed : they had not the pluck to resist their arms ; but since then, by the practice and exercise of arms they have become brave, strong and healthy, swift runners, and sober.

So great is the power obtained by habit and exercise that cowards become brave men, and rude, uncultivated barbarians become disciplined warriors. It is for this reason Lycurgus and Scipio advised it prudent not to carry on a long, tedious war with any one nation ; and it has been proved by experience in the losses sustained by Rome during the Punic wars, by Spain in Grenada, and the Portuguese in Barbary, and particularly in the Flemish wars, and these last against the *Zingalas* in the East.

They go about naked above the waist, but from thence to the knee are covered with very ragged clothes ; their feet are bare, and on their head a cap they call *Topis*,* which come down over the cheeks. In colour they approach the Mulattoes of Spain. Although many of them are born very fair, they become browner as they grow older : in figure they almost equal the Spaniards. The women have neat, well-made shapes, and are modest in bearing. They are more costly in their attire than the men, and wear bracelets and rings with stones of great price. They go about very trim from below the waist, their head and hair done up with great care and elegance, keeping all very clean and neat. So scrupulous are they, both men and women, that a *Zingala* will not eat whilst another carves, although he may be perishing with hunger. They are also very delicate about their food, which their wives usually prepare, who are very clever in the way

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* Siṇ. Port. *toppiya.*—B., *Hon. Sec.*

they cook their meats, preparing them with great taste and culinary knowledge in various appetizing ways of gastronomy in which they carry it out.

There is no doubt that *Ceylan* is the best piece of territory there is in the Indies. Wherever we look, whether it is on the sea, or the air, or the land, the mountains and forests are full of the best cinnamon in the world, and contain a hundred thousand other herbs and wild fruits so varied in fragrance, taste, and flavour, that they not only serve to glut every sense, but afford the ordinary food of the inhabitants and trade and traffic throughout the East.

The arecanut (*la areca*), the most valuable of all, is exported from this Island. It grows in bunches as thick as grapes, and as big as cypress apples. The trunk of the tree is like the palm in straightness, but thinner and drier. They use the nut and mix it with the betel leaf (*el betere*), a herb whose leaves climb like ivy, and with chunam (*el chunambo*), a kind of lime: this composition they make into a paste, which they usually have in their mouths, chewing it like goats; and it is perhaps owing to this custom that the Portuguese gave to the Indians the name of *cabras*. It preserves the teeth, strengthens the stomach to a certain extent, dries up all humidities, and completely stops salivation: it is regarded as a thing of great courtesy and nicety amongst the *Zingalas*. But what increases its value amongst these barbarians, and gives it such a trade, is that it nourishes the sensual organs: it is excessively hot, so much so that it excites the fire of their brutal passions. There are other trees like the quince (*los membrillos*), from whose flower is distilled a simple water, which excels in odour all that is prepared in Europe. The taste of some fruits is so excellent and delicious that the *Zingalas* go up the mountains on purpose to eat them, with nothing more than what nature gave them.

On the other side of the Island the rice they call *bate* is so abundant in the fields that it gave its name to the kingdom

of *Batecalou*.* So great is the variety of maize, grain, and vegetables, that in many places there are two or three harvests in the year from only one sowing, and whilst these are growing there are always others ripe and ready to be reaped.

The minerals and rocks produce an infinite number of rubies, sapphires, cats-eyes, emeralds, and other varieties of precious stones.

The sea, which is full of dainty fish, and washes ashore large pieces of amber, is one of the three great pearl fisheries in the East.

The air, notwithstanding the Torrid zone, is so pure, healthy, and delightful, that disease of any malignant and contagious type is scarcely known ; so that the Island is a perfect garden, always fresh and peaceful to the sight, irrigated perennially by many rivers—seventeen in number are the principal ones. The four parent streams have their sources in the summit of Adam's Peak, flowing downwards in numerous streams through the various kingdoms they bathe, as at *Malvana*, *Calaturé*, *Candia*, and *Maturé*, stopping up their current by dams in tanks, of which there are many, serving to irrigate the dry low lands. These rivers are usually navigable, and form in many places safe harbours capable of holding boats and even large vessels, so that the transport of goods and merchandise can be carried on by water instead of by land, which is swampy and full of creeks, without the necessity of dykes, as in Flanders. They are full of reptiles, some very poisonous, and huge crocodiles, strong enough to have been known to drag down two bullocks tied together: this makes the fords very dangerous. The small streams even are full of leeches, which are most troublesome. But mother nature has supplied the natives of Ceylon with equal providence with a herb which, when chewed, preserves from the effects of, and cures the most, deadly wounds. They call

* *Bate*—perhaps Siṇ. *bat*, "boiled rice." The derivation assigned to Batticaloa is, of course, fanciful.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

it "the snake-root"* (*Raiz de culebra*), and it is a great antidote for all kinds of evils. This plague is not confined to the rivers: the land is also infested.

Snakes abound; amongst them that called *de Capilla* is not the least noxious: although none come up to what the bears and *aléas*† do. These last are elephants without tusks, who are so savage and inimical to man, that they go out and lie in wait for him on the high roads. The tuskers, although less numerous in this Island, so productive of wild beasts, are reputed the best in all India for generosity and courage.

They (elephants) are acknowledged to be most obedient, governed only by natural instinct, which is wonderfully developed in these animals, and wonderful are the tricks that are told of them; by which they are of great service, and estimated at high prices in the East. They are the principal sinews of their armies, and always placed in the van, because of the impetus and ferocity of their charge; and for this reason His Majesty will not allow them to be taken out of the Island without his license, and the hunting of them is considered royal patrimony. They enjoy the privilege of being allowed to run free, and no one is allowed to kill them, unless they come and destroy the crops; so that among the wild beasts they have the ambition of being the lords and masters.

Notwithstanding all this vigilance, many are killed for the profit to be got from the ivory, out of which the *Zingalas* make very curious and clever things; for their genius, industry, and application at this sort of work have made them singularly clever and marvellous workmen.

Panthers (*tigres*) abound in the Island, but do not much harm. There are also civet cats, buffaloes, cows, which are used in cultivating the land, and are worth about a *pardão* each.

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* It is in the town of Diu where the famed snake stones. or *Pierres de cobra*, are made. They are composed of roots which are burnt to ashes; the cinders are collected and mixed with a kind of earth. They are again burnt with the earth, and after that a paste is made, out of which the stones are moulded. A little blood must be let from the wound with a needle, and the stone applied to it until it drops off itself.—*Thevenot.*

† Sin. *aliyá.*—B., *Hon. Sec.*

Game is plentiful, and of many kinds : for hunting there are wild boar, deer, stags ; and for minor sport, hares, *macareos* (which are like small goats), jungle-fowl, wild duck, pigeons, and turtle doves of various colours, and a great number of other birds, whose names are barely known. So vast are the jungles and the flocks so great that seventy hens are bought for a *pardão.*

Such are the customs, such the blessings, the riches, and fertility of the Island.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### WHO CONSTANTINO DE SÁ Y NOROÑA WAS. HIS ELECTION AS GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF CEYLAN.

THE Provinces and Kingdoms of the Island of *Ceylan* were in the state we have mentioned when Constantino de Sá came to govern it—the pious and holy King Don Philip II. of Portugal and III. of Castile then reigning over the Spanish monarchy. He was a native of Lisbon, a country as famous as his lineage, of which the Romans made no little boast, as if the qualities of the soul depended on the greatness and goodness of the country ; but to be born in one country more than in any other is a thing which neither adds to, nor detracts from, the qualities of the person. He was descended from the baronial family of the De Sás, whose ancient nobility sprang from the noblest colonists of Rome, although the true founder of the house is unknown. They came over to Portugal in the time of King Don Pedro the Cruel ; and afterwards, in the reign of Don John I., became lords and inheritors of lands and feudal vassals. For we find Juan Rodriguez de Sá already Lord of Sever and Grand Knight in his own right, without favour or fortune, and without any qualification or post, or any new name of lineage. He married the hereditary daughter of Luis de Aferedo, *Veedor de la hazienda*, who was married to Doña Aldonça de Menezes, daughter of the great hero Don Pedro de Menezes,

first Count of Villa-Real, and by this marriage in respect to a right of succession which Doña Aldonça bequeathed to her descendants, her sons called themselves Sás de Menezes, of whose name and house they are the chief, as in Portugal are called the Counts of Matosiños y Penaguion, the Grand Chamberlain of the properties of the Kings of Portugal. From this union sprang a grandson, Francisco de Sá de Menezes, whom they surnamed *De los Oculos*, a *Cavellero*, well known in the history of India for his name and services; and being by Doña Juana de Noroña, his mother, a grandson also of the Count of Odemira, he changed the name to Constantino de Sá de Menezes y Noroña. From this Francisco de Sá was born Martin Lourenço de Sá de Menezes, father of our Governor, a man of valour and reputation, who, after serving in the armies of the Coast and as *Frontero* (Warden of the Marches) in Ceuta some years, died at the age of thirty, leaving his son Constantino in charge of his grandfather, under whose care and instruction he received his first education.

He was at first intended for the Church; that is why he obtained some knowledge of letters, and distinguished himself not less in the gown than he did in arms. Constantino de Sá continued his studies at Lisbon, but left them off as soon as his grandfather Francisco de Sá died; when he became the head scion of his house, which was esteemed more for the memory of the founder than for its wealth. For this cavalier was not rich, because he never knew what avarice was, being one of the most distinguished men of his time, not only for his services, but for his high character, following them up through the most disastrous times and adversities of this kingdom, until the death and extinction of the royal race.* When his relations and companions offered him means of acquiring, by their example, riches and estates, he retired to his house at Belen, a suburb of Lisbon. All the reward he had was solitude and leisure; and some

* At the battle of Alcacerdo Sul.

years afterwards the idea of bringing up his grandson, who was born in 1586, preparing him to inherit with the property his valour, his disinterestedness, and his virtues. From these lessons our Constantino de Sá became a better student than those who studied with the brothers of the Company of Jesus at St. Anthony's College ; for throughout his life his aim was to gain honour and glory and to despise wealth. He was so ambitious of this that there was never seen one so anxious and so eager to obtain it : he undertook one thing after another, for he never was at a loss to know where to seek it, and never left off until he had gained his ends ; and it is certain that if the piety and religion of his soul was not greater than all his actions, it would appear that his God was his honour. A great many of his virtues were natural to him, yet he could not deny that the example and education he received from his grandfather had instructed him, and given him that determined character, never to swerve from the path of honour, which led him on to true virtue, and by this doctrine corrected the defects which are usually inborn with man.

From early youth fortune was against Canstantino de Sá, for it abandoned his grandfather at a time he most needed it ; but the old man's love, together with his forethought, made him think of providing for his grandson's life against his own death. He therefore chose for his tutors D. Juan d'Acosta and Mathias d'Alboquerque (who became Viceroy of India in after years), and who were both relations and intimate friends. Under this guardianship he brought up his grandson until he was eighteen years old, when he married a daughter of one of the Lords of Povo-lide, called Melo of the House of the Counts of Olivença, nobles of this kingdom. The struggle he had with life, and the retiring modesty which always kept Constantino back, would not allow him the leisure of married life ; and rather exchanging the sweet gifts of woman and the quiet of a family life for the rough military career, which was the life to which his inclination most led him, he embarked the very same year of the

wedding, which was 1607, on a coasting expedition. He joined it as a gentleman-at-arms; but he fell dangerously ill of a malignant fever, and returned home, where he wasted three years of ill-health, with little enjoyment, a close prisoner, and with new ties preventing him following up his wishes; for by this time he was father of two sons. But the spirit's yearnings are stronger than all worldly considerations, and nobody could prevent Constantino de Sá from going to *Mazagan* to serve as a *Frontero* with distinction and renown. He chose that post as being one of the three that Portugal held in Barbary, the most exposed to hostile incursions, and entered it in the year 1612, when Henrique Correa de Sylva was Governor; and giving satisfaction in the way he conducted himself, and the anxiety he showed to emulate his superiors, he returned home after two years and a half's service in that command: then he went to court to try for promotion. He received neither reward nor thanks for his services in Africa—the way the Kings of Portugal commonly treated the *Fronteros*, to whom they owed so much for the service to which they were appointed. Neither were fulfilled the many promises he had had made him in satisfaction for the great and signal services of his grandfather and other members of the family, of whom Constantino de Sá was the heir, although the personal effects were not many, yet what was owing to him by inheritance was sufficient to make him a creditor to his king. For every engagement and claim the prince is bound to satisfy subjects for the services they inherit from their ancestors, just as if they were still living, since they represent them personally. Also the king, by the contract he makes with those who serve him, makes himself liable to give remuneration, and remains a debtor of the reward to the successors; inasmuch that it is necessary for the Republic of which he is Chief and Administrator to insure its safety and to increase its power that all services should be paid for, and rewarded, according to merit and not according to fortune, and which does not require personal service from the heirs.

For the debt of a prince is not wiped out by the incapacity of the creditor, unless he may be in office or publicly employed, in which case his post should be filled up by the worthiest. It is then that he has to look for personal merit. The heirs only remain serving merely out of regard and consideration, their substantial qualities being required for the armies.

Despondency did not take away from Constantino de Sá his desire for the profession of war, and his own inclinations, rather than any prospect of new aspirations or hopes, made him determined to go to India. It was an extraordinary, or rather a fatal resolution, for it was condemned by his relations and deplored by his wife and children, of whom he had already four, and a fifth coming: it seemed as if the fates were summoning him to "the common sepulchre of the De Sás," as India was called by the knights of that race. But although this was the common complaint of the nobility of this kingdom, there was no doubt that numbers bearing this name had died in those parts occupying great posts more for glory than for wealth.

This example Constantino de Sá was forced to follow out of necessity, and because of the straits in which his family had been placed for many years. Leaving the court at last in March, 1614, he embarked for India on board the ship *Almiranta*, in which were other noblemen, and whose Captain was Paulo Rangel de Castel-Branco. But leaving Lisbon late in the season (a common mistake of the Government, and an old and almost irremediable error of its officials, whose mistakes and carelessness caused so many grave losses), they could not arrive at Goa that year; for when they reached the latitude of Socotra they had as a last resource to put back to *Mombaça*, an island on the African coast, close to the Ethiopian main. For a short time before the end of this long voyage the continual tempestuous weather, the want of provisions and putrefaction of the water, the contagious diseases which are produced on these coasts, with other disorders which usually accompany such disasters, might

have ended in some terrible shipwreck, exposed as they were to the mercy of the waves and of fate, before they reached *Magadoxo*, a Moorish city on the coast of Ethiopia, without knowing where they were. In that latitude they had sighted two vessels, and in the despair of lost beings Constantino de Sá put off in the ship's skiff (*esquife*) with four soldiers and ten sailors to find out what they were, and after chasing them for two days found that they belonged to the State, and returned with the good news to his companions. Seven hundred were down with sickness, and the few remaining were almost all untrustworthy, without experience, and unwilling to work; so that when they saw themselves about to perish from starvation and thirst, they began to fill the ship with mutiny and sedition, which was the worst calamity of all, persuading themselves that it was the Captain's fault that they were in that peril. It was then that Constantino de Sá, having consumed all his stores and his own portion, which he freely distributed, divided his clothes and apparel, selling all he had, even to his trinkets, to relieve the sick and help the poor.* He was the rock and mainstay of all on board, instilling health and strength by his liberality, courtesy, and gentleness, and by his valour put down the seditious, that they were the first by the example and at the command of Constantino de Sá to go ashore at *Magadoxo* to get provisions and water.

The strange emulation which the Portuguese displayed in the beginning of their discoveries gave them the name of madmen; for their acts savoured more of insanity than valour: the temerity with which they undertook to penetrate and explore the boundless ocean, that great unknown path of nature, braving its waves and tempests in only frail barks, surrounded by dangers, placing such narrow limits between

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* The crews of the Portuguese vessels in those days were soldiers (men-at-arms) and sailors, picked men, and paid 7 *cruzados* = 26*s*. 3*d*. per mensem. The rest were *degradados*, who were banished or disgraced, sent after the fashion of those days to risk forfeited lives in desperate enterprises. Correa assigns six to each ship. We may assume 160 (148 + 12 convicts).

the confines of death and life, exposed to every hap-hazard, fighting against the very elements. Roving about from one peril into another they outdid the Romans, the Persians, and the Greeks with all their innumerable armies, bearing with equal patience both scorching heat and bitter cold, all the inclemencies of climate; they overcame both hunger and thirst, toiling through all vicissitudes which war brings in its wake. Nevertheless the Portuguese conquered all these! Never nation suffered so much in its navigations round the world, in continual risk and peril, death always ready to swallow up their uncertain lives, conquering barbarous nations never seen or heard of before, discovering such remote shores through seas never before navigated, such little hope had they in their safety that when they returned safe back to their homes they found a grave at their door-steps, or foundered in port even when they had escaped shipwreck.*

A very true example of this short digression is that which we have just related of the sufferings of Constantino de Sá, and whose care and foresight alone there is no doubt, considering what took place on board the *Almirante*, was the saving of that vessel. He wintered in

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* Camoens, the great Portuguese poet, at the very beginning of his noble Lusiads, commences :—

As Annas, e os Baroes ossinalados,
Que da Occidental praia Lusitana
Por mares nunca d'antes navegados,
Passaram ainda alem da Taprobana,
Emperigos e guerras esforçados,
Mais do que promettia a forca humana ;
E entre gente remota edificaram
Novo reino que tanto sublimaram.

*Translation.*

The arms and illustrious heroes,
Who from the western Lusitanian strand,
O'er seas ne'er before crost,
Past e'en beyond the land of Taprobane,
Valiant in perils and in battle post,
With more than to human force was pledged,
In regions far away amongst a distant race,
Rear'd a new kingdom they rendered so sublime.

*Mombaça*, keeping open house to the noblemen, his companions, and to every soldier who wished to come; for almost all of them were younger sons.* Constantino de Sá being the lord and the master of the house, they all availed themselves of his aid and help, with the property he had taken with him and of his credit; for he had bound himself over to take them to Goa at his own expense in a vessel he chartered at *Mombaça*.

In these days Don Jeronimo de Azevedo governed India with the title of Viceroy, regarding whose person and deeds we will relate hereafter. It being the year 1615, Constantino de Sá arrived at Goa, when he began by behaving not like a *Reynol* † (as the undisciplined and newly-arrived in that country were called), but as a knight and experienced soldier, supplying the want of discipline with judgment and prudence. The first thing he did was to separate himself from the bad characters and to associate with the best, obliging them to follow him through love by his words and deeds, for he was courteous, agreeable, and liberal with all, but with a few he was curt in his manner, and distant. It was only the best and good men he treated with any familiarity, and in the republic they are in the minority, especially in India, where all the luxurious pleasures of Asia, the sweltering climate, the intercourse with idolaters, the avarice of traders, did not tend to keep him from minds which corrupt and generally infect so easily, almost incapacitating for virtues. If this, however, was what he generally had to contend with, there were still many great and noble subjects who came from the country every day, and there would have been many more if the prince had taken as much care of its

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* I translate "hijos segundos" (second sons) as "younger sons," which I think is the true meaning.

† *Reynol:* a term formerly in use among the Portuguese of Goa, and applied apparently to "Johnny Newcomes," or "Griffins." It is from *Reino*, "the kingdom (of Portugal)." The word was also sometimes used to distinguish the European Portuguese from the country-born, and at a later date the word seems to have been applied to Portuguese deserters who took service with the East India Company.—*Hobson Jobson.*

inhabitants as he did of its commerce. Observant and well-informed of all that was passing round him, he chose for companions the best and worthiest soldiers: although there was one amongst them who drew blood from him in peace, what never happened to him in war, for he was never wounded until he received his death-blow; but the misconduct of a bad friend can do more mischief sometimes than all the power of declared enemies.

It happened as he was riding one day on horseback through Goa,* little dreaming of treachery of any kind.† They foully set upon him and wounded him grievously in the hand with a *cutivala*, which is a short dagger used by the Nairs, so that it very nearly lost him his hand. The author of this deed managed to conceal his infamy so

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* *Goa.*—The capital of the Portuguese Indies, the seat of the Bishop, and the most considerable place of all the East at that time for traffic. In 1510 it was subjected to the Crown of Portugal by the great Don Alfonso de Alboquerque. According to the relation which was sent to King John III. of Portugal from the Indies by a man of power and worthy of belief, some few months before the arrival of Father Xavier (St. Francis Xavier) every man kept as many mistresses as he pleased, and maintained them openly in his own house, even in the quality of lawful wives. They bought women, or took them away by force, either for their service or to make money of them. Their masters taxed them at a certain sum by the day, and for fault of payment inflicted on them all sorts of punishment, insomuch that these unhappy creatures, not being able sometimes to work out the daily rate imposed on them, were forced upon the infamous traffic of their bodies, and became public prostitutes to content the avarice of their masters.

Justice was sold at the tribunals, and the most enormous crimes escaped from punishment when the criminals had wherewithal to corrupt their judges.

All methods for heaping up money were accounted lawful, how indirect soever, and extortion was publicly professed. Murder was reckoned but a venial trespass, and was boasted as a piece of bravery.

The Bishop of Goa (John de Alboquerque) to little purpose threatened them with the wrath of heaven and the thunder of excommunication; no dam was sufficient for such a deluge, their hearts were hardened against spiritual threatenings and anathemas, or, to speak more properly, the deprivation of sacraments was no punishment to such wicked wretches, who were glad to be rid of them.—*Life of St. Francis Xavier.*

† For the best and most accurate account of Goa and its lawlessness at this period, I would recommend the perusal of Mr. Albert Grey's admirable translation of François Pyrard's interesting and minute description of it

well that his name was never known, but not so the cause of it. The principal instigator of the attempt was commonly supposed to be an intimate kinsman of Constantino de Sá himself, who wounded him still more with the tongue than he did with the sword, persuading himself by so many reasons to his satisfaction that he asked to return to Portugal that same year, so that there were not wanting some who made out that he was the real author of the offence, leaving Constantino de Sá to suffer alone the effects of that ignominious insult taught by this lesson.

He put a stop to certain licentious practices amongst the youth, which the age and the common vices of the country had introduced. Nothing would make him swerve from the path of honour, even in the midst of the most sumptuous entertainments and feasts, where many idle and gallant things might, it is presumed, have been found more to his taste to talk about; but his conversation was always that of a soldier, on arms and war, liberally giving to the needy and keeping open house for many. There were thirty with him when he arrived in the winter at Goa. Here they lived at his expense, whilst he himself lived the life they formerly did in these States, which began with the conquests for glory and fame, disinterested as the first nobles who

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in the second volume, Part I., of his "Voyage to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil," printed for the Hakluyt Society.

The Portuguese have no sooner made the Cape of Good Hope, but they are all *Fidalgoes* or gentlemen, and add the title of *Dom* to the single name of Pedro or Jeronimo, which they received at their baptism, from whence they are called the Fidalgoes or gentlemen of the Cape of Good Hope. As they change their name, they also change their nature, for it may be truly said that the Indian-Portugals are the most revengeful persons, and the most jealous of their wives of any persons in the world. And when the least suspicion creeps into their noddles, they rid themselves of them either by poison or dagger. If they have an enemy, they never pardon him; but if he be a person of that courage they dare not grapple with him; their masters have attending upon them a sort of black slaves, that if they command them to kill any one, the slaves will do it with a blind obedience, which they do either with a dagger or a pistol, or else by knocking the party on the head with a club, which they always carry, about the length of an hand-pike.—Tavernier, *Travels*, Part II., Chapter XIII.

conquered them, but now weakened by the greed and covetousness which governed the lives of the greatest and most powerful in the land; although there were still some who kept up the old custom of supporting many soldiers at their own expense, so to keep them under obligations for service when needed, and who served without any further payment from His Majesty. It thus came about that service in India was for noblemen of spirit the most costly and expensive in the monarchy, and one full of adventure.

This truth confirms the celebrated saying of Don Anton de Noroña, once Viceroy of India, who said that this State could not be kept up with any degree of prosperity if it were not for the mad Captains it contained, who, leaving its fortresses rich, returned to waste and squander with the soldiers all they had gained: and if under these considerations they had the despatches, they never had so many complaints of the ministers, who being always about the Court took little notice of the expenses of such soldiery. With such contempt did they look upon them that what they stole out of the rewards of the poor soldier they added not to the greatness of the republic, but only acquired it for themselves, thinking that those who were about the prince's person deserved more than those in the armies, which, indeed, are the very prop and safety of kingdoms. This was particularly the case with regard to that of Portugal, for there was no appointment or office or expedition entered into for the service of the king that was not undertaken without serious expenses: a matter which required great reform. For whether it was in the armies of the coast, on the African frontier, or in maritime conquest, the Portuguese were naturally sumptuous in their manner of living, proud, ambitious, and scrupulous about their honour, and in these particulars surpassed all other nations. There was not a poor man who would not sell himself, nor a rich one who would not stake his all to gain glory and renown in the service of his king, fighting and striving to emulate and to gain those ends to which all aimed, never allowing money or any other consideration to hinder them—a mistaken

policy which gradually ruined them, and of very little use to the Sovereign; for although he still wanted to be served by the same emulation, he impoverished his subjects: and with poor vassals no king is powerful.

Returning to Constantino de Sá. The first undertaking he embarked in was in the summer of 1616, with Don Bernardo de Noroña, his kinsman and Captain-General of the *Malabar* coast. He served in this expedition most satisfactorily, never allowing his servants and comrades, who were many, to receive public pay. On his return to Goa Don Bernando informed the Viceroy of the valour and ability of Constantino de Sá. He sent him with a galley and ship to escort the *Casila*, a name given to the mercantile squadron of the fortresses of *Canara;* and in the following May he was sent to the north to fetch the Archbishop Primate of Goa, whom he found lying ill: for that reason he returned the same summer with two galleys. On his way he bought two new ships of *Baçain;* and passing over to *Chaul*, the Magistrate of that city of the *Casila* of *Cambaia*, gave over to his charge twenty vessels which he had anchored in that port; because the Captain-General of the north, in whose command they were, was not able to keep them at the time for want of funds. His Majesty lost a great deal of money by the detention of this fleet in tolls. Constantino de Sá took over his charge without losing a single vessel until he had delivered it over to the General at *Baçain*. He conducted these expeditions with great zeal and valour, and with such generosity that it did not cost the king a single soldier; and these *soldados* being the worst kind of persons in the world to content, the company of Constantino de Sá was so well provided and cared for, and paid with such punctuality, that his men were loud in their praises for the manner in which they were treated, usually condemning the other captains for the difficulty they had in pleasing them. The following winter he returned to Goa, where he provided for ten noblemen and twelve *soldados;* and when the summer came round the Viceroy

appointed him Captain-General of Cape *Comorin*, a post of great responsibility and danger. He subdued and brought over to the friendship of the state the King of *Porcà*,* who for fourteen years was in open rebellion, and as a sign of his reconciliation he gave over two of the enemies' *paraós* (a sort of small ships), which were sheltered in his ports. After this he put into the port of *Paliacate* with the whole of his squadron to give support to the affairs of *Cranganor*, which place being in the vicinity of *Comorin* was troublesome. There he had many encounters with the Malabars: but he was victorious in all of them, and prevented the succours the English were trying to give that prince with a powerful armament, and before his very eyes rescued a galeot which was about to surrender, in which was the captain of the fortress of *Soar*.† In this action the Englishman, after he had fired all his guns with little loss to us, put out to sea and forsook the friend Constantino had helped to save with all his cargo. He returned to Goa with great glory and triumph, without the loss of a single boat of his own, a rare thing on this coast.

With equal fortune he navigated the seas all the summer of 1617, without putting in to *Cochin*, as the other Generals did, by which he avoided many affrays which usually occur between soldiers and the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of that city; and returning in the winter to Goa, he was employed by the Viceroy with one galley and four *sanguiceis*,‡ bringing in from the forts of *Canara* material and provisions for the armament of the city, which, in the opinion of many of the Captains, was an undertaking full of peril to him. For being cast away in the beginning of the winter months, the bars along the coast were closing up and choking up the

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* *Porca*—Purakkáḍu, on the coast of Travancore.

† *Soar*—Barbosa's *Sakar*, near Maskat, a very beautiful town backed by a peak, 1,680 ft. high.

‡ *Sanguicels*—a kind of boat or small vessel used in war. It is a term often used by the Portuguese writers on India. They were light craft to give chase to the prows of the Moors. They darted in and out of the creeks and havens like light-horse.

entrances with sand for a considerable distance, as we shall say more about further on. Constantino de Sá not only offered to face the danger himself, but undertook that every soldier who accompanied him at his own expense should come out of it with honour.

The Viceroy was persuaded after so many proofs to appoint him to the most onerous posts of the state. He chose him to command the relief expedition to *Baliporto*, composed of two pinnaces (*pataxes*) and five galeots ; but as in war all is accident and continual change, it came to nothing : as was also the expedition of *Currate* which averted the reliefs with which the Viceroy had arranged to come in person.

It afterwards being spread abroad that the Calvinists (Hollanders), in league with the Persians, had gone with that last power to besiege *Ormuz*, the Viceroy and his council resolved, that in consideration of the importance of the place and of the expedition, to send twelve ships with four hundred Portuguese, so as to reinforce the garrison before the place was surrounded by the enemy ; and they decided upon Constantino de Sá as a person upon whose shoulders such a heavy charge could be safely placed, and whose valour and experience they could trust : after this report came another which denied the first, so that the reliefs were postponed.

With this news arrived D. Francisco Coutinho Conde del Redondo as successor to the Viceroy Don Jeronimo de Azevedo. Don Jeronimo was a native of *Beyra*, of noble extraction, and of an accomplished family. He had gone when quite young to India, serving first as a private soldier, with very little assistance from his parents, and by his own merits gradually rose to be Governor of the Island of *Ceylan*, and from that post to the superior grade of Viceroy of India, where he served the State's interests better than he did his own ; for having to compete against the general opinion of being a rich man, he gained when he was young the good fortune which he deserved when he became old, being at that time spoken of as avaricious. He comported himself with great wisdom and circumspection ; but in reward for

all his services he died a prisoner in Lisbon Castle, apparently as an offender for the many misdeeds which his numerous enemies had laid to his charge : by which it was reasoned that his death was the usual reward that princes gave to those to whom they are most indebted.

The Count de Redondo began his Government in the year 1618. The first thing he did was to look into the affairs of *Ceylan*, which at that time were in a wretched condition, and the king, in receiving his report, ordered the Count to set them to right with the assistance of some worthy and renowned subject, whom he left to his own choice. The Count-Viceroy and his Council of State, with the unanimous consent of all, nominated Constantino de Sá to be Governor and Captain-General of that Island, which was the second post of honour in India, and the stepping-stone to the first post of all ; and what made it most desirable to the ambitious for honour and glory was the fierce war that raged there with the most courageous and warlike princes of the East : for this reason there was no nobleman who had not a claim of being a soldier who did not offer himself for this post. But, considering the dangers which surrounded it, the Viceroy gave it to Constantino de Sá, for no other reason than for his name and known virtues ; by which decision there were not wanting many rivals, who in their envy accused the Viceroy of precipitation in his choice, since he had superseded so many older noblemen of longer service : but with all their merits and long service he equalled them all, so their murmuring was soon silenced, and Constantino de Sá left for *Ceylan*.

That post was governed at the time by Don Nuño Alvares Pereira, already mentioned, who being appointed to the charge of discovering and opening up the rivers of the *Cuama*,* gave over the Island to Constantino de Sá without a murmur.

* The Cuama, better known as the Zambesi river, the largest in East Africa.

## CHAPTER V.

### The beginning of Constantino de Sá's Government. He reforms Abuses, and continues the War with Success.

As foreseen, *Ceylan* had already commenced to experience mischief from the treaty of peace. As soon as the danger passed away, idleness and pleasure took its place, arms were exchanged for yard measures and scales, soldiers became traders, and gradually left their quarters for *Columbo*, where they expected to have the same military freedom and licence they had at *Manicravare*. They began by troubling and annoying the *casados*,* who were obliged to have recourse to arms in defence of their lives and honour. The city was divided into factions, and the turbulence increasing with the disorders, the citizens became as unruly as the soldiers who were bent on ruining it, when Constantino de Sá arrived at *Columbo*, and entered into his Governorship, September, 1619.

It is no small error in those who administer public affairs not to commence their government with gentleness and clemency, for by these means they easily bring over the peace-loving subjects. This was what our Governor first did: he pacified the city, and with great tact quietly put down mutiny and crime, and silenced strife; for there was no justice, the laws were ignored, the magistrates had lost their authority, the militia was small and without discipline, all of which were the cause of these disorders and the secret of their success. He cautiously began his reforms like a prudent and wise doctor, who, in the most dangerous and chronic disorders, uses slow but well-administered remedies at first; for a sick man is fastidious after a long illness, when on the morrow he feels returning health: so with great evils repentance is always to be mistrusted, for it is short-lived. Thus the Governor, knowing the character and temper of the people

* See note, page 508.

he came to govern, feeling the pulse as it were of the inhabitants, he discovered in the *Zingalas* great malice and faithlessness, faithful to our Empire through fear rather than from their own free-will; the Portuguese had grown licentious with power; the half-castes utterly corrupted by the intermixture of races, and the soldiers by trade. Seeing many things which, although they were not exactly crimes, it was important should be prevented (for if not wiped out in time, they might cause the loss of the Island), his aim was more to correct than to punish; and after great deliberation and forethought he decided not to put everything down at once, but overlooked some of the lesser evils in order to prevent the greater.

In this way he established peace in *Columbo* to the great satisfaction of the citizens; for being the capital, on its tranquillity depended the safety of the remainder of the Island. Summoning to his side a council of the most experienced and able captains at *Manicravare*, he undertook with their advice to reform the Portuguese army, which was found to be only the shadow of one: so miserable and poor it was that it barely numbered six hundred king's soldiers.

He first began by appointing to the post of Captain-Major of the Camp Philip de Oliveyra, an old soldier of great valour and experience in these wars. It was an opening to the most deserving, and gave all who wished to work for these posts hopes of obtaining them. He was unanimously chosen by the most capable and experienced, not only for his merits as a person worthy of such a post, but for the principles the General acted on by which he gained the praise of all.

With these provisions he also made it easier to introduce the discipline he wished into the army, but using severer measures than those who had allowed such disorders to prevail. For these ends he raised some companies of old and better trained soldiers; he removed those officials who had during their command and whilst in power made use of their offices for their own private ends and had ignored the public good; and binding over the raw recruits he had

brought over with him by favours and promises, he reinforced with them the companies, mixing them up with old soldiers, so as to teach them by their example discipline, and to show them the way to fight for that territory—so different in many ways from those possessions which the Portuguese maintained in the rest of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America, as we shall relate further on.

At the same time *Manicravare* became rather a school of war than a garrison of the Portuguese army in *Ceylan*. It had been chosen by the old commanders as a place of arms of considerable importance, because of its position on the frontier of our common enemy the King of *Candia's* territories; and in his eyes being an open place without walls or fortress, our soldiers were compelled to be always on the alert against continual assaults, and always kept awake as frontier guards. The danger of the post did not allow them the same licence they had in quarters; so that they could no more trouble the province in which they were quartered by their mutinies, seditions, and other vices, which sapped their strength and spread discontent. It did not appear difficult to our General to bring about the reformation he desired so much by these means, for the peace with *Candia*, which had been the cause of this pitiful state of things, could not last much longer: so, with this dread before him, he went on making his disposition with industrious zeal, rousing up the energy of the Captains, and compelling them to keep the soldiers from idling, inuring them to work, and preparing them for war whilst it was still peace.

These useful operations were like unto those which Hannibal, that great master in the art of war, introduced amongst his soldiers when he brought over his army from Carthage to Spain. According to Polybius, he manœuvred them for many days before they came to blows with the enemy: on the first he marched his beloved soldiers thirty furlongs, on the second they cleaned and furnished their arms, on the third they rested, and on the fourth they fought

against each other with wooden swords covered with leather, on the fifth they made forced marches as on the first day, and in this manner he soon instructed them how to march, fight, retire, and all the rules of strategy and the tactics of the art of war. It was by first instructing, and afterwards making them carry out what he had taught, that Hannibal came to overthrow so many Consuls; and by these means also Xantippus, the Lacedemonian, triumphed over the Roman eagles: that is why Vegetius* wishes that a soldier should know his drill in all its arts and precepts before he buckles on his belt and places his lance in rest. This is what the Romans taught once a day to the old soldiers, and twice a day to the raw recruits, in which way they acquired all the theory during peace, and great practical experience during war.

Having settled the affairs of the army, he [Constantino de Sá] now commenced to find out the disposition the forces and the general inclination of the princes of the Island; using great discretion and secrecy, sending out spies and secret emissaries, who were well paid beforehand and encouraged by further promises. He had thus assistants on his side to watch their actions, so that he was kept informed of all their designs, a very necessary thing for those who governed the provinces. He also strengthened the forts and garrisons, inspecting all he could personally, and reinforcing them with men, provisions, and munitions of war, of which they were sorely in need. All these preparations made them ready for any war they might fear against the King of *Candia:* and much more when the General caused a general muster to be made of all the *carines* and *pachas* capable of bearing arms, dividing them into regiments amongst the subject provinces, and along the frontier, and turning them into the ordinary militia, which was spread over the Island and never far away from the Governor. It was a most important thing that in the event of any sudden or unseen accident to have the

* Vegetius, a Latin writer, 386 B.C., wrote a "Treatise on the Military Art" (*Re Militari*).

best and most trustworthy soldiers collected together. He selected the *Modeliares*, *Araches*, and *Disawas* who were to command these levies, paying them and giving them favours in order that he might have some hold on them; for he concluded that the defence and safety of a kingdom consisted not only in having soldiers and militia, but also in having them both rich, honoured, and contented. The King of *Candia* seeing so many preparations made in peace time, knew that it was the action of a prudent Captain, and began to prepare quietly for war, and to gird himself up against the breaking of the peace which he had established with Don Nuño Alveres Pereira, and which with all that his predecessor had bequeathed him was looked upon with more than ordinary hatred by the Governor. It had so seriously damaged the reputation of the Portuguese that the new General did not feel himself justified in continuing the peace, especially when fame had proclaimed him a man of valour and a renowned soldier. This mistrust had increased the underhand dealings which the hostile *Zingalas* are in the habit of using, sowing distrust on our friendship and poisoning the ears of that Prince—for he was afraid of the General—declaring that he treated merely to get hold of him and kill him. For being by nature great in the art of lying and spreading enmity, under the cover of fraud, all their study was to conquer their adversaries more by artifice and stratagem than by force of arms and manly courage : thus they continually published and sent about letters (which they called *olas*) so false that they filled the most faithful subjects we had with suspicion, and gave confidence to the wavering—an artifice which had already lulled the people's minds to rest, and had so often caused mischief and rendered useless the greatest efforts to counteract.

For example, if Pericles had not left his property in the hands of the Athenians, when the Lacedemonians were setting the neighbourhood of Athens on fire—if it had been preserved it would have made him an object of suspicion to the Republic, and his reputation would have been at stake :

the same with Fabnis Maximus, when he thought Hannibal invincible, who used the same artifice in his defence in order that Rome might not mistrust his fidelity.

It is a military and political axiom that the first thing for a General to do in a conquered country is to study, as ours did, the character and capabilities of the natives, the situation of the land, the condition, forces, vices, defects, and virtues of the enemy, so that he may know what to choose and what to reject, using well-prepared and gentle measures, according to the occasion and the necessity of the moment. He left not a stone unturned so as to avoid adding strength to the enemy in the Island,—so much was the power limited that a report was spread about that *Madune*, with the assistance of the two famous rebels *Cangarache* and *Barreto*, had returned to his old ways. He endeavoured to confirm the King of *Candia* into confidence with us, assuring him by a special embassy with large presents, which was the first thing to oblige them. The King of *Candia* showed himself both grateful and satisfied, and on the return of the embassy sent another not less full of artful and honied words, which the General received at *Manicravare.*

In the meanwhile the rebels took up arms a second time, afraid that Constantino de Sá would punish them for their evil doings. Fortifying themselves in the kingdom of the Two *Corlas* with the natives of the Eleventh *Corla* (whom they brought over to their side, and who were in almost countless numbers, being masters already of the lands of *Batecalou*, *Pacardina*, *Cociar*, and of all the Kingdom of *Vilacen*), they openly aspired to place *Madune* in absolute possession of the Empire ; who, with foreign aid and helped by great Captains, offered himself to the *Zingalas*, and encouraged them with hopes of restoring the old Empire of their ancestors.

This news did not take our General by surprise, as he had already received intimation of it at *Malvana*, for besides the report, his spies kept him informed most minutely of everything that passed. Considering the forces of

*Madune*, and that *Cangarache* and *Barreto* (both brave, vigilant, and industrious) were bringing over to his aid many of the natives, they [the Siṉhalese] boldly took the field, not as guerilla robber bands, or like other tumultuous gatherings in the mountains, but as an army with the firm resolve to conquer or to die.

With this Constantino decided to draw the sword and make war against *Madune* and his followers until he had destroyed and rid the Island of them; yet aware of how important it is for a Commander, who takes upon himself the charge of an expedition, to beign with caution, and to weigh every consideration and advice to succeed well (since any disaster at the beginning would weaken his authority and cause contempt both amongst his own men and strangers), and being desirous to add fame to his name by some signal victory; for both in numbers, power, and boldness the enemy exceeded (us) more than they ever had at any other time before. It was not only a war for conquest, but the fate of the Portuguese was more at stake than in any other war in the East, considering the power and valour of his adversaries and the small number of his own Portuguese. He therefore did not wish to give battle without the consent of the Captains who assisted him, because of their great experience in these wars, their knowledge of the country, its customs and condition, and of the character of the princes and people of the various kingdoms—a knowledge which not only made them good soldiers but also wise councillors.

Calling them round him he explained to them the glory they would obtain if they conquered, and that a victory in the beginning would give confidence to their own soldiers, and spread fear into the ranks of their enemy; for on it depended their reputation for good or for evil. It being decided to march against the enemy, he asked them as to the manner he should go about it. They all were of opinion that it was both difficult and dangerous because of the great strength of the enemy; but animated by the General's

courage, and knowing the danger the Portuguese empire was in, if they did not stamp out *Madune's* designs, which from a smouldering fire had burst into flame, they determined to circumvent him, offering their lives, honour, and all they possessed for the service of God and their king.

With these deliberations they told the General that they would take the field whenever he wished, and would build a fortress in *Sofragan*, being the most open pass in the Island, and situated almost in the centre of it, the inlying lands being easy to defend by the *Caleture* river, which served to protect its walls and keep its port closed. It was the *Corla* of a *Disawa* of the same name, a fertile country, most conveniently situated for keeping up a good garrison and holding the enemy in check, and a good situation for a place of arms or base of operations in the expedition, and a convenient place to retire and repair to in the event of a defeat, being on the frontier and the confines of the Kingdom of the Two *Corlas*, where *Madune* was strongly fortified. Two sides and bastions would be protected by the lands of friendly natives, and the enemy shut in inside the Two *Corlas* would become, in their turn, the besieged.

This decision of the Council appeared to the General exactly what was wanted, but he feared that *Madune* would prevent its being carried out with all his power.

With these considerations he sent the brave but cautious Captain Major Philip de Oliveira, with some Portuguese companies and a regiment of *lascarins* to commence building the fort; and to allow them to bring up the materials and guard the works, he placed two companies under two of his bravest Captains, Luis Cabral de Faria and Don Constantino Barreto, in the passes leading thereto: which prevented *Madune* attempting to intercept them that summer. With this design of keeping *Madune* in inactivity, the fortress was thrown up and all the necessary preparations for the expedition were made with great secrecy, and within a few days after he sent Felipe de Oliveira.

So careful and diligent had these Captains been in carrying out his plans that the fortress was already in a state of defence: all that was needed was to man it. Leaving the Captain Vitorio d'Abreu with a garrison of two Portuguese companies and some Caffres, he sent Luis Cabral de Faria to reconnoitre the Four *Corlas* with a thousand *lascarins* to help him if necessary, and taking with him a little over three hundred Portuguese from the companies of Don Constantino Barreto and of Luis Teixeira de Macedo, he marched out in search of *Madune*.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Constantino de Sá conquers Madune. He Destroys his Power and drives him out of the Island. He finishes the Fort of Sofragan, repairs and restores Gale Fort, and relieves that of Manar. He drives the English from the Bay of Triquilimale and Cotiar. Finally he orders the execution of Cangarache, the Renegade. Barreto is killed by his own Followers.

The unexpected and courageous resolution of the General struck terror into the heart of *Madune*, who abandoned the Two *Corlas* and took to the rugged and steep mountain ranges in the vicinity of Adam's Peak, and for that reason most difficult of access, at a distance of ten leagues from *Sofragan*, where he could entrench and shelter his followers, thinking himself secure in this position. He built them a town with the rapidity they usually build in the Island, as the huts are commonly made up of cadjan leaves so interwoven and plaited together that they are able to resist the inclemencies of the weather, just as if they had been built of marble: they are as easy to build up as they are to destroy. Nature, which walled them in by rocks and art by fortification, rendered *Madune* almost inaccessible and able to

show a bold front. He occupied the passes and entrances from the base of the mountains to within six leagues, with well-manned strongholds placed at intervals up to the walls of the new settlement.

The General, fully aware of all that was going on, made a long *détour* by forced marches, so as to avoid the advanced forts, and not waste in their assault and capture the force and courage of his men. Trusting to determination and speed, which is the origin of success in war, he did not hesitate to march through the lands subject to the enemy, laying them waste, to strike terror and make an example to the rebels. He succeeded after much toilsome marching in climbing up the steep mountain sides, but found the inhabitants gone. *Madune* had fled, conquered by fear before he had measured swords with our men, whose fury was glutted on the deserted settlement, which they found completely dismantled of all property and treasure the tyrant may have had ; for he had time to save all, together with his followers, burying everything of value underground. On the other side our *lascarins* having gorged themselves with the remains of food and drink they had left, commenced to show symptoms of smallpox, a common disease of the Island, which is often engendered by these excesses, and being as contagious as the plague, it soon spread to our army.

The General, more for prudence' sake than any fear of such an unforeseen misfortune, decided on returning to *Sofragan*, but it was not much to his safety, if *Madune*, when he heard of what had happened to him, had sallied out with the whole of his followers and cut him off from our camp ; because, owing to the number of the sick, our line of march was long and straggling, with great gaps at intervals, and in some disorder, so that many of our men who lagged behind were cut down that day : and with this success *Madune* was proud as if he had been a conqueror.

Constantino de Sá seeing the great danger he was in, with great promptitude ordered the Captain Luis Teixeira to advance with one hundred Portuguese and place himself in

ambush amid rocks enclosed with thick jungle which blocked up the pass. Here they were posted in such a manner that they became both vanguard and rearguard to the enemy, and in their retreat served as a bait to entice them on and draw them in closer to *Sofragan*. So blind were they and sure of victory that they had the audacity to surround Teixeira's band in a loose and struggling crowd, which gave him time to carry out his design; then suddenly pouncing down on their rear and charging them, they fell into the very same trap they had prepared for us, and in their confusion shared the same fate as our men had, and fled in great disorder. The General then charged them and completed the rout, cutting up more than eight thousand *Zingalas* without the loss of a single Portuguese and less than five hundred *lascarins*. *Madune* saved himself, and also the renegade *Barreto*, but *Cangarache* with eight other principal chiefs of the enemy remained our prisoners.

*Madune* did not lose heart with such a defeat, neither did he lose the opinion of his followers (such was the devotion they had to him). He retired to fortify himself in the Two *Corlas*. In the meanwhile *Barreto*, with shame and fear, for his evil conscience weighed him down, flying from his own men and mistrusting the fidelity of his friends, disguised, and badly wounded in the leg, hid himself in the mountains.

Constantino de Sá, elated by such a victory, halted in *Sofragan*, where he publicly proclaimed *Cangarache* a traitor and rebel to his king, and ordered his head to be cut off. When he saw the smallpox on the increase and spreading from the natives to the Portuguese, he sent these away to their homes rewarded and contented: and leaving the garrison of *Sofragan* in command of Philip de Oliveira, together with the company of Luis Cabral de Faria and a great store of provisions, which that Captain had brought from the Four *Corlas*, where he had served all that time, he marched to *Malvana*, and from thence to *Columbo*.

Here there came tidings by despatch-boat from the Captain of *Manar* that six *paráos* (small ships) of *Malabares* were

threatening that fortress, and that they expected many more and a powerful Dutch fleet to come and besiege it. They had been invited by the tyrant *Changali*, an ally of the King of *Jafanapatan*, offering them right of way, and of fortifying themselves in his lands : for it was by his command and treachery that all this had been done.

The Island of *Manar** is situated on the north-western coast of *Ceylan*, from which it is separated by a channel† or strait of sufficient depth to allow small vessels to pass through from the north. For a distance of seven leagues from it were sandbanks, which ultimately joined those of *Chilao* or *Remanancor*.

At one time it belonged to the kingdom of *Jafanapatan*, but it was now under the Portuguese Government of *Ceylan*, with a Fort under a Captain of noble rank, erected in memory of the Viceroy Don Constantino de Bargança in the year 1560. For he changed for that site the fortress of *Puticale* with its inhabitants ; a place on the Fishery Coast, inhabited by the *Paravas*,‡ who, tired of the continual attacks of the *Bodaguas*, their neighbours, lived more the life of *fronteros* than of fishermen, which trade they plied for subsistence, but were continually robbed and cut off by their neighbours. By this change the island of *Manar* became rich and prosperous as long as they kept the pearl fisheries going, which were carried on along that coast and gave to it its name, but which for many years had become extinct, because of the great poverty

* Maṇṇár appears to be the island of Epiodorus, which, according to the *Periplus*, was the seat of the pearl fishery. At the present day its importance has greatly declined. The Portuguese, who wrested it from the Raja of Jaffna in 1560, fortified the town for the protection of their own trade, and the Dutch, who seized it in 1658, were so conscious of its value, strategical as well as commercial, that they designated it "the key of Jaffnapatam," and maintained at all times an effective garrison, under the apprehension that the Portuguese, if they ever attempted a re-conquest of Ceylon, would direct their first efforts to the recovery of Manaar.—(Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. II., 55-56.)

† Paumbam passage.

‡ The *Parawas*, a section of the Fisher caste, of Tamil origin, from Tuticorin and the adjacent coast.

into which the *Paravas* had fallen, for they made no profit for want of accommodation and of boats.

The Fort of *Manar* became more a place of danger than of profit to its Captains, and a great anxiety to the Captain-Generals of *Ceylan* under whose orders they were. The first Captain was Manuel Rodriguez Coutiño, the same who was at *Puticale* at the time of the change of site.

But it was not for its trade and commerce that it deserved a name or any reputation. These could not be compared to what it was celebrated for, as being the first land in India sprinkled with the glorious blood of more than six hundred martyrs, who were the missioners of the sweet fruits of faith and of baptismal grace, which the holy Apostle of the East, that marvellous holy man, St. Francis Xavier, introduced into these parts in the year 1454,* of whom the Padre Juan de Lucena, a religious Jesuit, and notable preacher of our times, a man of great learning and eloquence, relates in the book he wrote of that glorious saint. The instigator and executioner of this cruel massacre was an idolatrous and tyrannical king of *Jafanapatan*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and the place where it occurred, because of its having been successfully carried out there, was called "the City of Martyrs."†

Constantino de Sá, immediately he heard of the exigence at *Manar*, sent to its relief by sea two galleys and some small vessels which were anchored in the port of *Columbo*; and overland direct to the kingdom of *Jafanapatan* he sent Philip de Oliveira, his lieutenant, who was, we have said, in command of the garrison at *Sofragan* (replacing him by the Captain Francisco Barbosa), with sealed orders to call to

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* François Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, was born in 1506. A close friendship sprung up between him and Ignatius de Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. Entering the new Order in 1534, he made a vow to go abroad and preach the Gospel for convertion of the heathen. He left for the East Indies in 1541 and died in 1552.

† Regarding the massacre of the Paravas in 1544, by Sankili Rája of Jaffna, see Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, 10, 11; Brito, *Yálppána-vaipanamalai*, 33, xxxvi.; *Ceylon Lit. Reg.*, III., 327.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

account *Changali* as vassal of Portugal for treason to his king. For it was at his instigation that his fortresses and Captains had been endangered; although it was publicly given out that the expedition was only to recover the tribute which that idolatrous chief owed to the Crown : and there were not wanting some who said it was to demand payment of certain moneys lent, which the Captain-Generals of *Ceylan* were in the habit of doing.

The people of *Columbo* openly condemned Constantino de Sá for this expedition, imputing it to the temerity of a young commander ; for they saw him splitting up the forces of the Island into detachments scattered far apart, some being more than eighty leagues away, and so small that they were barely sufficient to defend the territory that had been conquered. The outcry against him increased when they saw *Madune* again becoming powerful, strongly fortified in the Two *Corlas*, and sending his Captains to carry the war into the Seven *Corlas*, and stir up rebellion in that Province.

The General thereupon ordered the Captain Don Constantino Barreto with a regiment of *lascarins* and a few Portuguese to march against *Madune*, whilst he himself with the remainder of the army, and the *casados** who had spoken against him, as a punishment, left for the Seven *Corlas ;* for this district caused him the greatest anxiety, as in it was gathered the main strength of the enemy. It was a Province always rife with rebellion, and only kept under by intimidation ; for which reason its abandonment would cause the greatest mischief. Such was his military foresight and care that he sent relief to every part where the necessity and peril of the moment demanded.

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* *Casados*, the married men.—The single soldier was merely called *soldado*, to distinguish him from the *casado.* The *casado* was not compelled to go to war. It appears from Pyrard's account that great respect was paid to the *casado.* The soldiers did not like to see married men shipped along with them, being apprehensive least they should inadvertently, and without intending any offence, address to them some indecent language, such as they use among themselves.—*Pyrard's Voyage,* Vol. II., Part I., page 125.

On this occasion a company of *lascarins* came in with the head of the renegade *Barreto*, and asked the General for the reward he had offered for his death—a death which was one of the greatest good fortunes that happened during his government. But he was not pleased by the manner it was brought about; for they had taken out of his hands the chastisement of so many evil deeds of one who had made treason so disastrous and miserable to his own friends—a great example to vassals of princes not to rebel for the sake of their own fortunes, nor to leave the true faith, and trust only in human force. For even in the midst of prosperity and power judgment comes, when Divine justice, angry at the sight of so much wickedness, for the justification of its own attributes and interest, if in its mercy it pardons offences, is also severe in punishing crime.

This apostate had all the perverse qualities which serve to nurse rebellion; for he neither kept his word nor faith, and was only faithful as long as it served himself. He was not wanting in perseverance, cunning, and deceit to gather a following, and to get a name; and as long as he obtained his ends with the natives, his very name was a hindrance to the Portuguese progress, and placed their dominion over the Island in jeopardy. For whilst he followed *Madune* and belonged to his adversaries, he made use of him as a tool; but when from a rebel he tried to make himself a tyrant the *Zingalas* (perhaps seeing that he was aiming at their empire) preferred a native prince in their hatred to the Portuguese, whose dominion they loathed as much for its being Catholic as for its being foreign.

After the last defeat at *Sofragan*, which we have just related, he (*Barreto*) began to understand how far more important success was than numbers to princes (there still being enough left to *Madune*), and felt his disgrace so much that he damped all the hopes of his followers. Lamed and badly wounded, *Barreto* seeing the defeat of *Madune* deserted him, and sought safety within the solitudes of the mountains; even then he did not better himself, for adversity tracked

him wherever he went. Fearing to be taken with his family and all his treasure, he placed them in a hamlet (*Aldea*), informing his friends and spies that he remained there to save himself from us. But one of his most intimate and familiar followers, led away by covetousness, directed a company of *lascarins* to sack the hamlet where he said he had his treasures, with orders to kill all who resisted, never expecting to find *Barreto* there. They found him lying ill on a bed, and not daring to discover himself, being the first they came across, he was taken so suddenly by surprise that he was unable to make his escape. They beheaded him and all his family; but the moment the *lascarins* who did the deed found out what they had done, they wished to kill each other in their remorse: for they greatly loved the apostate, looking upon him as the liberator of their country. But consoling themselves with the thought that what was done could not be undone, in the hope of getting the reward they carried the head to the General, making a boast of their zeal and exaggerating the danger they had run in the attempt to serve their king.

The news of his death was soon published throughout the Island. At the same time *Madune*, invested in the Two *Corlas*, again escaped to the mountains, whilst his army and Chief Captain, who with a superior force and all the prerogatives of a king was keeping the kingdom of the Seven *Corlas* under his allegiance, was beaten and defeated by the General. The Province was relieved, the rebels punished, and their lands laid waste: those who had remained neutral were brought over, so that all his plans were carried out, the principal leaders taken; and the *Zingalas*, weary of so much war, were disheartened, and sought their own safety. *Madune*, hiding himself in the mountains of the Veddás (*los Bedas*), remained for many days concealed, until he managed to cut his way through the jungle and crossed to the opposite coast, afraid to trust himself even to his most intimate friends after the fortune which befell *Barreto*,—an example which disabused him of the risk he ran with friends as well as enemies in time of adversity.

So ended the war with *Madune*, a war which, held in such light esteem at the beginning, soon overflowed its banks for want of proper care; but after he had gained strength and come to blows on our proud shields, he gained great esteem with the rebels, placing our dominion in danger, and holding the neighbouring princes in suspense. He raised the expectations of the natives, and was the heart and soul of all their success: he forced those who were faithful to remain neutral: he drew the attention of the neutrals, and inspired hope into the hearts of our enemies.

Having finished the war and the building of the fort of *Sofragan*, the General built a new one at the entrance of the Two *Corlas* which had been so devoted to the cause of *Madune*, and after fortifying and provisioning them against attack, he marched fully equipped to lay the foundation of *Gale* Fort; for it was by these works he greatly secured the safety of our Empire. But the natives hated him all the more for these preparations of his, seeing that by them he obtained his ends, especially by the erection of the Fort at *Gale* on the promontory, to which the ancient inhabitants had given the name, placed on the south-eastern side of the Island with the best harbour in all the *Corlas*—the only port of them all (according to the Hollanders)—and for that reason the most coveted.

The ocean forms at its entrance a cove widening into a large bay, where the General raised a Fort with outworks to defend the landing, and inside the fortress on the highest elevation he built a castle or citadel, which served to protect from land and sea attack. It is six leagues from *Columbo*, seven to the west from *Alican*, and as many to the east of *Beligao*.* Owing to the want of money and materials the General was unable to make it as strong as he wished, knowing as he did its great importance, on whose conquest the former kings of *Candia* had spent so much, and which was so coveted by our European enemies. But in the

* *Sic;* but in reality *Alican* (modern Aḷutgama, near Bentoṭa), lies slightly W. of N. from Galle, whilst *Beligaò* (Vẹligama) lies rather S. of E.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

year [1]625 he finished fortifying it strongly enough (as we shall relate in its proper place) to be almost impregnable.

The General's wish was to return to *Columbo*, when he received information that the heretics of Denmark with five large ships, assisted by the natives, were at anchor in the harbour of *Cotiar* in the Bay of *Triquilimale*, and were erecting a fortress, which, if they succeeded in doing, would be an irreparable damage to us; since, with the friendship and alliance they had already obtained with the kings of *Candia*, they had greatly increased the strength and audacity of the *Zingalas* to deliver them from the Portuguese dominion they hated so much. Their intercourse was as agreeable to them as our yoke was hateful; for they did not mingle religious subjects in the trade they carried on with their merchants for gain, but encouraged them in their idolatry, in return for which they were allowed to pamper the vices which pleased free strangers most, and in that manner gave reins to their licentious appetites. There was no difference between them, except in appearance and colour; and the heretics made themselves the companions of the *Zingalas* against us who were the lords, and to whom they bore such enmity because of our natural pride and arrogance.

The General, when he heard this, immediately sent the Captains Barreto and Cabral de Faria to *Cotiar* in the only ship that had put into the harbour from that port, so remote from the others. He himself left for *Triquilimale*, where in a brilliant action he repulsed the enemy, making them re-embark in great disorder with great loss of men and two ships, which were left on the coast,—an affair which did him great credit for the rapidity and valour he displayed in sending reliefs and thwarting such an enterprise. He conquered the heretics, and punished the natives whom he found guilty of being in league with them: he dismantled the forts they had made, and finally liberated the islanders from the new servitude into which the devil had drawn them, converting them from idolators to heretics, in order that they may be always under his power.

The General, crowned with success, returned to *Columbo* after pitching his camp again at *Manicravare*, where we shall leave him to return to *Jafanapatan*, the conquest of which was being so courageously pushed on by Philip de Oliveira, as will be seen in the following chapter.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Conquest of Jafanapatan. Monopoly of Cinnamon. Death of the Count de Redondo, and the Succession to the Government of Hernando de Alboquerque, who orders Constantino de Sá from Ceylan, and sends him to the relief of Ormus. Death of Alboquerque, and arrival of the Count de la Vidigueira, Admiral of India, who restores our General to the Island.

I purpose to relate briefly the events which occurred at *Jafanapatan;* for its reduction and conquest was one of the most glorious campaigns that Constantino de Sá undertook during his government, resulting in the acquisition of a rich and powerful kingdom to the Portuguese dominion. Situated in nine and two-thirds degree of latitude at the northern point of the Island, and separated from it by a salt-water channel, Constantino de Sá conquered it in the year 1618, in the Viceroyalty of Count de Redondo.

The language of this nation is quite different, and has little in common or nothing with the *Zingala.*

Close to it is a small island belonging to its dominion, which goes by the name of the Isle of *Cabras* (goats), because of the number of those animals found on it, and in whose stomachs are found the bezoar stones (*piedras besares*) which, although they are small, are the finest and best in the East, and a singular antidote against poison, owing to the pasture of wholesome herbs these animals eat. They are called *Besares*, which is derived (according to an ecclesiastical writer) from two Hebrew words *baal*, which means "lord,"

and *zar*, which means "poison"; thus *Besar* signifies "Lord of poison,"—dropping the letter *l* and the second *a*, which by time, the consumer of all things, were left out to allow it to be pronounced more easily.*

The kingdom of *Jafanapatan* is flat and without mountains. It is cut off on all sides by estuaries of salt water which surround it, thus rendering communication easy for trade and the administration of affairs. But it is unhealthy and very badly off for fresh water, which is only obtained from watercourses in the winter and rainy seasons, that run dry in the dry summer solstice, when the irrigation of the fields is kept up by the water collected in the tanks we have already mentioned. Its inhabitants have the advantage of being taller and stronger in make and build than the other islanders; but in courage and intelligence they are inferior to them,—the greed of commerce having made them merchants instead of soldiers. Formerly, subject to the supreme Emperor of the Island, they had no particular prince until *Quehapermal*, who was made king of *Jafanapatan* by the Emperor *Mabajo Pandar*, at whose death he succeeded to the Empire, which afterwards ended in his descendants;† and being without heirs, the barbarian ruled it who was the executioner of the martyrs of *Manar*, of whom we have already spoken, but whose name we have not been able to find out. His wickedness increased with the patience and forbearance of the Portuguese, which always happens when it is feared.

He became the greatest enemy they had in the Island; so that in the year 1569 the Viceroy Don Constantino de Bargança was obliged to come over to *Jafanapatan* with

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* *Bezoar.*—The word is a corruption of the Persian name of the thing *pádzahr*, "pellens venenum," or *pázahr*, and *Arabice bázahr*. The *bezoar* was sometimes called *snake-stone*, and supposed (erroneously) to be found in the head of a snake. (*Hobson Jobson*).—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† *Quehapermal* = Sapumal Kumárayá (afterwards Bhuvaneka Báhu VI., 1467 A.D., accession), who sacked, and perhaps ruled at, Jaffna during the reign of his father Parákrama Báhu VI. (*Mabajo Pandar*, 1415–67 A.D.).—B., *Hon. Sec.*

a powerful fleet to chastise the tyrannical deeds of that idolatrous heathen, and revenge the innocent blood of so many righteous men. After destroying and sacking the city and the capital of his kingdom, he carried away the miraculous tooth which they venerated as belonging to the Buddha *(del Budon)*, but was commonly supposed (as we have already said) to be that of a monkey. Don Constantino, with Christian firmness worthy of eternal praise, had it publicly burnt, and rejected with scorn a ransom of three hundred thousand ducats offered him by the King of Pegu.

He made peace with the tyrant, receiving as a hostage for his safety the hereditary prince, whom he made a vassal of the Crown. The life, however, of the Viceroy being endangered by a conspiracy, he returned to Goa, leaving the tyrant unpunished and free to continue with increasing cruelty and hatred his persecution of the Portuguese and Christians, until it pleased God again to come to the help of His cause; although it was not in this person's government, but in those of his successors.

The Viceroy Mathias de Alboquerque, in the year 1590, sent against *Jafanapatan* Andre Hurtado de Mendoça, one of the most distinguished and renowned Captains of the age, who within five months defeated two armies, when both the king and his heir were killed; and after destroying a powerful fleet of *Malabar* Corsairs who had assisted them, he placed a new king on the throne, and made him a tributary vassal of Portugal.

It was this king's son who reigned, in name more than in deed: for a retainer, who was called *Changili*, making use of his power as a favourite, gradually usurped the administration of the kingdom in the name of his prince. He was both violent and servile, as is usually the case when a prince gives over his authority to a favourite through over-confidence and trust. Whenever vassals become too powerful, it is always a danger to the prince, disastrous to the State, and disgraceful to his dignity.

It happened at last that *Changili* put out his king's eyes—

his intimacy being the greatest blind of all—his motive was to render it impossible for the king to govern: he thus made himself master of his person and will—the lowest degradation into which a prince, who knows not his duties, usually falls. He became hateful to all in the Island, and all were sorry to see a poor prince, who, to enrich, honour, and aggrandise a subject, abdicated his rights as king, unable to pardon and unable to uphold his authority. For it is not because the sun, who communicates its splendour to the cloud, never leaves off shining on it; it also trusts it to fertilise with its waters the tree for the light it gives: so it is the same with the favourite, who is given these duties to serve without ambition or avarice, and to be attentive to the preservation of the State and of his master.

*Changili* made use of this baseness as a means to serve his own ends. He refused to pay tribute, and rejected all friendship with the Portuguese, and making the king his master unite with the enemies of Europe, he called to his aid the *Badaguas*, idolators, a barbarous race who inhabit the country within the kingdom of *Bisnaga* from the *Malabar* Coast on one side and the *Paravar* on the other. They were the enemies of all, and especially of the Christians, cruel by nature, robbers by profession, and living on what they could steal. These, joined with the *Naigue* of *Tanjaor*, who was also their neighbour, were twice defeated and driven from the Island (on this occasion by Constantino de Sá on his way to the relief of *Jafanapatan*); but not before the Captain Philip de Oliveira had utterly routed and taken *Changili* with the blind king and some of his family.

After having relieved the Fort of *Manar* and raised the siege, the General was now free. He converted the kingdom into a Province, and took every precaution to rid the empire once and for all from all possibility of attack. He erected a Fort in the middle of the kingdom and garrisoned it sufficiently against any unforeseen emergency; and at the entrance of the principal part he placed two strong forts capable of containing a number of Portuguese families, amongst

whom were the magistrates for the administration of civil affairs of the republic. The chief command and government he gave to the Captain Oliveira as a reward for his services, which he well deserved, since he had been the conquerer and had done the greater share of the work.

Like a good Christian and politician he knew there was no tie which binds subjects together more than the Roman Catholic religion: he therefore carried zeal into its cause, as all his actions proved, doing his utmost to extend it. He made arrangements for the building of more than forty churches in the province of *Jafanapatan*, the management of which and rights of worship he gave over to the religious society of the Company of St. Francisco, who from the beginning had christianized with great fervour and spirit more than five thousand souls; thus making the way easy for the conversion of these barbarians. The protection which the General gave them proved him to be as much an Apostle as a soldier: and his unswerving constancy prevented any furthur disturbance in that kingdom; for *Changili* was condemned to die at Goa without trial, a fatal ending to his favouritism, and well merited for his treason to his king and ours.

Hernando de Alboquerque was now governing India, and the blind king of *Jafanapatan* died in prison, which was the end of following the evil advice of a favourite, who was his ruin instead of preserver. The safety of princes depends upon the way their orders are listened to and carried out. It was the Captain Diego Vaz Freire who captured him; he had followed him in his flight from *Jafanapatan* in two *toneis*. Notwithstanding his precautions, two daughters of the blind king made their escape and were protected by his friend and confederate, the *Naigue* of *Tanjaor*. They afterwards married the princes of *Candia* and *Uva*, who gave the General enough trouble, as we will relate.

Having arranged the affairs of *Jafanapatan*, settled the military and civil government of the Island, and brought to obedience and order the part that belonged to us, Constantino de Sá did not succeed in obtaining the confidence of the

*Zingalas.* He saw in their chiefs the greatest promptitude to rebel on the slightest opportunity; for they looked upon our dominion as a very heavy yoke to bear, and manifestly wished to break it. After careful consideration he saw it was necessary to use tact rather than force, and did after the example of Sertorius, who, in Guesca, in the kingdom of Aragon, gathered round him the sons of Lusitanian nobles (of whom he was chief), under the pretext of teaching them the liberal arts and sciences which Rome alone possessed, in order that he might insure their father's obedience and fidelity.

Constantino de Sá built two towns in the environs of *Columbo*, with the privilege of cities, and containing all the conveniences and necessaries for the support of life ; so that they might serve as places of refuge for the wives and families of the *Modeliares* and *Arachas*, who were exposed to rapine and murder in time of war. The General held them in these garrisons as hostages for the good faith and loyalty of their husbands ; in which manner he took and secured them under the impression that he was serving them —a most useful method to keep down rebellion and public disturbances. It was a sure way as well as profitable. For he followed very nearly in everything the example of Sertorius ; introducing schools for the *Zingala* youth, where they were trained and brought up in the softer pursuits of learning and in the doctrines which their careful and religious masters taught them, curbing their natural warlike spirit and opening their hearts to fidelity and truth, as far as good education can do for the young. Correcting in early age their first impulses by love and the softening influences of knowledge, they more easily managed to quiet down their fierce uncontrollable temper than those brought up to arms, who were untameable in their customs and disposition. In the most warlike provinces where rebellion was common, it was always the opinion of the wise and learned men to try and domesticate by teaching, and to induce them by the love of study, to be weaned from the noise and clamour

of arms, which so easily rouses the national spirit in subjects newly conquered, who, like the *Zingalas*, were striving for their liberty by the most violent means.

By these actions Constantino de Sá gained great renown during his government; for he not only showed great valour in the way he carried on the war, but also great wisdom in the manner he tried to preserve peace. But to do this money (which is the main prop of the republic) was necessary, and when he saw afterwards how little the State could do to assist the Island, which up till now had been severely bled by this war of conquest, that was gradually sapping all its strength, he introduced a tax on cinnamon—that from *Ceylan* being considered the best in the world, especially what was grown in the Province of *Columbo*, which produced great quantities, and was a trade of great profit, considerably increasing the royal revenues.

This drug is extracted from the bark of a wild forest tree which grows without any cultivation or care—so wide are the powers of nature. The fruit and leaves are very like the laurel, but finer and larger; from these is distilled an oil which, as well as the water distilled from its flower and crushed bark, is of great medicinal virtue for chronic maladies and chills. Its various names are as numerous as the countries from which it comes; for instance, the *Zingalas* call it *Corundapotra;* the Malabars *Caroa;* the Arabs *Carfá*, which doctors corrupt into *Quirfé*, and others into *Quirfá.* The Persians call it *Darsin*, which means "China stick," for the Chinese were the first to cultivate it, and by them it was shipped to Europe. The Latins called it *Cinnamum;* the Malays *Cayomavos*, which signifies "soft stick." It is the *Caesman* or *Caesmanis* of the Greeks, and also the *Casia lignea.**

Returning to the introduction of the tax, he knew the danger it entailed : for it is not always politic for a prince to

* Cinnamon : Siṇ., *kurundu pota ;* Tamil, *kaṛuváp-paṭṭai ;* Arabic, *gharfah* ; Persian, *dár-chíní ;* Latin, *cinnamomum ;* Malay, *kúlit-mánis :* Greek, *kinnamòmon*, from Heb. *kinnamon.*—B., *Hon. Sec.*

introduce any new tax into his government, lest he bring down upon him the hatred of his subjects, as was experienced by the King of Naples, Don Alfonso II.,* who contrived in his avarice to tax all articles of food, so as to sell it for his own profit,—an abominable action for princes and their ministers to do, because of the poverty they cause amongst their people, when they should by rights, as administrators of the public good, rather increase the abundance of things, encourage cheapness, and relieve the scarcity and the oppression from which their vassals suffer at that time.

Notwithstanding all this, Constantino de Sá, after careful deliberation, came to the conclusion that it would not interfere with him in his conquests, insomuch that there would be no security without arms, no arms without soldiers, nor soldiers without pay, and without taxing the people somehow or other a prince could not pay those who defended them ; and in following up the war he had exhausted the royal treasury. Therefore, if he had to continue it, it was necessary to place a value on the produce of the Island, of which he was the absolute master, and in which neither subjects nor the republic had any claim whatever, except that it was the common trade for the universal benefit of all natives ; and as the king was the lord and proprietor of all the cinnamon in the Island by right of conquest, there could be no doubt that the tax was both just and useful.

For the *Zingala* Emperors made use of the same rights, insomuch that it is told of the Rája who would not allow more than two thousand *bares* to be taken off the trees : out of these he had burnt one thousand four hundred, and sold the remaining six hundred at its weight in gold ; which was

* Alfonso II., King of Naples, son of Ferdinand I. and grandson of Alfonso V., surnamed "the Magnanimous" King of Aragon and Sicily, ascended the throne in 1494. But that same year Charles VIII. of France, invited by the people, invaded his dominions ; and he found himself abandoned by both his allies and subjects, to whom he had made himself hateful by his vices and extortions. He died in Sicily.

the cause of making this drug so valuable. By making it scarce at first it became more valuable owing to the taxes levied on its exports by our Indian Board of Trade. It now greatly rose in value by these taxes.

The tax on one thousand two hundred *bares* of cinnamon sold in *Columbo* at forty *xarafins* was a third more at Goa. It had amounted to more than forty-eight thousand—a considerable increase to the revenues, which at that time were so diminished, scarcely amounting to 55,000 altogether. For the tributes paid by the villages for the exportation of arecanut did not exceed 21,000 ; that from the *Vidana* of *Bolategama* 17,000 ; 8,000 from the taxes on the trade of *Columbo*, *Gale*, *Negumbo*, *Chilao*, and *Putalao*. The elephants, including the seven which the *Vania* of *Putalao* paid as tribute, and two from the King of *Candia*,—which altogether came to twenty,—were sold, good and bad, for 200 *xarafins ;* these had increased to 4,000. The *maralas* and court fines which the ministers, who were appointed to superintend these affiairs, collected every year amounted to near 3,000 *xarafins ;* and the revenues of the pearl fisheries, so profitable in ancient times, now brought next to nothing for want of money, and because of the pirates. Such were the royal revenues of *Ceylan*.

At this time died the Conde de Redondo, Viceroy of India, an illustrious man of great nobleness and disinterestedness, whose qualities far surpassed his riches. He had saved nothing in the posts he had occupied ; so that even the cost of his funeral had to be defrayed by the King—a great example to all Ministers of State, and a glorious one to descendants of this Knight, worthy of a better fortune than that which he enjoyed in his government, for which perhaps the times were more to blame than his zeal, since he left nothing undone which he ought to have done. He was considered a Governor more just than wise.

He was succeeded by Hernando de Alboquerque in the year [1]622, when Constantino de Sá had governed *Ceylan* for two and a half years.

Hernando de Alboquerque had a son named Jorge de Alboquerque, who was a soldier of distinction, and had a good position in the Fort of *Columbo*, but differently paid from the rest in *Ceylan*, although he was subordinate to the Generals of the Island. It appeared to him hard that a son of the Governor of India should be subject to another chief than his father, and with this excuse he took upon himself to draw the pay of Captain of a Fortress, and gave both posts to Jorge de Alboquerque. Constantino de Sá had intended to give that post to whoever earned it; but in obedience to Hernando de Alboquerque he left the Island to his son, without a word in reply, fully persuaded from all appearance that he would be allowed to remain idle by those who envied him when occupied.

He thereupon left for Goa, where he remained without public employment until the year [1]622, a most unfortunate one to the Crown, by the death of Philip II., who passed away to a better life, and also for the loss of *Ormuz*. This is a city in the Island of Gerun, in 27 degrees of north latitude, a little over three leagues in circumference, at about the same distance from the coast of Persia, and ten from Arabia. It is the key of the straits leading to the Persian Sea, for they possessed one side of the same Island : whence it comes to have two ports, one on the east and the other on the west—the best and safest the land forms, making a harbour for all the merchandize of the East and West, as well as of Persia, Amernica, and Tartary in the north. But the Island being in itself the most sterile and barren in the world belonging to the same Empire, it was covetousness which led to the peopling of such places as *Ormuz*. Being naturally, as we have said, one of the most fertile and delightful spots in the universe, its inhabitants held it as an established truth that *the world was a ring and Ormuz a precious stone inclosed therein.**

* *Si terrarum orbis, quâquâ patet annulus esset.*
*Illius Ormusium gemma decusque foret.*

(Sir T. Herbert, *Travels*, 105.) Pyrard makes the common proverb, "If the world were an egg, Ormus would be the yoke." (*Voyages*, 1619, II., 254.)—B., *Hon. Sec.*

It was always governed by kings; but after we had governed it by the industry and valour of the great Alfonso de Alboquerque, its princes with only the title of kings became subject to our Empire: it remained with various fortunes up to our times, a rich and thriving place, most useful to the Portuguese, and for that reason much coveted by our northern enemies.

With this they laid seige to the fortress, and the beseiged, thinking more of their safety than of their honour in the defence, were some for delivering it up, others for holding out, so that in the end the Portuguese had to evacuate the place, and it was left in the Persians' power.

When the Governor got news of the seige of *Ormuz*, he resolved to relieve it. But the preparations were so slow that when they were ready it only served to expose the weakness of our nation to the world; and the enterprise was lost more by the procrastination of its deliberations than by the valour of the enemy. The money expended so intemperately only served still more to oppress the State without removing the danger, for both time and opportunity had been lost. If the preparations had been made in time and the opportunity seized at the right moment, all would have been saved, but they had let it slip. In time of necessity there is nothing worse than delay—it doubles the danger, and without remedying the evil leaves it worse than it was before.

Many incidents happened in this affair of *Ormuz* which confirmed the disgrace; for they say the quickness they took in delivering it up equalled the long delay in sending the relieving force. After it was ready, Hernando de Alboquerque gave over the command to Constantino de Sá; and there were some who said that he was given this dangerous task in the hopes that he would be killed, and imputed the idea to the government which was in the hands of his heirs. For the relieving force was small and badly equipped, with neither men nor ships capable of wiping out so great an insult; the enemy was powerful, the time had passed,

and the season was bad, the monsoon having changed, and the winds become unfavourable for the navigation of the straits. These things were all so necessary that without them disaster was inevitable. But how can it be imagined that such a scheme had been conceived in the mind of so honourable a Minister as Hernando de Alboquerque ?

Failure and adversity in all undertakings meet with reproof, more especially for those who govern, whose actions the people tear to shreds in the animosity of their discourse, measuring them by the results of their success, and allowing no other consideration.

Although Constantino de Sá from the beginning had to face such odds, he, nevertheless, undertook the expedition in spite of them all, and obediently carried it out for the sake of his reputation and for his king's service, in which he exhibited such vigilance; for they said, he was sunk and lost until he met with the Portuguese who had marched out of *Ormuz*, and left it in the hands of the enemy. When he received this news he was at *Mascate*, a place belonging to the kingdom of *Ormuz*, on the eastern coast of Arabia Felix, and a favourable situation to repair in some way the losses we had sustained. It was also like *Ormuz* in having a harbour for the navigation and trade of those seas.

Here Constantino de Sá found a half ruined fort, which he repaired in the best manner he could; and after he had fortified it and settled the trade and traffic to the detriment of that of *Ormuz*, he returned to Goa, taking with him, amongst other prisoners, the Captain of *Ormuz*, who was considered by some guilty of the surrender. On the voyage he fully felt the shame of his position, and to relieve his mind he reproached his companions, who with equal bitterness accused the Captain as the author of it all. Neither the patience or consideration of Constantino de Sá could pacify them ; for it appeared as if their hearts were like small vessels, so full of shame that it poured forth out of their mouths. The General had no other remedy, and with the advice of his counsellors took away the Captain from the company with which he

had been taken prisoner and sent him to another ship, placing him in charge of a Captain of infantry, who, when pressed by the prisoner, gave him an opportunity to escape, managing to part his ship from the fleet under the pretence of having lost his course.

When on arrival at Goa he found himself without the prisoner, the Governor tried to throw the whole blame on Constantino de Sá ; for he was badly disposed towards him, and wished to accuse him for allowing his prisoner to escape, and also for not arriving in time to save *Ormuz*. The Governor's intentions were apparent to all ; and Constantino de Sá, mistrusting this accusation, voluntarily placed himself in the castle of Goa until such time as his innocence should be proved, although every one knew his promptitude and diligence on this occasion. When the whole affair was made known it was found that it was a mere pretence, and not for any matter of justice. It was still more clearly proved when the Governor himself wished to release him ; but he refused to be released until the whole case had been laid before his Majesty, who, in consideration for the good services of Constantino de Sá, ordered him back to *Ceylan* with great promises of further favours.

It was in the year [1] 623 when, for the second time arrived as Viceroy of India, Don Francisco de Gama, Conde de la Vidigueira, Admiral of those seas, great grandson of the illustrious Vasco de Gama, first discoverer of them, having left Lisbon in March of the year before—Hernando de Alboquerque's death happening about the same time as his arrival. With the orders he had received from his Majesty, the moment he entered on his government he restored the command of *Ceylan* to Constantino de Sá, and sent him thither in April, 1623, with a plentiful supply of money and men.

Two years had elapsed since Jorge de Alboquerque came to that post, and he had governed so cautiously that *Madune* had again taken the field. Emboldened by the absence of Constantino de Sá, and buoyed up by new aspirations and hopes, he managed to get together a bold following with

the help of a Christian *Zingala Modeliar* (whose Gentile name was *Nai-dapu*, and afterwards named Manuel Homem Mascarenas), who corresponded with *Madune* whilst he was guarding our frontier. He collected his lascarins, disguised as labourers, to aid him when a safe opportunity offered itself to deliver up the Island to him.

As soon as Jorge de Alboquerque found it out, he seized him and sent him to Goa for trial; but on the voyage he was taken off by a mortal illness, and death saved him from the just punishment his treason deserved. Jorge de Alboquerque was severely condemned by his enemies for this event; for they said that it was this *Zingala's* wealth which was his chief crime, and it was to rob him of it that he had charged him with treason, of which he was innocent; and that he brought about his death in order to conceal other corrupt practices, and that violent means were used, and not an accident. Every one of (these charges) might have placed Jorge de Alboquerque in the public gaol when he came to Goa to settle his affairs; but he cleared himself of these and other falsehoods with which he was publicly accused,—receiving no other satisfaction than the clearing up of his name and honour, which to the meritorious is the most estimable reward after all.

This nobleman, amongst other noteworthy acts he did during his government, built a fortress at the port of *Caleture*, an important place because of its situation, easy of access, and being on the river, useful to relieve the fortress of *Sofragan*, the importance of which we have already shown.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

Constantino de Sá arrives a second time as Governor of Ceylan. He erects the Fortress of Triquilimale, and with great prudence and good government establishes Peace.

Great were the rejoicings in the Island of *Ceylan*, which celebrated the return of its Governor and Captain-General, Constantino de Sá y Noroña, a second time to the government of the Island. He was received with acclamation by both Portuguese and *Zingalas*, who had gone even so far as to petition his Majesty for his restoration, as the unanimous wish of the people.

Grateful for the good wishes unto himself, Constantino continued to govern them with his usual courtesy and disinterestedness; but found the Island in an uncertain state of neither open hostility nor settled peace, because the punishments and imprisonments inflicted by his predecessor had exasperated the *Zingalas*, and made them long for a change: on the other hand, according to the instructions the Count-Admiral had given him, he had orders to follow up closely the conquest of *Candia*, and to erect a fortress in the *Baia de los arcos* at *Triquilimale*.

These being such opposite undertakings, and the carrying out of them requiring both time and consideration, the difficulties placed in the way of the first almost preventing the execution of the other, and besides the necessary provisions being wanting, he informed the Count-Admiral of all the obstacles in the way, together with the opinions and recommendations of the oldest and most experienced Captains serving under him, whereby they finally decided that the erection of a fort at *Triquilimale* would afford great advantages to whatever enterprise they might undertake against *Candia*. Because to declare war first against that prince would compel him openly to oppose our designs, which

would be much better carried out under a subterfuge of peace (badly kept as it was); and considering our power was so limited, it did not appear prudent to commence any new expedition without great forethought. For as much as in all wars of conquest the first thing for a prince is to find out if his strength is equal to the task he is about to undertake, in order that he may not conquer more than he can keep: since after climbing to the top of a tree (as says Alexander the Great) one might have the fear of falling from one of its branches.

The Count-Admiral, informed by Constantino de Sá of these and other reasons, ordered him to suspend the conquest of *Candia* and to carry out the erection of the fortress at *Triquilimale*.

On receiving these orders he collected together all the forces he could muster by sea and by land, and in the following summer of the year [1]624, within a few days he commenced the work which his predecessors had desired so much to perform. He carefully selected an almost impregnable site on which was a famous *pagode* or *varella* (which names are synonymous) where a point of land juts into the ocean, continued by a high eminence, at the foot of which stretches the city of *Triquilimale*, from which the Province takes its name, and the great bay or estuary, forming a peninsula, after making a wide circuit, expends its waves against the walls. On the first rise to the summit of the rock was a *pagode*, another at mid ascent, and the most famous of them all on the highest eminence, which was looked upon and worshipped with great superstition by crowds of wondering pilgrims, and for this reason was more celebrated than for the building itself and the beauties of its architecture. Upon this lofty situation the Fortress, in the form of a triangle, commanded the extensive bay, which the sea made there of sufficient depth and capacity for numbers of ships as far up as the mouth of the river: on whose banks, at three leagues' distant, is the city of *Vintane*, the maritime fortress of the King of *Candia*. By this we hindered in a great measure the building, working, and navigation of his fleets.

The General, with the same care and forethought he took in erecting the Fortress, knowing its importance and the anger it would cause the King of *Candia*, garrisoned it with eighty Portuguese and five hundred lascarins, with the necessary boats and some cannon that Heaven had provided at the place from a Danish vessel which had gone down on that coast, and which he got up from the bottom of the sea by the blacks, who are great divers. This was a great blow to the King of *Candia;* for not only did we take his lands without legitimate cause, but also profaned the holiest and most venerable place these infidels possessed, making that a refuge and stronghold to the Christians which was hitherto a temple and odious abode of their idols. This *Changasar* felt most keenly, for he was a priest by profession before he came to the throne (about which we shall say somewhat presently), and he remained always in that way inclined, his soul being more full of superstition than affairs of State.*

At one time the kingdom of *Triquilimale* had its own princes, and the last legitimate one was baptized (after being exiled from his country) at Goa in the year 1552, his name having been changed to *Don Alonso;* and it is presumed that he died there without being reinstated. Being without heirs it is very probable that he might have bequeathed the right of succession to the Crown of Portugal; for that was the usual thing with all princes banished from the Island.

The King of *Candia* cunningly concealed this insult to him under a fair exterior, without showing openly any sign of anger, but nevertheless was secretly bent on revenge. By this time his two sons, princes of Kandy (one by a former marriage) married the princesses, daughters of the blind King of *Jafanapatan*, who had managed to escape and get to *Candia* before the Captain Philip de Oliveira, the Governor of the Province,

* *Changasar* = ? *Saṅghayá*, "Buddhist priesthood." Senerat, King of Kandy at this time, had formerly been a Buddhist monk.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

could overtake them, although he had sent his fleet to intercept them. But the King of *Candia* was lord of forty leagues of the opposite coast from the port of *Cardiva* to that of *Cotiar*, and had the free trade and navigation of it. In this way he could easily land refugees and get them into his kingdom. They had been first protected by the *Naique* of *Tanjaor* (after they fled from *Jafanapatan*), at whose court the marriages were celebrated. After this the King of *Candia* had been gradually violating the treaties of peace under the cloak of friendship, making out that he only wished to appear powerful to both friends and enemies. In the first place, he excited to rebellion the Provinces which were faithful to us, and afterwards invited the heretics of Europe (Hollanders), who were at *Tarangabar*, using great secrecy and craft, so that, united with the *Naique*, they might assist him with their arms and power in gaining possession of the lands subject to the King of *Jafanapatan*, which had been given in dowry to his children, under the promise of driving us from the Island, and making them lords of the Empire.

In the interim Constantino de Sá returned from *Triquilimale* to *Malvana*, carefully weighing in his mind all the things he heard, and determined to undermine and prevent them taking place. Showing himself as dexterous in the art of dissimulation as he of *Candia*, he made use of the same artifices to repel as the other had used to carry them out; but displaying more promptitude in remedying matters than in open hostilities. For he did not venture to have resort to arms, and be the first to declare war against the express orders of His Majesty; but with the consent of the Count-Admiral he merely threatened without actually resorting to arms; and continuing always his preparations he strove to keep the faithful Provinces in our obedience whilst the King of *Candia* was working hard to stir up rebellion: for on these tactics the security of the Island depended.

In this way he went on governing with great vigilance and care. Treating the islanders in frank, open, and courteous manner, he became more a father to them than a Governor;

so that even the Portuguese, following his example, so regulated their actions that the soldiers became like citizens, the citizens like priests, and all so agreeable and friendly to the natives that nobody would have imagined that they were two such opposite nations. Christian piety increased in the same manner, and also the exaltation of our Holy Catholic faith; in the promotion of which he was ever watchful, bringing about conversion by so many sound measures that *Ceylan* began to resemble more a Spanish province—there being scattered over the Island many convents and monasteries of Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustins, and Jesuits, which were full of the most virtuous and learned subjects. There were also a great many churches and hospitals in whose service and administration the Portuguese showed an example to all by their liberality. Nor was least of all the solicitude of the Governor in all sacred matters. He made them to be reverenced and the ministers to be obeyed, giving them the jurisdiction and homage due to them in all ecclesiastical affairs, abstaining himself from all concern over the persons and things belonging to them, and using the greatest care and circumspection not to go beyond the limit of his power and commit sacrilege (as so many ministers have done in the freedom of the absolute power they have vested in them whilst governing in the name of their king), being nothing more than a protector and defender of the Church and its ministers: for God holds him to be His defender whoever concerns himself about the preservation of His rule. He never went beyond the lawful limits of his powers, as that would have been what the infidels would have wished: he considered that if his vassals feared God and reverenced the things that belonged to Him, his kingdom would be the happiest and the most lasting of all. Love of religion, united with justice in military and civil affairs, accompanied his Government; transgressors were punished, virtue favoured, trade carried on with honesty, valour rewarded, and vice looked on with abhorrence even by the most froward.

From the actions of Governors invariably result the great love of their subjects, and that which the *Zingalas* bore towards Constantino de Sá was so great that they called him their "father," and looked up to him as their shield and buckler; for he alleviated the hard lot of servitude that is suffered from Governments in times when often for salvation from the evils of infidelity so much innocent blood is shed: whereby Governors make themselves feared, and thus being indebted so much to fear, get to be feared, and for that reason are not loved. But Empires which are governed through fear are of no long duration; for fear begets hate, and hate desires the adversary's death.

Constantino de Sá was aware of this difficulty, and had to face it to bring over the *Zingalas* to our love and allegiance. He made use of their services as he did of the Portuguese, and gave them positions of the greatest trust and confidence in the State, and even about his own person. He also made them chiefs (headmen) of *aldeas;* and that there might be no lack of rewards in order to bind them over to him, he obtained from His Majesty that these appointments might be given for life, which was a thing greatly praised and esteemed by the natives.

*Aldeas* in *Ceylan* are what in Europe are called *encomiendas* (Commanderies).

It has already been told how Manuel Homem Mascarenas, when he was General, marked out their boundaries, and how he regulated them by the arbitration of the Governors and the officials of the Island. They afterwards usurped this privilege from his jurisdiction and constituted a council of the *Veedores de hazienda*, the Captains of *Columbo*, and the Superiors of the Convent of San Francisco, over which presided the General. The *aldeas* were provided by general vote, although the right of possession passed over on the Governor's *ola;* the provisions of which usually gave to the Portuguese for three lives, and to the natives for one, which is what Constantino de Sá introduced. He reserved the pensions for His Majesty, who always recommended his

ministers to introduce life rewards, for they were deemed useful to the sovereign. The kings of Portugal made considerable use of them in their Government, so as to keep their subjects always in expectation, and to have something to give without exhausting the royal treasury, and saddling the country with new creations and new honours, and without diminishing by their numbers the value and authority of rewards and titles. They provided that the sons should inherit from their fathers if they deserved it; for there was a great difference between the persons themselves and their heirs, and the chance of reward rarely descended to the family and offspring of the person. This custom was so praiseworthy and well received by many princes that Philip the Prudent greatly desired to introduce it into Castille, with the titles which in that kingdom were usually hereditary and for perpetuity.

By this equal division the *Zingalas* were satisfied and content, and he had no reason to be afraid of any disturbance; for the enemy held back through fear of this union, the confederates joined in friendship, and the tributaries came over to allegiance. The General suited his actions according to the times, grave, severe, mild, cautious, and disinterested, never allowing his appearance or speech to betray him: he comported himself in such a manner that his easy way never allowed disrespect, neither did his severity make him less loved. He invariably listened to the advice of his officers and captains, who were all chosen for their own merits and not out of respect for their position. In his household everything about his person and family was most quiet and modest; his dress was neither mean, nor was it costly; everything he provided out of his own pocket, giving out of his own to the poor, to the soldiers, and to those who were deserving. He regulated the cost of all ceremonies, arranging them according to the necessity of the occasion; and in this way avoided all vain display that other ministers so often inflict upon the State, of which they are the head and the example, and who display greater

pomp and ceremony the further they are away from their king—a most important thing, necessary for the arrogance of the age and useful to the monarch and vassals: if the corruption of the times had not allowed each one to be the arbitrator, and his own master of excesses as he was of vices.

The Chinese, who are great masters of political economy, give (according to some writers) limits and rules to their Mandarins, who are their governors, for their ceremonial and their manner of living ; never allowing more than they themselves and the provinces which they govern can pay for in their families and households. For the king himself pays and provides them with all that is necessary for their living and entertainments according to the dignity of their office ; but if they exceeded the public expenditure they are severely punished. In this way all excess and vain display, which are such scandals to States, never occur, envy and rivalry are avoided, bribery prevented, shame and oppression removed, and the doors thrown open to everybody in the country's service at the same rate. This was also the practice of the Venetains and Genoese, which made their Republics the greatest and richest we know of in Europe.

It was not necessary to impose these restrictions on our Governor : he did not wish to add to the splendour of his person and office, but what was only absolutely necessary, for he put all his parade in serving God and his king with those qualities which make a perfect minister, such as zeal, disinterestedness, and temperance. His ambition was for honour, not for wealth : the latter he disregarded as if he was very rich; but he thirsted for the former. In this way he governed, respected, beloved, and looked up to with the approbation and admiration of the whole States of India, when the year [1]624 came to a close.

## CHAPTER IX.

The Acts of the Government of Constantino de Sá. He strengthens the Fort of Galle: erects another on the Island of Cardiva: repairs the Fort of Columbo, and carries out other important works. He reforms abuses, puts down vice and corruption, and makes new Laws for the administration of the Royal Treasury.

All events, be they fortunate or unfortunate, have their beginnings from God, and there is no such thing as fortune or destiny except by the will of Divine Providence. This is what every Christian should believe (for even among the Gentiles, that great and wise philosopher, our own Spanish Seneca, taught it), that in the variety of events which happen to a monarchy, all require a great deal of consideration and forethought, and should the same methods even be used and every care and precaution possible be taken, it often appears in the inequality of the results which could not have been prevented that there is nothing that happens to mortals which is not for their welfare or misery—that the times do not act upon it with greater force than this presumption. For it is human ignorance that ends in holding the years and even the days responsible, calling them critical or fatal as the case may be, and making them out to be the actual cause of success or disaster—as if the years and days worked out the results, and God, the Creator of all things, gave time to be something more than a mere measurement of human events.

We begin the ninth chapter with the year 1625, one of the most glorious years in the annals of the Spanish Monarchy for prosperous and happy events,—a year which was made out to be prophetic in our own succeeding times, without it ever having been foreseen or thought about.

*Ceylan* also enjoyed this good fortune: because in the midst of the marvellous peace in which the Island was governed by Constantino de Sá, watchful about the years to follow, he caused as usual the clash of arms to be heard, the ring of which not only prevented idleness (that cankerworm of empires) among the Portuguese, but also plainly showed the King of *Candia*, already a violator of the treaty of peace, the spirit which animated him in pursuing the conquest without coming actually to blows; and to get satisfaction for broken faith which he had so often sworn to for his own profit—an action which is infamous even in a prince, when it happens out of alarm for the misdeed and the insult of not keeping his word and oath (through fear of punishment) that God makes him afraid to break.

Machiavelli, being a condemned author and of contrary opinion, maintains, however, that the Romans feared more to break treaties than to break laws; and perhaps for this reason God made them masters of the world. It is a great pity then that he counselled the contrary to Christian princes who followed his maxims for their own convenience, neither keeping statutes nor charters to which they had once given their word punctually to follow for the public welfare of their kingdoms; so much so that in breaking it they committed deadly sin and perjured themselves. They were obliged to make up for the evil they had done the State in this way, in case the people would not waive in the public courts the privileges that had been conceded to them and sworn in their favour. They could legally renounce them: but the prince could not renew, alter, diminish, nor increase the absolute power, inasmuch as he could not do what he wished, but only what was just.

Our General made use of dissimulation, concealing certain things which were of importance to the State, so as to make use of them when both the time and occasion were ripe; for if fraud and deceit destroy kingdoms he had to temporise skilfully to preserve them. The idolater of *Candia*, being a perfect master in cunning, falsehood, trickery, and

vain imaginations, Constantino de Sá used such stratagem that he foiled them without falling into the same error himself; for neither God nor men allow of falsehood in a high minister who represents his sovereign.

For these reasons, as if he already found himself surrounded by the enemy, he considered that the whole defence of the Island was in keeping up our fortresses. That of *Galle* being one of the principal, he went on with the fortifications until they were complete; for he had suspended them the year before for want of funds. He also saw the dangerous pretensions of the King of *Candia* towards *Jafanapatan*; and fearing that it would be exposed to the first outburst of the war which was sure to break out in that part, to insure his entrance thereto he erected another fortress in the island of *Cardiva*, which was subject to *Jafanapatan* and a port of that kingdom.

With equal forethought and care he built on the point called St. Lawrence in the roadstead of *Columbo* a strong curtain of masonry and lime, eighty-six arms' lengths in circuit, and demolished the old one it held. He mounted it with eleven pieces of artillery; and as the royal treasury was so exhausted and so small that it could scarcely meet the pay and salaries of the army, he availed himself of the lands and estates belonging to the citizens of *Columbo*, who assisted him with all the money he spent in that work with great zeal and liberality. For it is true that nothing induces so much the will of the people and vassals to serve the prince with their own property as the belief in the necessity of his demands and that he spends it in the public cause. Our General knew how to bring them over to his requests by his courtesy and gracious manners; and as he justified his petitions with the results of his work he never found the people unwilling.

In their eyes there is nothing more pernicious than money thrown away in useless expenditure or lavishly wasted; since when necessity and a just cause presents itself, they are obliged to help by new impositions because of the want produced by excess and abuse; and such demands upon them

are only justified on urgent emergency when it presents itself in such a manner that makes it obligatory. But when the prince squanders away the public revenues in gifts and frivolous expenses, he has no justification whatever, since they are incurred by his own excesses and carelessness; so that comes to be a greater sin in ministers who govern, and, under cover of the public good, spend the money for their own private ends,—a sin they often fall into, and which deserves severe punishment. If, however, the service which the vassals give is for a sure and fixed purpose, it affords both the minister and themselves satisfaction, and in time of necessity it will be easy to find help; but when the ministers turn it to their own profit, and the subjects give for only trivial and worthless objects, in their zeal to assist the public necessity, they feel deeply grieved by such deception, and feel themselves released from any obligation in future.

With the moneys he received he made another curtain of thirty arms' length, as necessary as the first, and with all these works he so insured the defence of the roadstead of *Columbo* that there was no opening without protection for the ships which anchored in that port.

The whole study of Constantino de Sá was to see if he could lighten the State of the great expense it was put to for the security of the Island, and that his government and the carrying on of the conquest might be kept up by proper forces. He built a gunpowder mill and factory, which was worked by the water of the lagoon surrounding the city, and turned out five *arrobas* a day; so that in case they fell short it would be certain to give them sufficient supplies for the whole Island. The Governor paid for this work also out of his own salary, for he had such zeal and so little egotism that he only traded and made profits for the service of his God and his king.

Such a pure form of government was hated by many ministers, who, carried away by their covetousness, ambition, and lust, usually placed their own interests before those of

the public good of the kingdom, giving cause to the enemies of the Portuguese nation, in a time full of religion and virtue, for endeavouring to justifiy themselves in defaming it. It is a theme worthy of tears which a serious author refers to, who confesses that he never reads without shedding many, of other Republics and States that in the beginning were well and justly governed, acquired by valour, extended by force of arms, and preserved with so much care and prudence, but afterwards all lost, or in great danger of being lost. To all this the Portuguese had arrived in the different parts of India. For allowing themselves to be carried away by those passions which sapped their courage, weakened their valour, and confounded their reason, they forgot the respect due to their honour, their nobility, and their laws : lost to all beauty and truth, and to God himself, heaping disgrace on the Portuguese reputation and on the government and princes who governed them, insulting the faith and the very name of Christ, when it should have been most reverenced. These complaints and the carelessness of the ministers had been almost irremediable, and perhaps God permitted them to be instrumental to the decline of those States.

They also afflicted the Island of *Ceylan* when Constantino de Sá arrived to govern it; so that all trade and commerce was lawful as long as it was profitable to them. In proof of this, it is a fact that the excesses of some bad Christians had reached such a pitch, that they had imported ship-loads of arms and material of war to sell them to the hostile princes and rebels in the Island, and especially to the idolater of *Candia* when he was waging a desperate war against us. Thus bringing down upon their heads the censures and punishments imposed in the Lord's Supper, which they had abused and spurned, as well having tarnished their honour,—passing with ease from contempt to neglect of conscience, which told them that among the virtues which Christian piety produces, is not only to be devout, but also to be honourable ; that to be faithful to God and his commandments is also to be true to the sovereign, and even more so to the country.

Amongst these were the Portuguese *Disawas*, who not only consented to such abuses, but in time of war held on their own account, in the midst of their camps, public markets, which the *Zingalas* called *bangaçais*, where they sold their merchandise, first monopolising at great prices, a thing unworthy of Christians and soldiers, and still more blameworthy in Portuguese, considering the sober modesty, disinterestedness, and valour with which their forefathers began these conquests.

All this is gathered from a treatise by a Jesuit monk which came into my hands, to whose person and cloth no little credit is due. It was written in *Ceylan* in the year 1514.*

But that zeal of religion which comes from firm belief and faith was so ardent in Constantino de Sá's breast, that he detested these disorders and vices which cost him such trouble to reform ; for they had been allowed so much licence that they had made them a custom and law : and when vice steps in and takes the place of virtue, it is the greatest curse that can befall a State. But the uprightness with which he went about this work enabled him to do a great deal, a great many abuses were gradually removed, and *Ceylan* arrived at the condition we have said.

The great integrity of his disinterestedness and the anxiety with which he watched the growth of that conquest obliged him by this time to introduce new measures for the administration of the royal treasury.

The antiquated practice introduced by the government of Don Juan de Castro was in existence. King John III. had placed in all his fortresses and conquered provinces *Veedores de hazienda*, which they administered independently of the Generals and Captains. This practice had its inconveniences, and more so in our land, for the rents of the fisc were very limited, and not equal to the expenditure. The post of the Generals and Governors was so despotic that it enjoyed more power sometimes than their King. But they had

* The very name of the work and of its author remain unknown.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

a great deal less hold of power and authority than the others (*Veedores*) had to bring a Province under their arbitration ; so that even to the smallest item the dispositions and sinews of war depended not on the absolute person who governed, but on another and inferior person in rank, who was often opposed to the good designs of his Governor, or on the indiscreet zeal of a bad minister, who confined himself to his own personal interests and endeavours to thwart and impair the best and most important schemes in which he had no part. That great Governor of India, Martin Alonso de Sosa, a minister who took the greatest care of the profits of the royal revenue, said that there were many officers to collect it and only one to spend it. A number of ministers with equal powers and authority is the death of a State : a few well chosen for their merits nourish it ; but too many serve to confound and ruin it.

The *Veedor de la hazienda* in *Ceylan* was one named Ambrosio de Freitas, a man whose character and services it is not my purpose to notice, and still less the causes which made him leave his post, which I presume was owing to the encounters he had with Constantino de Sá and the animosity with which he opposed him; so much so that he sent in his resignation to the Count-Admiral. The General, rather than that the King's service should suffer, proposed to undertake it himself and carry out the war and conquest of *Candia* without other help from the State than Portuguese troops; and what was more he sent to *Baçora* on His Majesty's account two hundred *bares* of cinnamon in merchandise. To transact this business he sent his procurators to Goa, and so great was his zeal that he did more for his sovereign than he did for his own private affairs and property, which he pledged and consumed in public undertakings. Both offers appeared so just and advantageous to the Count-Admiral that he allowed them to pass, informing His Majesty of his proceedings, whose royal warrant he hoped finally to receive. For in matters of such importance it required a firm determined policy: delay was always mischievous, and it

appeared to him most inconvenient to put it off for so long a time; although in that remote Government it was a very common evil, and for that reason the ultimate success of many undertakings was marred, a thing easy to remedy if so powerful and distant an official as the Viceroy of India had taken upon himself to administer the power and jurisdiction of the Sovereign both in grace and justice.

If merit gives the highest posts of the kingdom, it is useless to elect the prudent, the wise, and the most valiant when they are only made the executors and not the arbitrators; especially if the last orders and ultimate resolutions are formed from the opinions of other ministers whose knowledge is gathered from information and reports which so often arrive distorted and mutilated into their hands that they render abortive the execution of them. Because in a State there are many defects and shortcomings which demand different remedies: sudden and unexpected ones require prompt measures, and those which are more troublesome and widespread require more time. But well-applied remedies all require a perfect knowledge of the evil, whatever it is, an experience of the cure and full understanding of the treatment; and these things are so essential that if anything is left out the whole success and life of an undertaking upon which might depend the welfare and safety of kingdoms is at stake. For many ill-applied remedies, without proper care or forethought and without regard to time, are often more disastrous than the evils themselves.

## CHAPTER X.

CONSTANTINO DE SÁ EXPELS THE MOORS FROM THE FRIENDLY PARTS OF CEYLAN. DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF CANDIA. ORIGIN OF ITS PRINCES, AND THE CLAIM THE PORTUGUESE HAD FOR UNDERTAKING ITS CONQUEST.

MOST fortunate is the prince who in time of peace and war employs successful ministers, for such men often change errors into successes. Contrary to all India's expectations, when a thousand evils were foretold of this resolution, the year 1626 had already begun when Constantino de Sá successfully brought about the expulsion of the Moors from *Ceylan* and its neighbourhood. Christianity called for it, and it was executed with courage and prudence, making wonderful not only the good effect, but dispersing the vain fears spread about by politicians, who always prefer profitable to religious affairs.

His Catholic Majesty Philip IV., inheriting with the Empire the Christian zeal and holy piety of his religious father, in order to imitate him and his forefather King Don Ferdinand, whose works gave him the name of "the Catholic" (as Ginebrardo testifies), at this time ordered the expulsion of the Moors from *Ceylan*, knowing how pernicious was their intercourse with the idolatrous islanders, and how they impeded their conversion; for this evil had more weight with His Majesty than all the pretexts that could be brought against it.

For upwards of 130 years before our arrival in India, this infernal sect of their perfidious Muhammad was scattered throughout the East by the Moors, Persians, and *Rumes*, who with other merchandise from their lands, and with money that the devil had supplied them with, had got to have such hold over this blind people, that there was scarcely a part of the land which was not infected by this evil

doctrine. It was either through the zeal by which his followers resembled them, or it was from the ease with which these idolaters received them, owing to their sympathy with and their uniformity in the depravity and corruption of their lives and customs ; for there being in the whole cult two parts, one which teaches belief and the other which deals with works, the Moors in all these agreeing with the heathen, they were easy to be dissuaded from the first, which was all the Muhammadans desired. For the worship of many idols is against all natural reason, it being evident that as much as things are more or less alike, so much it is more or less easy to pass from one to the other ; and for that reason the philosophers say that the air takes fire quicker than water, and that water filters through more easily than fire.

The blind faith of the Moors is so like the superstition of the heathen idolaters (both children of the same father, who is the devil), that it was remarkable the ease with which they were induced to embrace their religion ; after which they remained in almost the same state as they were before, and even worse in the freedom of vices, that lead man more astray than anything else, and which renders so difficult the propagation of the law of the Gospel, owing to the difference there is between it and that taught by these wicked sects,—a great proof of its purity and perfection, and because its very holiness, reason, and justice counsels and admonishes all, giving equal power to all by its divine gifts, to worship the same God, in such a way that no other change is sufficient to make a pagan idolater a Christian : inasmuch that throughout all nature there is as much difference between an infidel and Christian as there is between the brute beasts and man.

This difficulty had helped the Moors to introduce their religion into the Island, by which means they impeded the gentle and softening effects of our doctrine ; and the *Zingalas* being naturally not so amenable to believe in our persuasions as the other races of India, it appeared to be most impolitic to allow in their midst a race so opposite to ours as

the Moors were, who were not only the inveterate enemies of our religion, but also our mortal foes; who not only tried to convert the Gentiles, but to be masters of the seas as well as of the many great and vast provinces within the East.

It is not possible to ascertain the exact number of these barbarians who were expelled by Constantino de Sá. We only know that he carried out the royal commands with skill and with greater success than he had anticipated. It was a deed worthy of great praise, and for which His Majesty expressed himself well pleased and beholden.

The King of *Candia*, who invariably watched all our actions in order to make use of them when convenient, now wished to keep us more than ever in continual fear and anxiety. He gave shelter to the exiled Moors, as they were enemies of the Portuguese, and admitted them into the principal posts of his kingdom, placing in that of *Batecalou* a garrison of 4,000; giving to understand by this disposition the fear he had of what we had done in these parts by that other fortress of *Triquilimale* which had completely closed the kingdom of *Candia* from all provisions and supplies; so that he was as it were blockaded and shut up within his own territories, whilst the Portuguese remained masters of all the seaports in the Island.

More than once had His Majesty given orders to the Captains-General of Ceylon to erect a fortress at *Batecalou*, but finding that harbour to be shallow and incapable of sheltering any large vessel, and no eminence or commanding site whereupon they could erect a battery, they had deferred a work which was most important for the carrying on of the conquest.

Constantino de Sá had received the same orders but more pressing, and seeing the difficulties in the way were false, he desired above all things to carry them out, although he had suspended them so as not to disobey what His Majesty had also ordered, namely, not to be the first to break the treaties of peace and declare war. But the King of *Candia* had broken through almost every clause of them, and

ultimately threw off the mask by the reception he gave and the favour he showed the Moors: thus affairs became so strained that war appeared compulsory to us.

But before we follow it up, it is proper that we should say something about the claims the Crown of Portugal had to *Candia*, and why it undertook the conquest of that kingdom ; also about the wickedness, treachery, and perfidiousness of its princes, its orgin, and the beginning of one of the most obstinate wars we have ever undertaken in the East, and in whose prosecution our General gloriously fell and ended his life.

The kingdom of *Candia*, which the natives call *Candauda*,* signifying "high lands," is surrounded by impenetrable masses of mountain range, which serve it as a wall and defence. It is situated in the centre of the Island, which is the most rugged and loftiest part, so that all the passes leading thereto are most difficult of access, more especially those from *Columbo*, owing to the precipices and perpendicular rocks which shut it in, as if the very land itself vented its hatred against the Portuguese and gave security to its treacherous inhabitants. Although they keep to the country within this mountain circle, which forms the heart as it were of *Ceylan*, they have nevertheless outlets to the sea by the ports of *Paniva* and *Cotiar*.

The kingdom of *Candia* is the largest in the Island, and as thickly populated as the Provinces of Old Castile and the Asturias are in Spain ; but the Hollanders were mistaken when they made it out to be so large and powerful a country, and gave out that there were fourteen tributary kings in it, for only those of *Batecalou* and *Triquilimale* were at one time tributary. The land is fertile, the climate varied, the people warlike, and so given up to military service that they easily forsake the cultivation of the fields, which are so productive that they produce the finest fruits in the world in great abundance; but they owe more to nature's beneficence

* *Cf.* Knox (*loc. cit.*, p. 2) :— "in one word *Conde Uda*, which signifies *On top of the Hills*, and the king is styled the king of *Conde Uda*." [Sin.. *kandu uḍa*.]—B., *Hon. Sec.*

than to any other artificial means. For the natives give all their time to the exercise of arms and military discipline, in which they excel all the other infidels of the East. They neglect and scorn to work in the gold and silver mines thay have. This was encouraged by the king, who would not permit any of his officers to benefit by them, so that they might not be corrupted thereby; and that their natures might be hardened by continual warfare, he would not allow any diversion or idleness in time of peace, but only in the freedom of war: in which way it became one of the most perilous and dangerous wars the kingdom of Spain was ever engaged in. For the *Zingalas* of *Candia*, naturally callous of life, were both valiant and sturdy, and by the continual use of arms had become disciplined, and so proud and haughty that their subjection might be compared to the Dutch rebellion; and what is more is, that they excelled them in activity, courage, and endurance, considering their mode of warfare is so totally different. For they know not the discipline of Europe, nor of the numerous engines or stratagems invented by human malice; neither have they the writings which antiquity has bequeathed to mortal beings as to how to take vengeance and how to protect themselves against the hate and evil passions of their enemies. But the impetus and fury they display in the face of the greatest danger is due more to inborn courage than to barbarism; for they have no more defensive armour than what nature has given them. As for offensive weapons they are almost the same as in Europe: they use a kind of artillery, which at present is the best and finest in the world, for the curious and artful way in which they cast and turn it out. The dexterous manner in which they handle the bow and shoot their arrows is marvellous; the arrows are poisoned by rubbing certain herbs on them, so that the wounds they inflict are deadly. Strange is the way also in which they handle the pike, which is only seven palms in length, whereas in Europe it is twenty-five. In fact they lack nothing wherewith to kindle their animosity and natural ferocity against us, whose cruel enemies they always were.

*Candia* formerly was ruled by lords before she had kings, with no other right to dominion than that derived by force of arms and what tyranny marked out of the empire by power and cupidity.

In the reign of *Parea Pandar*, King of *Ceylan*, in 1547,* when the Portuguese had been forty-two years in the Island, they entered into negotiations with *Jurira Bandar*,† the eldest brother of *Madune*, who, under pretext of his conversion, asked King John III. for priests and for arms to uphold and carry out his intentions. Three Franciscans were the first to be sent from *Columbo* to *Candia* on this mission. The name of only one of them, that of brother Pascoal, is given by Diego de Couto.

Don Juan de Castro then governed India. Being informed of the idolater's resolution, and fearing that his baptism might stir up strife amongst the Gentiles, as often happens on the introduction of a new religion, he sent Antonio Moniz Barreto (a distinguished soldier, and afterwards Governor of India) with some ships of war, presents, and promises of further aid if necessary. Barreto, disembarking at the port of *Batecalou* with 120 Portuguese, marched to within a short distance of *Candia*. The idolater had repented of his former wish of becoming a Christian, and imprisoned the Franciscan Brothers, who managed to inform Antonio Moniz of the ambush that awaited him. He therefore turned in the direction of *Triquilimale*, when he was surrounded by a body of 8,000 *Zingalas*. After bravely defending himself for three whole days he managed to cut his way through to *Ceytawaca*, and ultimately reached *Columbo* without losing a man. He then took ship to Goa, to the great anger of the barbarian, who reaped the fruits of his wickedness and utterly failed in his treachery.

His great hatred against our religion now openly manifested itself, which up till then he had carefully concealed,

* Don Juan Dharmmapála, the *roy féneant* of Koṭṭé, 1542–97 A.D.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† *Jaya Víra*, king of Kandy. He was related by marriage to Máyá Dunné.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

and vented his wrath on the prince, his son and heir, whom he foully put to death.

This prince, whose name we cannot find out, had with the help of a Portuguese slave, name also unknown, sheltered and favoured the Christians, with the intention of becoming one himself. But he received instead at the hands of his cruel father the baptism of blood with the same resignation and joy as he would have received the baptism by water. God afterwards confirmed the martyrdom of his servant by miraculous signs; for there appeared over his tomb a most beautiful cross of large size, cut out and traced upon the earth as if it had been artificially made. The infidels, unable to bear the dazzling light which radiated from it, and which convinced their very eyes of their errors, became more obdurate than ever, and shielding their eyes, covered up the glorious sign with earth; thus attempting to stamp out by human means the Divine impression, and the admirable and marvellous things God shows his saints. But incontinently it returned and became more lustrous than ever, as if the holy bones were bursting up and renewing the living rays of the cross. Twice they returned and covered it up with earth; but it ever returned and renewed itself—an event truly marvellous, and to which great belief ought to be attached, because of the authority and the religion of the author who wrote it. Moreover he says that many Gentiles, beholding both heaven and earth testifying to the mysteries of the Cross and to the truth of our Holy Faith, received it with baptism in spite of the tyrant, whose anger rekindling with renewed fire put a great number to the sword. These creatures, filled with the power of grace, exhorted and convinced one another of the faith, and from catechumenists became preachers.

In this work a sister of the king distinguished herself, and by her persuasion her nephew, son of the same barbarian, a brother of the martyr and his first cousin, son of this princess, became Christians, who, fearing the king's anger, came to Goa, where they were received by Martin Alonso de Sosa, at

that time Governor, and entertained according to their rank in the college of St. Paul. And many of the noblest *Zingalas* of *Candia*, who followed in their train, after being instructed in the doctrines of the faith, were received into it by baptism.

As to the other prince of *Candia*, also son of this tyrant—if he is not the same we have just referred to, and many conjecture to be that king of *Candia* mentioned by Padre Gonzaga in his History of the Franciscans, page 1208, who was baptized about this time in the year 1540; for I do not find another, nor was he more than the hereditary prince, although he (Gonzaga) makes him out to be father-in-law to King *Don Juan Periampandar* of *Ceylan*, who, according to Diego de Couto's account, set free the Franciscan monks imprisoned by his father, and who had converted him to Christianity together with a great many other vassals.

Threatened by the king, his father, who sought his life, and had given over the inheritance of the kingdom to another bastard son whom he greatly loved, he fled to the *Uvá* mountains, where he declared war against his father, and asked assistance from the Governor Jorge Cabral; who having previously sent Don Jorge de Menezes (whom they called Baroche) to the relief of the King of *Cota* against *Madune*, ordered him, when this expedition was over, to march on *Candia* and punish that barbarian for his treachery against Antonio Moniz Barreto, and to aid the son and help him in his plans. But the *Candian*, aware of his danger, sent word to Don Jorge at *Cota* that he desired peace, and wished to be reconciled to the prince, his son; and as he always made use of our religion as a cloak to his treachery, he begged that some monks might be sent to baptize him. Don Jorge, in spite of our friend the King of *Cota*'s counsel, and fully believing in all these lies, left for *Candia*, sending in advance, as an earnest of his resolve, a party of twelve Portuguese under a Captain Frances; and by these he brought about the new conspiracy by which the *Candian* was preparing to entrap Don Jorge. When about a league from *Candia* they showed him the way where he was to pass, and the barbarian

finding no other resource, sallied out with a large force to meet him, and cut to pieces seven hundred foot soldiers, amongst whom were four hundred Portuguese. Don Jorge seeing himself betrayed, hastily withdrew to *Cota*, and from thence returned to Goa.

No heathen throughout the East ever treated us with such treachery as the King of *Candia*. For the unlawful purposes of his wickedness he made use of religion, hospitality, and friendship, the laws and precepts of which he trampled on, against everything human and divine, boasting of the number of times he repeated his treasons, and making a bridge of the first plot to carry him on to the rest; for he found us so confident and trusting in all his words, as if time and occasion would not discover them to be all false and lying. And the Portuguese had made it a point of honour never to suffer injury, however small, from these barbarians, knowing full well that over-forbearance breeds contempt. It was a still greater wonder to see the kingdom of *Candia* so free of our arms, when the *Candians* were by their rebellions and treasons the fatal downfall of our armies; from which resulted such proud emulation and glory to them, who, instead of being vassals to us, made themselves rivals and competitors for the sovereignty of the empire with a valour and obstinacy as though they had been our equals, threatening our dominions with their levies.

But God, who punishes such wickedness, although long in doing so, took for His instrument the famous *Raju*, lord of *Ceitavaca;** who, arming *Hastana* against the king of *Candia*, deposed him from the kingdom, and obliged him as a last resort to deliver himself up with his sons and family and to embrace the Faith of the Portuguese. When he found himself abandoned and pursued by his own followers, he took passage to Goa, where he was protected as an exile by Don Luis de Ataide, who at that time was Viceroy; and whilst treating for his restoration the *Candian* died, leaving two sons already baptized and very young, whose names were *Juan* and *Catalina*.

* Raja Siṇha I., 1581-92 A.D.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

Among the other *Zingalas* who followed the fortunes and shared the exile of their prince was the young son of a *Modeliar*, greatly valued by the king, who was educated in our religion and customs, and growing up a man of great thought called himself "Don John of Austria," so as to suit the name to the spirit within him. He was sent to *Columbo* to serve on the frontier in the war against *Candia*, where he was well treated by us and made a *Modeliar*. He behaved himself with such courage, tact, and dissimulation, that after gaining great renown amongst his own countrymen he persuaded them to conspire against the tyrant, and treacherously kill him.

*Don Juan*, assisted by our troops, entered that kingdom, and seizing the crown he continued the under-hand deceitful policy which his predecessors used against the Portuguese, his first action being to break the faith he owed to God by baptism; and soon afterwards breaking asunder all ties of friendship and education for which he was indebted to us, and rejecting all obedience he owed as subject to his own native prince, he changed his name from "Don John of Austria" to that of *Fimala Drama Suri Adæ*,* which was his native name. He did not, however, become another man with his new destiny; for although his condition changed, his character did not. From a vassal he finally made himself prince, from a Christian turned apostate, and from being a poor exiled lord became the absolute ruler of an Empire: from all of which may be remarked how true are the wise words, that Divine Wisdom makes a plaything and sport of the universe; since on this world's stage we see to-day a king who was yesterday but a slave, and falling into miserable servitude one who was born a prince and whose word was supreme.

Raised to the throne and acknowledged King of *Candia* he declared war against the Portuguese, just when Matias de

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* Don John, afterwards Vimala Dharmma Súryya I., 1592–1604 A.D.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

Alboquerque landed as Viceroy in India with stringent orders from His Majesty to punish the apostate.

Alboquerque ordered Pedro Lopez de Sosa, at that time Captain in command at *Malaca*, to proceed to *Ceylan* with an army of one thousand two hundred Portuguese, and the title of Governor and Captain-General of the whole Island. He was the first (as remains to be said) to place the young *Catalina*, just ten years old, in possession of the kingdom of *Candia*.

For her brother *Juan*, who had been brought up and educated by the Franciscans in their doctrine and customs, had gone over to Spain, renouncing his rights to the kingdoms of *Candia* and *Jafanapatan*, and placing them at His Catholic Majesty's disposal. He was ordained a priest, and lived an exemplary life with an income of 8,000 *ducats*, which the king gave him out of the ecclesiastical grants: although, with the advice and counsel of Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, he many times urged Ayres de Saldána, then Viceroy of India, to introduce him into the kingdom of *Candia*, and by his means reduce the Island to our obedience.

It was also heard said by some persons of note that Pedro Lopez had orders to marry *Catalina*, after she was crowned, to a Portuguese, and it was for this reason she was chosen, and not her brother; for by this means the reduction of that kingdom would be facilitated, and there was no other smoother way towards governing the Island. Since under the shadow of a native princess the rebel's power would be weakened and easily destroyed, and a new *Zingala* empire formed, which would not appear so servile, and yet would not allow them such freedom; so that gradually the Portuguese prince would populate the State with *Mestice* (half-caste) children, mixing with the natives in marriage, and amalgamating with the blood would by relationship and family ties gradually do away with the customs and evil practices of barbarism.

But the apostate, afraid of the numbers of Portuguese that Pedro Lopez de Sosa brought with him (which was the

largest number that had ever been seen united together in the Island), came out to meet him with all the demonstrations of a repentant and most obedient vassal. He kissed the hand of *Catalina*, acknowledging her with every sign of submission and recognition as his lawful queen and mistress, and with great cunning and dissimulation showed himself most officious and pressing in giving quarters to our soldiers; so that the whole army entered within the walls of the city of *Candia** with confidence and assurance. Pedro Lopez being completely deceived by all these outward demonstrations of loyalty, on a Sunday of the year 1591, at about the same hour that the French suffered at the Sicilian Vespers, he (the apostate) put to the sword all our troops, the General Pedro Lopez being the first to pay the penalty of his over-confidence, when he was carelessly enjoying the hospitality and trusting to the great faith of the *Zingalas*. †

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* It is said that the Portuguese, when they entered Kandy, began to abuse their power, which they seemed to think irresistible, and on every occasion openly manifested their contempt for the natives by numerous acts of injustice and oppression. The wives and daughters of the natives were compelled to minister to their passions, and if any resisted such deeds of violence they were butchered by these merciless wretches, and their villages burnt to the ground.

Ribeyro's account of this expedition of De Souza differs considerably from this of De Sá.

† One of the barbarous and brutal customs mentioned by Knox was on this occasion resorted to by Don John, and, according to Ribeyro, before the whole army, to ensure the permanent possession of his captive's person, and she was compelled by this public disgrace to accept him as her husband. Through her Don John appears to have obtained a firm hold on the minds as well as on the persons of his subjects; the petty chiefs submitted to his authority, and, with the most abject humility, hastened to the Court with numerous presents and prostrated themselves before his person in sign of his supremacy; and so completely was the power of the Portuguese curbed by this fatal day, that for four whole years they shut themselves up in Colombo and Galle, unable either to revenge their loss, or to attempt anything of importance. Don John, in the meanwhile, fortified the western and southern frontier, and formidable obstacles to the entrance of an army were created by his orders. Towers were erected at the various mountain passes, and others in existence put in a state of defence; a new palace was built at the capital, in the construction of which the Portuguese prisoners were forced to labour as slaves, while the captured banners of Portugal waved beneath the Ceylonese standard above them.—*Pridham.*

By this act of treachery, which he did to save himself, "Don John of Austria" re-established his dominion. For he married *Catalina*, his queen and prisoner, making her apostatize before she became his queen, by which she became incapable of holding the sceptre, and lost the right, if she had any, during the life of her brother (who remained faithful and true), by this offence against the Roman Church, after having been a daughter of it and admitted into her fold, and in whose defence, and to revenge the loss of so many innocent lives, the Portuguese most justly undertook the war for the conquest of *Candia*. His Catholic Majesty being its true and legitimate sovereign by the Prince *Don Juan's* (*Catalina's* brother) surrender of his claims to His Majesty; and more especially because the *Candians* were the greatest enemies of our Holy Faith in the whole Island. Their princes, no more slaves nor barbarians, but educated and converted, had so often apostatized, demolished churches, and killed the priests who had anything to do with their conversion and teaching, and violated with their arms every law of hospitality and friendship which they had contracted and sworn to adhere to by so many solemn oaths and inviolable treaties, which should be sacred to all nations.

Bound by so many reasons, our princes continued the war with varied success all the time of the tyrannical reign of the rebel *Don John*, who was a mortal enemy to our nation and who enjoyed the fruits of his tyranny for four years. After the death of Pedro Lopez he gained a great victory over the General de Jeronimo de Azevedo: and his successes not ending there, his arms became almost invincible, and overshadowed our fame.

He gave admittance to the Hollanders in the year 1601. Admiral Jorge Spilbergen having arrived in the port of *Batecalou* with three ships, he invited him up to *Candia* and received him with acclamation, and publicly entertained him, giving him land and marking out a site whereon to build a factory, out of hatred to the Portuguese and out of compliment to (Prince) Maurice (from whom he had a letter), and out of

respect to him began to call *Candia* by the name of "New Flanders." He learnt the French language so that he might be able to gain over the heretics to his side and drive us out of *Ceylan*.

There is printed in one volume some journals written in the Latin and French languages. These and other voyages that they made to Asia are so full of lies that no dependence can be put in them about the affairs of the East; for all their care and study was to accuse the Spaniards and to speak evil of their valour, religion, and industry. As to the credit which should be given to these historians, he who reads the first few pages about their qualifications may easily judge; because they are heretics who care not about writing the truth, as may be gathered in many parts of their discourse. On the other hand (it is serving God whoever publishes it) we will explain it briefly. Embittered by common and mutual offences towards us, their souls and minds were stirred up by envy and hatred—two passions which blind more than any others. They corrupt and distort the truth of things, and strive with such might to bring false accusations against us so as to bring down the hatred of other foreign and barbarous nations upon Spaniards, and by these means gain approbation for all their discoveries and conquests, which were made against all human and divine right. For should the sea be free to every living being as they desired, they ought never to be included amongst that number, being rebels to both God and their king, and unworthy of reaping the benefit of our laws, when our own conscience not only counsels but commands fidelity and obedience to the Supreme Creator of things and to our natural prince and lord. As a penalty for their controversy, although they keep the name of reasonable fellow neighbours, they lose the privileges and benefits of the Church, having separated themselves from the evangelical congregation. And supposing this truth not infallible, it was sufficient to make them thieves, considering the many and lawful titles our princes had gained to the possession of the navigation, commerce, and conquest of the

East, with absolute and supreme dominion, so that they can defend and protect them by force of arms against all who are not their vassals. For although the navigation of the seas may be common to all men by right of nations (and for this reason we are bound to allow free passage and roadway, which the common law calls "right of way," not having any other right to foreign properties which were bordering on ours), this reason could never hold good with the heretics of Europe, because prior to our arrival in India, when we took actual possession of it, they had acquired no possessions either by conquest or by inheritance; and as it is certain they never had any former right, they could have neither present nor future claim, insomuch that all legal rights require a beginning to last any time. Just claims depend upon the justice of them at the beginning, which by common consent is the universal centre from which all things come; and to make them on our part continuous and justifiable, the possession alone is sufficient, which we now keep up by our arms, fortresses, and garrisons, acquired in the beginning for such just causes as the propagation of the gospel, which is every Christian's duty. For it is given to every one to take care of his fellow creatures in countries so remote, where men are separated from true reason and from the knowledge of God, and are without religion, grovelling in superstition, enchantments, and sorceries of the devil; living, when even most civilized, without any knowledge of celestial things. This right of possession to us is confirmed by immemorial charters, and for over a hundred years our kings are named lords, and are entitled to the navigation and free commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, and Arabia; for all of which reasons the heretics can have no right to disturb the legitimate possession and dominion so established, considering the arms and force it cost. Although for this very reason it may be argued that it is these same things which give and take away empires and dominions, and that which Spain ought to use to defend her rights; for there is nothing which can defend them better than large and powerful fleets, with which she can make herself

mistress of the seas, and punish those who have usurped them. These usurpers had within a century got so corrupt in wickedness and tyranny that they may be looked upon as pirates, and their military fame condemned for disloyalty and treason; since force, robbery, and tyranny were the symbols of their greatness, having been in antiquity a glorious nation and throughout a terror to the Romans and an example to subjects in constancy and fidelity, for which Tacitus praises their native princes. From Catholics they became heretics; from loyal subjects rebels; from virtuous, wise, and noble men they became slaves to a popular democratic republic, a servitude under the fictitious name of liberty, worn out by a long endless civil war under mercenary commanders, who hated the easy yoke and government of the greatest monarch* in Europe, their own natural lord and prince for so many years.

The just indignation which compels me to reply to the lies with which these Calvinists provoke us may in some way excuse this short digression.

To return to the *Candian* barbarian. The friendship and alliance he contracted with them obtained complete success, although at the time no serious evil happened to us, because it was mingled with fear and mistrust of the Hollanders; for the Admiral Jacob Necius, returning the following year to the port *Batecalou* with some ships, the King of *Candia* set out from his court to see him. The Admiral, disembarking with his principal officers to pay the king honour, wanted to entertain him on board his ships; but these overdone compliments made him suspicious, for his barbarous mind measured the heretics with his own, accustomed as he was to treason; and his distrust being shared by his own principal chiefs, he excused himself and avoided any ill-feeling by entertaining them on shore, taking pains to please all sides. In this way that apostate kept up the friendship of his great confederates: he trod upon all the sacred laws of hospitality, as he had so often done by the sacrifice of so much innocent

* Philip II.

blood to his idols, and without putting a stop to his wickedness.

The Calvinists speak of him in their writings as a great prince only because of his undying hatred to the Portuguese, who were so justly angered at this that they never more could trust their word, although they did not openly show their resentment; for they are a people, these Calvinists, who think more about their personal welfare than about their honour, and as they worked so hard to obtain a footing in the Island, never letting an opportunity slip, they did all they could to cement the hatred of the *Zingalas* against the Portuguese, and to urge them to take the offensive against us.

There was a prophecy amongst them that one of their *Jogue* (as they call them) foretold to a Portuguese soldier at the time when Andre Furtado de Mendoça sacked *Jafanapatan* in November, 1591, which happened in this way. The soldier who was out hunting came across a *Jogue* who was living the life of a recluse in a cave. Knowing Portuguese he called him and said that he need not be too elated, because *Ceylan* was all in the hands of the Portuguese; for in a few years another people whiter than they would drive them out of the Island. And this saying appeared somewhat strange, considering that six months before the English, for the first time, had arrived in *Malaca*, and it was impossible that the *Jogue* could have heard of it from human lips. The Hollanders made use of this incident and turned to their account the superstitious belief of the *Zingalas*, warmly pressing their claim; when the renegade *Don John* died without leaving sons. When he saw himself in the last gasps of death he married his wife *Catalina* to his brother *Enarar Bander*,* his *Changasar*, and father of the one who now reigns: this incestuous custom is the invariable practice amongst the idolators of Malabar.

*Catalina*, from this second marriage, had two sons and a daughter: the eldest was called the Prince of *Uva*. He

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* Senarat, 1604–34 A.D.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

inherited the vices and courage of his uncle, and the same hatred towards the Portuguese. The second was now elected as successor to the throne of *Candia*. The daughter, after the death of her mother, which happened about this time, married her own father: so great is the bestiality and lasciviousness of these infidels, who are unworthy to be classed with human beings, and so great is the power the devil has over them, that the very laws which are by instinct kept inviolate by the beasts of the field are savagely trodden under foot and ignored in their vicious lives.

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## CHAPTER XI.

As to how the Captains of Ceylan were employed during the war with Candia. Constantino de Sá erects two new Forts at Manicravare and Batecalou. The Viceroy gives him charge of the Royal Treasury.

The King of *Candia's* actions were watched with anxiety by Constantino de Sá; for by the strict orders of His Majesty's Government and of the Count-Admiral Viceroy of India, on all matters relating to the war in *Ceylan*, the Governor had been made its sole arbiter, because of the knowledge and the experience he had gained in all the incidents relating to it: although he acted as one in authority, he always bore in mind that he was still a subject.

In spite of all this strictness the King of *Candia* kept adding insult to injury, whilst Constantino de Sá in his patience increased his reserve and dissimulation, knowing how deceit increases, and that punishment alone would stop it; forasmuch that there is nothing which makes those who govern respected, but by making themselves feared.

Compelled by circumstances and the danger of the moment, he summoned to a Council all the Captains and most experienced soldiers of the Island, by whose advice he

considered over all the most important points upon which depended the whole future of the war of conquests, so as to justify himself with the Count-Admiral, who had received orders from Portugal to keep the peace with *Candia;* and to make it appear to that prince, without adding or taking away anything from the counsellors' words, who with one accord represented how much the reputation of the Crown had lost by quietly ignoring and putting up with the insults the King of *Candia* had openly offered the Portuguese, taking advantage of our long-suffering patience, and despising it as cowardice ; who having broken the peace so much to his satisfaction as we had so imprudently consented to observe it, making that idolator rich and powerful by commerce and free trade, by which he not only increased his power and strength with the enemy, but obtained prestige with his confederates, and throughout the Island greatly contributing to our confusion and shame—we who were accustomed to conquer, by our very name and fame alone as much as by our arms, which in time, weakened by the idleness occasioned by commerce, would become rusty and give the enemy a chance of getting into their grasp the complete mastery of the whole Island ; when also he had by his boldness begun to divide it amongst his sons, that there was nothing so bad for the success of the war than perplexity and delay, so often the case in all great undertakings which should be spontaneous at the commencement ; for upon the execution of this *Candian* affair depended the safety of the whole Island, and an example to all the idolatrous princes throughout the East, giving them a lesson to treat us with good faith and loyalty ; again, to allow so great an enemy within the Island would make the Portuguese appear bad soldiers and bad statesmen, for allowing it to be a harbour of refuge for rebels and robbers, whatever the public profit might be, for the lies and plots of the barbarian, the lying *olas* and fictions he published, had reduced the minds of the people to such a state that a peace of this kind required greater caution, and caused

more fear than the most dangerous war ; even when he was the first to break the peace, he carried with him half the fortune of the war, for he was both warlike and brave and did not fear our arms ; the coalitions and leagues he planned, the dispositions he made, showed how ambitious his designs were, and which our patience and forbearance made so easy, giving him time to become powerful and to hide his wicked designs ; he stirred up the provinces and the *Zingalas* who were still faithful, to rebel and go over to his side ; it was enough to make him wait with great vigilance for the reparation of so many evils, that which he might expect by the arrival of the Calvinists, for they were a people not contented with a little, but openly aimed at the universal dominion over India, and were bent on driving the Portuguese from off the face of it ; and to counteract these designs it was most necessary that His Majesty should continue the war for the conquest of *Candia* with all diligence and the necessary men and money, worthy of so great a monarch, for if once he could finish with those idolators, always traitors and enemies to our religion, and His Majesty remained absolute master of the Island, the Catholic Faith would take root and spread glorious rays of truth, which was the principal end and object of our princes in their wars of conquest ; it would increase the royal revenues and treasury in provinces and of vassals, for in name, greatness, and riches *Ceylan* alone was more important than all the Indian States belonging to one master ; since nowhere has the empire so increased in so much surrounding land, and so many populous kingdoms, provinces, and cities, such fertility and abundance, being in short the largest and finest country that the Portuguese ruled over in Asia ; they had increased its importance ; and it was said that to make it the best place in the world nothing more was wanted but the care and favour of their King, and it was the constant opinion of its statesmen that, when all was abandoned, it was sufficient to hold *Ceylan* for the Portuguese nation to be still the ruling one in the East ; there was no doubt that the place had many advantages,

for it lay in the centre of *Malabar*, *Cochin*, *Goa*, and *Diu*, with the north coast from *Ormuz* on one side, and on the other the coast of *Coromandel*, *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Malaca*, *China*, and the Moluccas (*y Maluco*) ; it enjoyed the benefit of the monsoons (*monciones*, a term commonly given to the prevailing winds, which at certain times of the year blow from one side or the other), so that fleets can be despatched from *Ceylan* to any part at the same time, like another *Bimaris Corinthus*, for on such opposite coasts as those of *Goa* and *Coromandel* they only have the advantage of either the winter or summer seasons (as it has been said), whilst the ports of the Island are so many and differently situated that they can be navigated either from one side or the other the whole year round, which is not the case with *Goa*, for it can only be made use of during one monsoon, thus having a limited time for sailing purposes ; for ships enter in during the summer season, which lasts from September to the end of April, and are stopped from May till August, a part of the year, which notwithstanding the sun is in the ascendant, and although they lose the influence of that great planet, the father of life, we know by experience that when it is most distant the summer commences, and the frequent and violent storms cease, which during the winter prevent ships going over the bars without manifest danger, owing to the sand-banks which surround them and shut them up until the summer season, when they gradually open out again.

[Such are the wonders of nature, and the wonderful difference the coasts and lands undergo in the East, causing such contradictory opinions amongst our philosophers as to the causes of the winds and the seasons, that what the prophet says is true, that God makes the seasons and the summer like unto a sculptor, who makes out of wood or clay the body of parts and members so dissimilar.]

To these considerations Constantino de Sá, in his letter to the Viceroy, also added that it would be as easy and as safe for the King's ships to go direct to *Columbo* as they did to *Goa*, leaving Portugal so as to arrive about the middle of

October at the latest, for at that time ships came from *Cochin* to *Goa* and *Columbo*, and with the same wind the vessels could sail, and much easier, for about Cape Comorin the wind blew more away from the land. They had besides these advantages other very good reasons why they should make it the metropolis of India, for in climate, fertility, and healthiness there was not its equal anywhere. Belonging moreover to one master only, whose property they pretended brought in more than a million every year, but in these times not exceeding more nor less than a hundred and three thousand *xarafins*, and would load with cinnamon, pepper, and many other dyes, drugs, and merchandise the vessels of the kingdom, and eight times less distance of coast for them to make. It had also quantities of timber, iron, and all the necessary materials for the building of ships, with large harbours and wide roomy bays, and even if Nature was left unaided by art in the cultivation of the fields by the long wars which were enough to destroy the best of countries, such was the abundance it produced naturally that there was no richer land, nor one more full of the luxury and abundance of the goods of this world.

They discussed with many forcible arguments the many times that Viceroys of India, holding the supreme power of the State, passed over to the Island for far less cause; since there was the Governor Lope Soares de Albergaria, who came only to lay the foundations of *Columbo*, and afterwards Don Constantino de Bragança and Don Alonso de Noroña, who, after the assault on *Jafanapatan*, came to the help of the King of *Cota* against *Madune;* and again, Martin Alonso de Sosa, Antonio Moniz Barreto, Don Jorge de Menezes el Baroche, Andre Hurtado de Mendoça, Pedro Lopes de Sosa, and many other Captains and Generals, who raised powerful armies simply for light affairs of commerce or revenge, or to obtain satisfaction for some friendly prince or ally in the Island. It was most proper that His Majesty should listen and give the necessary forces to obtain satisfaction for the many treasons that the barbarian of *Candia*

had committed against the honour of God and his royal service, profaning temples, murdering Christians, and putting to the sword so many Portuguese without any one to take their part, and to demand from him an account for such treachery and wickedness, and lastly for having given shelter to the Moors who were expelled, and to thieves and vagabonds and rebels to the Crown of Spain, no doubt with new designs and expectations.

As a pledge to their opinions the Captains offered their lives, liberty, and property to the last mite, wishing for no other reward, if happily successful, than the feeling of having served and given their best advice to their lord and king. It was evident that they were the first to face danger, and the last perhaps to reap reward. They had a valiant, honourable, and true Commander, loved by the natives, of great knowledge and experience in war. He was both respected and feared by the enemy, well versed in all their art and trickery, but using all courtesy and kindness with his friends and allies.

Either the Count-Admiral had not the power or the skill of a great minister to give his final decision, or he did not wish to take upon himself the responsibility of deciding on so great an enterprise. He would wait and see how matters turned out, when the progress of events would absolve him from giving his decision, and therefore abstained from using his authority,—a perilous school, in which many proud and rash ministers have perished, refusing their prince and his counsellors that help and recognition which in grave matters are so necessary, acting as a subject and not as a companion, showing that the art of governing rightly in grave and important affairs depended on the attitude of the prince and of his servants and counsellors who assisted him, thus preventing jealousy, ambition, envy, and other State crimes, which are so many traps and stumbling blocks to their preservation and increase: because to govern alone without a superior, and to hold only an office under Government, or to act only as the king pleases, are two very different things.

Thereupon the Count-Admiral sent the votes of the Ceylon Captains to the King, and on the part of Her Majesty ordered Constantino de Sá with great urgency to erect a fort as soon as possible at the port of *Batecalou*, which had been already chosen. For after the King of *Candia* had entrenched himself in that town and garrisoned it, as already mentioned, the fort was not only useful, but absolutely necessary, requiring fewer ships than was wanted for the coast of *Triquilimale*, and much less expense for preventing reinforcements to the *Candian's* allies and friends.

Constantino de Sá replied to the Viceroy that it was more important before erecting a fort at *Batecalou* to throw up one first at *Manicravare*, the usual standing camp of our army, which would not only serve to secure it, but be a protection against any sudden attack; for being on the borders and frontier of *Candia* it remained exposed to the first onslaught, where it was very probable that the *Candian* would begin the war, angry as he would be at our fortifying *Batecalou*, the most useful port he had.

To carry out so important an affair he wanted money, the most necessary thing for all their resolutions, for Ambrose de Freitas, in this year of 1627, still occupied the post of *Veedor de hazienda*, and it was he who placed impediments in the way, because of the expenses, which in some respects were perhaps exceeded.

Constantino de Sá, however, with the approval of the Count-Admiral, and helped by the liberality and valour of his soldiers, raised three thousand, and being the first in the work to show the most zeal and vigilance, he made the fortifying of *Manicravare* so easy, that in a few days it was finished.

On the way he repaired the fort at *Malbana*, which was almost in ruins and without protection; on this work he spent, according to his will, 10,000 *xarafins*.*

He made this a stepping stone to the fortification of *Batecalou*, the most capacious maritime port in the Island,

* *Xarafin*, a coin worth 300 *reis*, Portuguese.

into which could sail a large Indiaman fully loaded, contrary to the common opinion of the Portuguese, who knew little about its depth. The city, which gave its name to the whole kingdom, is two leagues from the shore and ten from *Candia*, to whom its king was subject, conformable, as the Calvinists say in their relations of the year 1622, to a private feudatory prince as well as to the Portuguese.

It was incredible the valour and continual watchfulness which the General displayed in this expedition and at the making of this fortress, which he began and finished at the sword's point, for the King of *Candia* continually harassed him during the work. He came down upon him with all his power to impede it, and not daring to invest the Catholics, thinking our forces were stronger than he had imagined, he retired to his own territories, and sent a secret message to Constantino de Sá, offering him 80,000 *xarafins* if he would desist from the enterprise. But Constantino was always deaf to bribery; he curtly answered that the offer was an insult, and that he would have satisfaction for the affront against his honour and reputation. On the erection of this fortress 8,000 *xarafins* were spent out of his own income, so that at the same time they offered him so much, he might show he was not less ready in serving his king. He had spent the most he could out of his own pocket, but his excess of zeal and fidelity offended both his friends and enemies; for the same spies which the *Candian* employed against the Governor's life at this time, put the officials who administered the royal treasury against him, placing at the head of the civil conspiracy the Overseer of the Revenues himself.

The Count-Admiral, aware of the advantages which would result by the collection and payments of the rents passing through the General's hands owing to the breaking out of the war against *Candia*, gave his approval, without waiting for an answer from Portugal, to that which the Attorneys offered on their side, which was in the interval of receiving the final orders from Spain, that Ambrose de Freitas would have joint licence and still remain at his post.

Just about this time arrived at *Jafanapatan* the Captain Felipe de Oliveira; it was the month of March, when a great storm of wind and rain for several days swept over the Island, causing great inundations, doing great damage with loss of life. The Captain, who was recovering from a serious illness, publicly did penance, and with tears prayed to God to remit the public punishment and turn it on himself. In three weeks God took him, to the great grief of every one in the Island, for he was a man of great parts in religion and of great valour. He had destroyed more than 500 *pagodes;* as much a conqueror of people as of souls, so that the natives called him "god of the sword *Tiranquera* of iron."*

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## CHAPTER XII.

### MOVEMENTS WHICH PRECEDED THE WAR WITH CANDIA. ITS COMMENCEMENT AND OBSTINACY, WITH RELATION OF SOME OF THE EVENTS RELATING THERETO.

WITH the fortress of *Batecalou Ceylan* was almost encircled by our arms and garrisons, for those we held were the best ports in the Island, being eight in number, a number sufficient to secure it from whatever invasion the enemy made, and so well placed as to command the whole of it, and make the Portuguese masters of the entrances to it for the commerce and navigation of those seas, and shut in the King of *Candia* most effectually, leaving no open space. We hemmed him in so that he was obliged to submit to our orders to be able to exist, and the tribute which he paid then appeared more like an indemnity than a feudal tax.

The principal forts were *Columbo*, *Negumbo*, *Manar*, *Jafanapatan*, *Triquilimale*, *Galle*, *Beligao*, *Calturè*, and

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* The original is: *de suerte que los naturales le llmavan Dios de la espada Tiranquera de hierro.* What *Tiranquera* means I cannot find out. Should be *Tranquera*, "bulwark," I think.

*Batecalou*, and many other strongholds, redoubts, and castles of less size and armament scattered over the Island, so that the Portuguese nation appeared to be the absolute master of it.

Already menaced from every direction, and fighting for the existence and freedom of his kingdom, as he had done up till then for the supreme lordship of *Ceylan*, the *Candian* king took up arms against the Portuguese and commenced hostilities on the frontiers, devastating the outlying lands with all the rancour and impetus of a declared enemy. To repair this injury Constantino de Sá went in person to the rescue with wonderful swiftness and with very little over five hundred Portuguese, and compelling the idolater to retire, the war was openly declared, which began with the year [1]627 with great animosity and fury on the part of both nations.

It is probable that about this time the King of *Candia* had bought over the fidelity of the four *Zingalas* of *Columbo*, who were the ringleaders (as we will tell further on) of those who were conspiring against the General. Constantino de Sá had foreseen this. In a letter he wrote to His Majesty from *Columbo* on the 3rd December, [1]626, upon the breaking out of the war with the king of *Candia*, were these words :—

> But it is certain, according to what has reached the ears of the most experienced in this Island, that if the king of *Candia* breaks out he will not be without favour with those natives who are obedient to your Majesty.

And by other conjectures it appears that the traitors delayed the execution of their evil plans for three years after they had conceived them and arranged with the *Candian*. But they were so slowly and so secretly hatched, with such cunning and caution, that these very same men were those who showed themselves most ready and obedient to the General, who took them into his favour and confidence, by which means it appeared that he had insured their fidelity ; for whatever they knew or thought in their heart of hearts never once made itself known. On the Portuguese side it

was marvellous the zeal which they displayed in this undertaking, offering themselves to face the greatest dangers, satisfied with the care and punctuality the General showed to the army in paying them in advance after he had taken over the duties of Royal Treasurer. Superintending the payments himself, he relieved the revenue of many superfluous expenses ; but fully recognised that the military forces were the very basis and foundation on which depended the safety of the State and the ultimate success of the war, on the prosecution of which so depended the interests of the service of God and His Majesty, and which had hitherto been retarded for this very reason : for it is evident that everything was lost by the army being badly paid. How many empires are lost through discontented soldiers even more than by the enemy ! And as those soldiers who served in the Island had not the same advantages as those who served in Europe, they were more careful in guarding their quarters and not wasting their supplies nor abandoning their colours; for these quarters being only in the garrison as it were, there was not a soldier in the whole Island who valued anything more than his pay, which was the only reward for his work and for the blood he spilt, and on which depended the very necessaries of his life. He therefore felt it keenly when his pay was denied him or deferred, especially as there was nothing else he valued. It was even worse when administrators (as it happened sometimes in *Ceylan*), through whose hands the payments were made, spent the money and wasted it in vain ceremonies for show and ambition, only neglecting that on which depended the true greatness of kings.

This was the most important service Constantino de Sá performed in this matter, bringing over the hearts of the soldiers to a better state than that they had been in, despising their Commanders for being poor and of little help to their cares and miseries. And what was more, he showed the King that he had enough money to hold the Island and continue the war without any obligation to the State; for

what is more vain than conquests, when the expenses exceed the revenue, and to preserve them it is necessary to bleed the State ; so that instead of enriching and making it greater they drain and weaken it. It is also evident that there is nothing more forlorn than the Royal Exchequer when it is administered with cupidity instead of integrity : it is a death blow to the kingdom whose rents have been squandered instead of increased ; and if they fail, how can peace be secured, how can war be sustained ? *Ceylan* suffered many interruptions because of its distance from the king, and because of the obstacles and hindrances placed in the way by ministers, and the tricks they used in collecting the rents of the property of princes ; for without it they would be reduced to common subjects and to live without esteem or respect, abandoned by friends, insulted by enemies, and despised by all. Great was the consideration to be held in esteem by such subjects, and there was not a place where the zeal and fidelity could better be tested of a Christian minister honoured and beloved by his king, as was our General.

War with *Candia* declared, nothing could surpass the obstinacy and valour with which the Portuguese fought during the two following years, [16]28 and [16]29, obtaining over the idolater many famous victories after the most bloody and terrible engagements, in which they appeared to be more like wild beasts than men. For our men were possessed with an overpowering thirst for vengeance, and the enemy were driven to bay in defence of their lives and homes, so that fury was the ruling spirit in all. They fought more like borderers than conquerors, making no distinction of time nor place, always unequal in numbers, but fired by the same spirit of undying hatred. The continuation of this kind of warfare considerably weakened our forces : they were so reduced in numbers that they could not protect themselves, even after the successes they had gained. But with the peril increased the fame of the General, and encouraged him to follow up his victories when the enemy believed

themselves more at liberty. Trusting their safety to our small numbers, should they be driven to the last extremity, to the natural defence of their impenetrable forests and jungle clad mountains, they withdrew themselves to the *Uva* mountains, the most remote and rugged highlands of all, and the less known.

These fastnesses Constantino de Sá suddenly entered with only fifty Portuguese, specially chosen for this service ; and so great was his undaunted courage that after he had penetrated into these mountains and scoured the forests, cutting down all who opposed him, he descended unexpectedly upon the kingdom of *Candia*, laying a great part of it waste, and putting numbers of *Zingalas* to the sword. The success of this expedition appeared marvellous indeed, considering its casualties and the rapidity of his movements.

After this he returned to *Columbo* and was received amidst the acclamations of the natives, who called him nothing less than "the god of the Island": so great is the impression made on mankind by any extraordinary turn of fortune, that they hail mortals as divine beings. During this expedition were performed many deeds of valour by the arms of our Portuguese, whose blows, in imitation of their General, overpowered the enemy and filled them with dread. Hastening the intrigues of the conspiracy, it saved his person and the kingdom, but nothing would have availed him if our power had not equalled the Governor's fortune. For what could he have done, weak and disarmed, without money or men, hampered by officials who, stung with jealousy by so many successes, tried to tarnish the glory of them, keeping watch over every thing he did, prying into expenses so as to pick holes in the waste and profusion of them, and the diminution of the royal treasury. But he administered it with great care and moderation. It was so small that he tried to increase it by curtailing his own expenses, even to the selling off of his own goods and chattels to supply in some measure absolute necessities : even this was censured by the envious, so as not

to display their own cupidity and avariciousness. And there is no doubt that as often as Constantino de Sá entered *Candia* victorious he was obliged to keep troops to retain what he had conquered. For our regiments would always keep under that idolatrous rebel, owing to the valour of the few Portuguese that were left, their superior discipline and steadiness in adversity, their patience in suffering and confidence in danger, the rapidity of their movements and the other military virtues which they possessed in the highest degree, so that there was nothing they could not undertake nor overcome; and considering the little help they received from their prince and his ministers, who wasted opportunity, they might have made themselves masters of the whole Island.

Notwithstanding such odds, Constantino de Sá did not cease from war, although he still listened with great caution and reserve to the overtures of peace which the King of *Candia* offered. He both appeared to reject and to accept them, so as to show that he was in no urgent necessity, and to make use of them in case he needed; and in order to conceal his hand, being rather straitened, he resolved to return (in March, [1]629) and attack the enemy within *Candia* itself. He undertook this expedition with the determination to die or conquer, for when he was set out on it he made his will and testament, in the first clause of which he clearly showed what state he was in, and his courage and valour in exposing himself to such dangers. These are his words :—

The expedition which I undertake against *Candia* is so profitable to the service of God and His Majesty that I am determined this very moment to set out upon it, although with forces far inferior to the enemy. It is only God I fear, and in Him alone do I put my trust for any success I may obtain, since I fight for a cause as much His as for every Christian and mortal who fears death, which comes at all times, and has no respect for age: and therefore recommending myself to Almighty God, I place my soul in His divine hands.

So goes the will. Then he goes on discoursing with great Christian fervour, of which we shall say somewhat hereafter.

In these admirable words it is well seen the obligation he was under to place himself in such apparent danger, so as not to sully his reputation nor give courage to the idolater: having withdrawn only to gather strength and renew confidence, and to procure better terms of peace, should it be concluded. Never without his sword by his side, as an experienced and great soldier should always be, he returned to the fight with the same spirit and courage he commenced the war.

In the re-opening of this campaign the Portuguese suffered great privations from the inclemency of the weather and the bad roads, which tried their strength to the utmost. Being cold and wet, as is usual in the kingdom of *Candia* and its confines, the weather was so bad that many died of cold, and were besides exposed to the sudden attacks of the enemy, who laid ambuscades on every side. They were scarcely able to defend themselves in the stagnant morasses and rivers over which they waded up to their necks with the greatest difficulty and fatigue: marching barefoot and almost naked, they came out with their feet torn and lacerated, bitten by leeches and other reptiles, which breed and swarm in these waters.

The General did not spare himself through all this dangerous expedition. He was always in front, for he left his *andor* (a kind of light litter carried by men), which those in authority use in travelling. He was the first to wade across the rivers, so to encourage the rest, his companions, and to dispel all fear from their hearts; and came out usually bitten all over by these poisonous reptiles. Thus throughout it all he was for a long while in the greatest danger of losing his life.

Warfare in this Island, in the opinion of the most experienced in the art of war, is the most laborious in the world; for it is not practised according to the methods of Europe: neither are the sieges, battles, and assaults carried on in the same order, but with sudden onslaught and fury. The companies are formed up without depth of numbers: their

line is long and straggling, owing to narrow and difficult roads: if they are attacked and a fight begins there is no room for any order of battle, and only a confused mass of hand to hand fighting: the same occurs in all the battles, so that it is example that rules, and not obedience. What are most common and usual are ambuscades, for which the forests and steep mountains, of which the Island is full, provide every advantage. Marching is as difficult and as dangerous as are the battles; for the roads, or rather paths, are closed up and narrow, notwithstanding that always numbers of pioneers with picks and spades are sent in front to clear the way. The companies cannot march, as in Europe, in fours or fives abreast, but in Indian file—one after another—because of these obstructions. They travel on foot; for the country is so overgrown with jungle and so full of swamps that horses cannot be used: the force therefore consists only of infantry. The soldiers wear no armour to speak of; their ordinary arms are arquebuses, short spikes, and bows and arrows, and for close quarters some have small broadswords, which are called *Calachurros*.

The General marched with his bodyguard and all his staff and household in front, each one according to their standing, and close to his person was the Sergeant-Major to take and convey his orders. He had with him as a badge of royalty two *Modeliares* with white shields, and a great number of drummers and trumpeters. The *Disawas* and the Camp Captain-Major accompanied the General as private gentlemen; for they exercise no command nor authority except in his absence. The position he holds in the army is not always the same, nor those who carry the colours, as is the usual custom in our time: these are placed in the centre of the company as the safest and best guarded position. When a halt is made in a town or village the place in which they are placed is covered with an awning of woven palms, with distinctive marks on the streets, houses, or tents in which they are lodged with less safety than comfort.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### CALAMITIES OF THE WAR. THE IDOLATER OF CANDIA SUES FOR PEACE. HE SETS THE COLUMBO CONSPIRACY ON FOOT. THE GENERAL'S SUFFERINGS: HIS WILL AND DISPOSITIONS.

IT is grievous to write about the misfortunes of a minister through evil luck and not through any fault or misgovernment on his part; for misfortunes in themselves do not take away from the merits of those who suffer, if they have acted with carefulness and prudence: because God sometimes makes things fail for some hidden reason of His own, and not for any fault of the minister who does them. It is, therefore, unfair to judge of counsellors, either good or bad, by the results of their undertakings without careful thought and reasoning.

Constantino de Sá wisely concluded that to put on a bold front and strike terror into the *Candian* idolater would do some good at least to the cause, and would keep up the reputation of his arms so long as his forces were increased by the aid he expected from the State; when he hoped to continue the war with all the means he had in his power. For this reason he undertook the expedition against *Candia*, which we have just related, showing himself more active than ever. As a brave, gallant soldier, he marched through a great part of that kingdom without the enemy ever once daring to come out and fight him in the open, although he harassed him with ambuscades, which were nothing to the awful loss we caused his people and vassals, whose deaths, tribulations, and danger made the idolater tremble with fear, so that with all submission and humility he made overtures of peace, in the hopes of entertaining and diverting the General until the conspiracy was ripe for execution.

The cold wet season had set in with vehemence, and the rugged country and bad travelling had so tired our main body that Constantino de Sá, after he had listened to the *Candian's* proposals, was glad to receive them, but waived all decision until he got back to *Malbana*. He retired so weak and ill that

he caused not only anxiety to his friends, but to everyone in the Island whose interests were centred in him. His illness was malignant and most tedious. But as he was a valiant and undaunted soldier, he was even more so a great Christian all his life. Of most religious habits during all the years of his administration, he lived in close friendship and intimacy with the Jesuit Fathers, whom he greatly loved, and by whose advice he managed all things that related to his own spiritual welfare, and carried them out most devoutly as a true son of the Church. He added a new codicil to his last will and testament, and after other arrangements added these words, which I quote as an example of his zeal and goodness :—

I have never served the king in peace or war for the sake of my own interests : the *Veedor de la hazienda*, they say, charged me otherwise, and falsely accused me. I write here, that I pardon him, as God forgive me.

It is the greatest proof of a Christian, deeply wronged, thus easily to pardon injuries. In the same codicil it appears that he asked His Majesty to draw from his own salary 22,000 *xarafins*—another great proof of his integrity and disinterestedness ; for when a minister becomes his sovereign's creditor, he is deserving of the greatest praise and rewards. But he showed by not coveting these (although he thoroughly deserved them for all his work, labour, and fatigue), that he did all, and thought of nothing but, for the service of his king, even to increasing the public treasury at his own expense, and without a thought of profit for himself. The little he gained during his administration, says another clause in the codicil—to which can be given the more credit, for being the words of a man full of virtues, who knew he was about to die, than the malice of evil tongues and of those even worse inclined. He says :—

I leave nothing for alms, not even for the mass and *requiem* of my soul ; for I die so poor that I have neither clothes nor jewels that I have not given away.

And in another place :—

As to my servants I have nothing to leave them for all they have done for me, nor to compensate them for all their love and all the help they have rendered me. The annuity which I receive as Captain-Major

of India will serve to pay my debts—if His Majesty has nothing wherewithal to discharge them, since nearly all of them were contracted in his service.

If this is how so virtuous and good a Christian knight made his last confession at the time he was on the point of death, and there only remained to him a coffin to bury all his hopes, it is most evident that he had nothing to gain by burdening his conscience with falsehood when he was doing all he could to relieve it. And if the sovereign at the beginning of the government of new ministers only caused a list to be made of his property, renewing it every year, so that he might know what they had had and what they had expended, neither malice nor adulation would have been able to have deceived the royal ears by under-rating such generous works as those of Constantino de Sá; and by this means would be able to award either punishment or reward, which are the poles on which revolve the existence of the kingdom. It is certain that his debts and obligations were contracted in the posts he occupied for His Majesty's service, having always lived in the most economical and modest way, without any pomp or extra expense, even if they blame his liberality in allowing some latitude to the soldiery. He knew very well how wise it was, so as to endear them to him, and thus make them ready to help him in any sudden emergency; for it was the most forcible way to bring them over to his cause. It would have been a great fault in a Captain to have been avaricious in this: it would have cast a slur on his best actions to have acted niggardly by his soldiers for the help they gave him; because gratitude is stronger than courage.

In the midst of all his sufferings and pain Constantino de Sá did not lose sight of the conquest of *Candia*, and mixed up its affairs with his own spiritual concerns. He says, speaking about it :—

The peace with *Candia* must be made in the manner I have already stated, charging the blame to me—for it is easy to condemn the dead ; but that is not to say that it is confirmed ; for this Island is for His Majesty alone, whose chief end is to make it Christian.

The peace must be an armed one ; which will be a power ready prepared : and tell the King of *Candia* that unless he agrees this very moment he will lose both himself and his children.

I notice many things in these words. He proposed peace ; but he neither advised it nor condemned it, principally because he knew our arms were weak, and he wanted to secure that which he always had at heart for His Majesty to obtain possession of the whole Island. He pointed out the ways and means by which peace should be made, as a great soldier, taking upon himself all the blame, so as to make it easier to obtain it. What greater mark of love could there be in a subject and minister to do all the work and to take all the blame, leaving the glory and certainty of success to the king ; which all desired and knew was due to him. Lastly, he counsels the idolater, perhaps to induce him not to respond, since these hard times would not allow us to be courteous. Moreover, the counsel was so far friendly as not to be thought inimical. Since princes of such small States as *Candia* ought to do all they can to preserve themselves rather than seek acquisition ; as Livy observes in his remark about the tortoise, which as long as it remains within its shell thinks itself safe, but when it comes out is in danger.

This last codicil was written the 23rd of January [1]630.

At this time it pleased God to listen to the prayers of the poor people of *Ceylan* (many of whom had given up everything) for the restoration to health of Constantino de Sá. He obtained it, although late, but never such as before ; for the continual watching, want of sleep, and incessant worry and care—the usual inheritance of governors,—had done its work on his attenuated frame and weary soul. An administrator wants nothing who keeps his health : he has no pleasure without it, and with it there is no work that cannot be done and made tolerable.

With his convalescence the treacherous designs of the conspirators revived, for the King of *Candia* became more than ever afraid of the General, whose indefatigable courage

foretold ruin to him, if he did not manage to bring about his death beforehand. He therefore secretly bound himself over to them, and the traitors, fearing that they would be discovered in time, commenced their machinations in the following manner.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE CONSPIRATORS PREPARE THEIR PLOT IN COLUMBO. THEIR METHOD OF PROCEEDING.

THE authors of the conspiracy were four of the richest and most influential *Zingala Modeliares* of *Columbo*, who had been favoured by, and were on intimate terms with, the General; by whose liberality they had been made headmen of many villages, with rents varying from 3,000 to 4,000 *xarafins*. They had been baptized when they were eight days old, and brought up in the Christian religion and in the closest friendship with the Portuguese; and having many family relations through intermarriage, the Governor had favoured and courted their society; so that by long service and experience he had known them as friends. He never treated them with suspicion nor distrust; but trusted them as much as it was possible for ministers to do who live with their officers—only with these he made a perilous exception: although I have it for a certain fact that with all this he acted with caution, and that already they could not do what they once did. They called themselves *Don Cosmo*, *Don Theodosio*, *Don Alexo*, and *Don Baltasar*.

For three years they had been quietly and comfortably hatching their wicked plot, and having command of the lascarins, they were always with the army going in and out of *Candia*, so that they were within easy communication with the King of *Candia* and the Prince of *Uva*, his eldest son. Determined on rebellion they began to exhort one another with mutual zeal and hatred, and tried to draw over to their

opinions all the *Zingalas* of *Columbo*, so that they might carry out their dark designs in greater safety. But as it was dangerous for them to trust too much to these, they did not join them openly; and in order to avoid suspicion, whenever they met in public they spoke to each other as usual, never letting out a word or making any sign that might betray that they were planning anything extraordinary. They more than ever flattered and fawned on the Portuguese, assisting and serving the General with all their usual obsequious demonstrations of fidelity and affection, never once showing any sign or look of enmity. Such dissimulation and hypocrisy was enough to lull the minds of the most suspicious, how much more so the Governor who never once had the least suspicion or hint about it in time to circumvent them.

The first man they got over to them was a *Motiar* (which means a Secretary) of the General. On this man they laid great importance, for through his hands passed all the correspondence of the affairs of the Island, and he gave them all the necessary information for the execution of their infamous plot.

Another *Zingala* also joined them, a *Modeliar* of distinction, one of the richest and of the highest caste in *Columbo*, and on whom the General had placed such confidence that he made him his shield-bearer (*Rodelero*), which was a post considered by the *Zingalas* one of the highest and most confidential that could be given. No other cause could be attributed for their treason but their natural malice and depravity; for their position and the esteem in which they were held by us, the villages and riches they possessed, appeared great stakes for them to risk and leave to the arbitration of fate, which is always more powerful than anything else on such occasions as this.

Delighted with these two additions, the four chiefs also got over to their side a Negro, who was a Master Armourer, whom they knew to be both industrious as well as brave and bold, and the very man for their work: he was, moreover, of

the Moor's creed, and had been baptized according to custom after the expulsion of his friends and kindred (as we have already related). He had ever since then remained a mortal enemy of the Portuguese. This man they elected Chief of the Moors *(Rey de los Moros)*, to bring him more into their evil snares; and they recommended him to join arms so that he might better conceal the perpetration of the plot under the shadow of office.

In this business *Don Cosmo* showed himself the most active of them all. He acted with the greatest caution and dissimulation; and having much influence amongst his own people he got a large concourse of them together at the house of *Don Manuel*, to whose daughter he had married his eldest son, *Don Antonio* by name. Here all his pent-up passions burst forth against us, and he commenced to harangue them in these words, or in terms of similar import:—

How long, O countrymen, will ye be slaves to these vile Portuguese, under whose cruel yoke you have suffered so many years, with only such liberty as they chose to give you? Is it possible you can continue to live like this, contrary to all reason? Is liberty—the most precious gift to mortal man—is it of so little value in your eyes, that when you can be free and your own masters, you will exchange it for slavery? You think not of what our ancestors held in this Island, or else the memory of it would kindle some noble thoughts! If you have forgotten it through ignominy and weakness, think of your children; if to-day the Christians permit you to enjoy what is your own, to-morrow they will take it away, with your lives, and those of your children: you will believe in your folly when you see yourselves sold as slaves in the market place, banished from your country, and torn from wives and families. You have forsaken your religion, trampled on your nobility, exhausted your wealth. What means all this, countrymen—such neglect, such supineness, such cowardice in things which so much concern us? Already your race has lost its empire, its name, and its honour, its courage and its industry; all that remains for you is to leave your land and seek another, where you may exist vile and dishonoured, miserable and nameless. Tell me what other nations of the East can give when you disregard by your actions what your ancestors did? Think ye not it an insult to see yourselves slaves and at the mercy of enemies, who hamper your lives with laws, but do not save you from death? Are you not ashamed to see how few they are, and the arrogance with which they presume to make themselves lords

of the World? Already are they possessors of the fat of our land, masters of our commerce and our ports: all that remains for them to do is to drive us from it. And think you that will not be done when they crown their success by the conquest of *Candia?* This is no doubt what saves you to-day. Look at the tyrants, who will not allow any other nation except themselves in the Island under pretext of religion. Is it right you should help them with your arms, and shed the blood of your native princes, so that all may see your shame? Tell me, what you will gain by living amongst these Portuguese? Who keeps up their wars of conquest, but your own arms? Are they not these, to your shame, which have made them glorious by such great victories? Is this General's Government so prosperous? Who, perchance, exempts you from tribute? Who from gratuities? Your rubies, your ivory, your cinnamon, in short the wealth of your own Island, is it not more yours than the Portuguese? Who, if not they, collect the treasures of your arts, the work and labour of your artists? There is not a year that passes, but all there is in *Ceylan* is sent to Goa, and from Goa to Portugal! Many more reasons I might urge to persuade you to stand to your honour, your homes, and your religion; but I see repentance marked in your faces for your past negligence. Make use of the present moment, friends, brothers, countrymen, which you know well if lost will not return. The few wretched Portuguese whom we see in tatters and disarmed, with a General badly paid; the many friends we have got to help us, a prince so powerful as the King of *Candia*, only waiting for our call to come to our assistance, and confident of the friendship of his son, our enemy's bitterest foe, the generous and valiant prince of *Uva*, whose valour gives us most certain hope for the restoration of our ancient and glorious empire. What wait ye for? What keeps you back? Let us take up arms as conquerors before we are discovered; since Heaven, fortune, and opportunity all alike favour us.

*Don Cosmo* continued giving more reasons with great impetuosity, almost beside himself with rage, when the silence, which until then kept these barbarians' tongues tied, was broken by shouts and cries demanding with one voice that the rebellion be declared, and calling down vengeance on their enemies with vehemence and unanimity. And that everything might declare their determination and wishes, they held a council amongst themselves as to how it should be brought about.

In the first place they decided to send a message to the Prince of *Uva*, giving him an account of what had taken

place, and asking him to come down from the mountains with his power and ravage the lands belonging to the natives who were faithful and friendly to the Portuguese ; for stirred up to vengeance by so unforeseen an accident they could gather them more easily into the net they had all ready prepared, and thus successfully carry out their insurrection.

With this decision they gave orders to the Moor armourer, who had already notice of the rebellion, to surround the Portuguese and *Mestices* (half-castes in *Columbo*), and make himself master of the Fort, leaving *Don Manuel* to open the gates of the city to the King of *Candia* and hand over the Government to him.

Having thus arranged the conspiracy they above all recommended secrecy, the most important thing in all emergencies of the kind, and being most cunning in their evil designs, they were many days waiting for the Prince of *Uva's* coming.

It is true how wonderful time is, and what time does: it is more wonderful than all man's caution, for with every day of delay the danger increases to those who meddle with great stakes ; for many an accident may occur which may reveal all. For the number of the conspirators was great, and the vigilance of the General and his Captains was none the less ; the intercourse too, and close friendship which existed between a great number of the Portuguese and *Zingalas*, of whom so many were married with *Mestices:* so that in this way great secrets and underplots are often discovered. But, notwithstanding all this, so marvellous was the secrecy of these infidels that not a whisper of information was let out about the compact that existed among themselves, as if it had been the will of Heaven : because in the beginning great evils might be avoided, as so often has been the case in this Island. But when were the ways of God not kept secret to us blind mortals? It seems by these means that God, as the author of the evils of punishment but never of crimes, wished to punish our sins during the days of our prosperity in *Ceylan ;* for by His secret judgments He brings about from time to time the

downfall of kingdoms, the defeat of armies, the deaths of chiefs, the failures of administrations. He allows temples to be destroyed even at the expense of Christianity, and His holy name to be blasphemed and insulted to the great exultation of the idolaters and to the ignominious disgrace of the faithful, either to punish them or to teach them, or else to try them; but praise be unto Him for ever, for He alone knows His works and what is best for the blessings and welfare of our souls.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### Events which occurred during the Rebellion. The Conde de Liñares appointed Governor of India. The Conde de la Vidigueira is recalled.

The Prince of *Uva* did not stir out for many days after he received the traitors' message, the better to cover up and conceal the conspiracy. He then came down with great power from the mountains, and for the space of about a month he harassed our lands, burning and consuming all that belonged to our faithful allies; for he went about freely, without opposition or resistance of any kind. From these raids he returned victorious, and then took to entrenching himself in *Ratule*,* the chief town and capital of his kingdom, at a distance of forty-five leagues from *Columbo*.

The news reached this city first, and although the damage which the Prince of *Uva* had done was not a little, the distance and rumour, which always makes things greater than they are, exaggerated everything so much that they made the traitors appear in the light of public benefactors. Concealing their evil conscience they presented themselves before the General. They came with their faces suffused with tears, then with loud cries and vociferations professed

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* *Badulla*, once more the capital of the Province of Uva.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

their fidelity and zeal to the service of God and honour of the king, and that they had the reputation of the Portuguese at heart, asking the General's permission to go at once and seek out the enemy. They were obsequious and threatening by turns; then putting on a bold front and lashing themselves into a kind of fury they desired to be confronted with him, adding strength to their duplicity by their gestures as well as by their words, and leaving nothing undone that might in any way assist their plot. Studying every movement and all their outward actions in order to conceal it, they with one accord fell down prostrate on the ground, and, whining and creeping up to the General, clasped him round his knees, entreating him that he would allow them to avenge the insult and audacity of the Prince of *Uva*, who in the pride of his victory taunted as cowards the subjects of the Crown of Portugal, and challenged them to battle, which to refuse would be infamy, and timidity, cowardice; that if they did not strike quickly and rigorously at once, it would be the prelude of still greater audacity; that it was not right that the reputation of Portugal should perish by the hands of such a vile enemy, when the existence of the Portuguese Empire in the East depended more on it than on the small force which guarded so large a dominion; that the idolater, grown insolent with success, would no doubt besiege us in *Columbo*, the very attempt at which would double the insult. They begged that His Highness would not delay to take up arms for the support and credit of his king, his nation, and his own reputation; for there was no other way to insure the safety of the lives of his subjects, their honour, and their properties.

There are no hearts more easy to deceive than the hearts of the loyal, especially so true a one as that of Constantino de Sá, in whose soul dwelt no duplicity nor the thought of treachery. He graciously listened to the *Zingalas*, and thanked them for the zeal and courage they showed in this struggle: and although he greatly loved the reputation of his king and the credit of his arms, having, up till then, always

seen them gloriously upheld, yet, with it all, he did not wish to stake his fortune, because of the limited power he had; so well might the prosperity of past victories have blunted him and lessened his modesty and moderation. For there is no doubt that blindness more than adversity had made the Captains hasty and sometimes venturesome, trusting more to fortune than to their power. But who is so mad as to hope to find in the fortune of war either safety or constancy, when the smallest accident might put an end to everything; for nothing is more subject to time and its vicissitudes.

Considering all these things, he proposed the expedition to the Captains who served with him; but there was great diversity of opinion amongst them.

Some of them said it was not right to put faith in the information the *Zingalas* gave, for it might be full of deceit and lies; because they were traitors by nature, and were now more than ever disloyal and inimical to the Portuguese, who had the souls of idolatrous infidels caged up in Christian bodies; and to be sincere, considering our small numbers, it would be more prudent to tolerate an insult we could not punish, since forbearance in times of danger and difficulty worked out what valour could not do.

Other Commanders were for taking up arms, for which they gave many reasons, saying that success was happiness but defeat was misery; that the good star of the Portuguese, together with their valour, were enough to supply all deficiencies they had in numbers; that what so many affirmed must be true, and that they would have to wait until the enemy came and insulted them at their own door. There was never more righteous cause for war: it was therefore only fair to hasten up to the relief of their faithful allies and subjects; but if they left them to their fate, what an example it would be: it would put an end to all the hopes that were set forth in our correspondence, and the Prince of *Uva* being a man of ambitious ideas and the greatest enemy the Portuguese had, his audacity and presumption would be

enough to disturb the whole Island and endanger the safety of the whole Portuguese Empire; it would bring on a new persecution of the Church, for he was a great enemy of the Christians.

They gave their votes for the General's decision, who, aware of the necessity of the expedition and its danger, hesitated not in coming to a speedy determination; for he was afraid that there was some treachery, from a letter he had received from the Viceroy of India. Notwithstanding his suspicions against his better judgment, he prepared for the campaign.

Suspicion, says the great Philip II., is like some poisons, which when tempered and given in small doses become medicines, but taken simple and largely kill. It is an ordinary fault of the Portuguese, which is excusable in them because inborn, and as it springs from honour it serves to preserve it.

It is needless to say that after Constantino de Sá had decided on the expedition he had some inkling of the conspiracy, and on finding out the truth he began it with great distrust. He acted, therefore, with caution and prudence, for if he had shown his suspicion by any sign he would have lost the best opportunities. He in fact placed all his care in investigating and searching, but found nothing he could lay his hands on: although, as Plato says, there are no small things in great matters; and this being of such importance the slightest suspicion should not be overlooked. For in all secret and hidden treachery the truth is most difficult to find out, unless the unity of the conspirators is undermined by some servant of theirs; which often happens, and then the whole conspiracy is discovered and the plot laid bare.

In March of the year we write of, [1]630, Don Miguel de Naroña, Count de Liñares, arrived in India to govern with the title of Viceroy, bringing with him favours, presents, and promises from His Majesty. He was a man of great parts, endowed with ability and integrity, and in everything he did in the king's service he behaved as a true knight. He succeeded the Count de la Vidigueira, of not unequal merits.

Before he arrived there had been an *interregnum* between the two Governorships of a year and a half, under the administration of the Bishop of *Cochin*, Don Fray Luis de Brito. Thirty years before he had governed India for the first time, and afterwards being President of the India Council in Portugal, and assisting the government of the States for many years, he acquired great knowledge in negotiation ; so that he governed them for the second time with great prudence and foresight.

It appeared to the Count de Liñares, in all the gallantry of his soul, that it was obligatory for him to show the princes of the East, at the beginning of his government, the sharpness of his sword by following up conquests and continuing wars, under the pretext of making the arms of Portugal appear formidable to her enemies, when they were thought most fallen, and to restore to them that ancient renown which had built up and preserved her Empire until then. Many most discreet and careful persons thought this resolution a wise one, making it appear that the whole success of the government depended on the fame he acquired in the beginning, since the other contingencies which may happen depend upon it : but there were not wanting others who condemned it as somewhat hasty, considering the state of the Spanish Monarchy, which was almost in its death's throes by the number of losses and public calamities, and the expectation of greater evils ; although they thought it prudent that in the districts where war was inevitable it was right to make it for the ultimate ends of peace ; and our forces in India being only an appearance, without substance, the faith and reputation of the Portuguese so many times trampled down, and the sacraments profaned, which the infidels had once venerated. For knowing whence came our power it would be wise to encourage industry and to dissemble ; because sometimes it was necessary to allow of toleration, for by it alone, both in time of prosperity and of adversity, can States be governed so far away from king's reliefs, with possessions so scattered apart and far distant : much more so if the

Portuguese were not masters of the seas, it was the only secure way of preserving them, and for the present that which was most important and which concerned us most was for our arms to protect and keep up our trade, and not to extend our conquests nor to add new kingdoms or dominions. It was better to purify the States we already had from the luxuries and vices which offended so against God, and which prevailed to such an extent in their midst and reduced them to such miserable ruin, and from the corrupt customs which had been neglected and even allowed by the authorities, and in our negligence never punished. But all misery and calamity, ruin, loss, and afflictions of all kinds which happen to kingdoms are punishments sent by Heaven to awaken them to repentance and reform.

And this reminds me of what I have heard from a very grave personage whom the Hollanders had taken captive on his way from the Indies, that their General, a person held in great respect and a man of repute amongst them, had told him that he might tell His Majesty that he should undeceive himself, that the prosperity and success they had gained were not because of the strength of their forces, since they had confessed the little they could do in respect to Spain; but all appeared as if it was a punishment sent by Heaven upon that Monarchy for its sins and vices.

It was rumoured that the Count-Viceroy desiring with this purpose to continue the war with *Candia* (little knowing the state of affairs in *Ceylan*), wrote twice to Constantino de Sá in somewhat harsh terms, blaming him for his silence, which seemed as if he was avoiding the enemy, and telling him that the Generals of the Island should mind war rather than trading.

The Count showed in this correspondence, if it be true, the little knowledge he had of the valour and disinterestedness of Constantino de Sá. But it is not to be believed that in order to arouse them he made use of such censures; and from what I know myself of his person, his friendship, his faith, the nobleness, courtesy, gentleness, and the kindness of his

disposition, I cannot persuade myself that it was his intention to offend a knight so honoured and respected, of such distinguished services, occupying the second position in India, a Governor and Captain-General of the king. It might have happened when the Viceroy was gathering information about the state and affairs of India that he listened to men who were hostile to the General: and as there is nothing more common than envy in mankind, and less noticed because of the disguises under which it lurks (sometimes hiding its venom under the cloak of zeal, at other times under that of modesty, often under that of friendship, only to obtain its ends), it may be that under these appearances, in order to deceive the Viceroy, they did all they could to tarnish the General's actions which had made them so envious; for there is nothing which foments envy more than success, courage praised, and virtue applauded.

The Island of *Ceylan* was, as we have said, well governed; and although the King of *Candia's* hands were strengthened by the conspiracy of *Columbo*, he was kept in check by the fortresses; and although he was not actually beleagured, yet was he not quite free. The Governor, therefore, until he heard of the Prince of *Uva's* coming, had been proceeding slowly with the war in the hope of gathering strength, and that His Majesty would assist him after what the Captains had represented to him, so that he would bring about the conquest and end the war once and for all; and to do that which would please him most, to stamp out the name of the idolater of Kandy, and bring the whole Island under one rule. Through it all he judged it best to seem ignorant of the conspiracy, and to tolerate the insult that the Prince of *Uva* had offered.

When the second letter from the Viceroy reached the General the *Zingala* traitors were working out their evil plot to its end; and with diffidence he decided to follow the way to his destruction. All things seem to help in misfortune; the most diverse ways seem to conform when God brings about the punishment.

Just at this time Ambrosio de Freitas resumed the duties

of *Veedor de la hazienda*, which was another cause of annoyance and trouble added to the misfortunes which had come about; for in revenge for former disputes he commenced to embroil himself with the Governor, who until then had managed the exchequer. His aim was to have an equal share in the administration; and disputing everything that was proposed, the discord increased and grew into hate, De Freitas magnifying every charge of falsehood which was brought against the character of the General, who in his will so generously pardoned him; and whose actions were always so clear and manifest to all that there never was anything which could be impugned.

There are some politicians who advise their prince to encourage enmity amongst his ministers; for by this means espionage is encouraged one against another, and a life of secrecy and fear is the result; since according to the maxim of a certain philosopher, more is due unto enemies than unto friends; for the former make men careful, whilst the latter make them careless. This advice cannot easily be followed out in the monarch's service, still less in his absence, because of the great loss which such disputes usually entail; for ministers are either good or bad: if good, that is for both king and country, it is indispensable that they should love one another, and as their end is the same, to be true to each other, there should be no enemies amongst them: but if they are bad, it is ground for the sovereign to hate them and to cast them from his side as the greatest pest that could befall the republic.

These dissensions caused a great deal of mischief. The soldiers were the worst sufferers; for they were deprived of their ordinary pay, and the Portuguese army was reduced to a miserable state.

In spite of all, the General decided on the expedition to *Uva*, and ordered the traitor *Modeliars* to enrol their lascarins, who marched in to the number of 13,000 men; and including the *Casados* (married men) of *Columbo*, together with all the recruits, there were scarcely 500

Portuguese, and amongst these there were a great many boys and old men, and not more than 200 who were capable of bearing arms.

He left *Manicravare* in search of the Prince of *Uva*, the 25th of August, 1630, having made his arrangements before leaving about the Government of the Island during his absence. The care of it he gave over to Lancarote de Freitas, who was a man of trust. Taking with his army a number of priests and confessors to help the temporal with spiritual arms, he sent out an edict for his soldiers to confess and receive the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist before they made a step in advance. Afterwards he gave orders to march in the name of the Holy Cross, to which he was so devoted; for it was always his device in all his enterprises, fighting under that glorious tree of life, whose symbol he always had painted on his standards as a declared Knight of the Military Order of Christ.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Description of the Kingdom of Uva and the cause which obliged the General Constantino de Sá y Noroña to take to the Mountains. The Prince of Uva's skilful retreat and halt at Retule. The General hems him in and forces him to fight. The Conspiracy of our Disavas with the Prince and the Candian against the General. The determined resolution he made against the Kingdom of Uva, putting it to fire and sword. He fights with great odds against the Prince and the King of Candia. The desertion of our Levies, and death of the General fighting gloriously in Battle.

The Kingdom of *Uva* is situated in the middle of *Ceylan*, a country bordering on *Candia* and subject to its king, whose eldest son bears the title of "Prince of *Uva*." The steep rugged mountains amongst which it lies renders it inaccessible. Its court and chief city they call *Retule*, which

lies forty-five leagues distant from *Columbo* over difficult and dangerous roads. It is perched on a lofty eminence, most difficult of access.

The General did not halt until he arrived (at *Retule*) to besiege it; for his spies had advised him that the Prince of *Uva* was awaiting him with great bravery. But the prince changing his plans, and pretending fear and small numbers, so as to draw Constantino de Sá more into the mountains, abandoned his capital and fled to the most inaccessible part of the highlands. Our troops set it on fire; and soon afterwards the General halted in front of it to rest and refresh his men, who were footsore and weary after so toilsome a journey.

In the meanwhile the traitors had time to communicate with the King of *Candia*, and to settle what they had to do. Barbarism is unworthy of the name of kings. This the Romans so abominated in the murder of Viriatus (that formidable enemy of the Republic), which was brought about by treachery rather than by the valour of Servilius Scipio. But the glory and strength of barbarians rest in trusting more to the prosperity of fortune than to their bravery; for they hold treachery in great estimation, by no means looking upon it as infamous. So did these men make use of it, because of the respect and fear in which they lived of the General. They thought it best to liberate themselves by this means from the fear and danger in which they lived of being discovered; and although it was dishonourable it was the safest thing they could do, because they placed the Empire of *Ceylan* in jeopardy, when they were most cast down and hemmed in.

The traitors after these secret interviews, in which they arranged the plot and the manner it was to be carried out, returned to the camp and intermingled with our men, amongst whom a rumour already got about as to their designs.

And at this time there came to tell of them to the General a *Zingala Arache*, whose name was *Don Jeronimo Idrumaraturi*, a most faithful friend of the Portuguese, and it was matter of no small wonder to have one good man among so

many bad, and one loyal amid so many disloyal. He informed the General of all that was passing; and in assurance of his fidelity offered to die fighting by his side rather than to live among traitors, and to exchange for a life of infamy an honourable death. It is impossible to find out how this *Zingala* came to know of the business, and, as it was the common property of all, why the knowledge of it came so late to him. Even when he came to the General with the news, another version was handed to him in an *ola* written in the *Zingala* language, and couched in the usual metaphors they make use of. As the General was dependant on the *Motiar* who deciphered it, and as he suspected he was telling lies, he took no further notice of the warning; although he knew that it was not prudent to depreciate things which were in the mouths of so many. It is also said that there came another *ola* into the hands of the General, the very letter of the King of *Candia* to the conspirators, which contained the whole plan of the plot, and when placing it before his Captains, as men who from experience knew the scheming and treacherous idolater, they were of opinion that it was a contrivance to throw suspicion on the *Zingalas*, and to put the General on his guard against them. By this alone, after he had listened to *Don Jeronimo*, he came to the conclusion that his fate was sealed: then having a thousand ways of intercepting it, it seemed to him as if Heaven was either allowing it or doing it as a punishment for a cause God alone knew.

*Don Jeronimo* advised the General, before the affair got known, to seize the conspirators, summoning to him on some pretence or another, and then by punishing them it would be easy to prevent free communication with the lascarins, who were perhaps ignorant of the treachery.

The General following his advice called a Council of all the Captains, and amongst them summoned the conspirators. But either he had laid bare his heart, which almost had a presentiment of the future, or their consciences smote them, which were darker than that of any tyrants:

for, as a philosopher has said, whosoever smothers his conscience it will never trouble him. They did not wish to obey the General's mandate; although afterwards, as if repentant, they came to his presence in company with their advisers and comrades, whom they brought with them as a guard, and from their words and bearing, which seemed to show forth their treachery, the General gave himself up for lost. But he concealed his feelings so well and appeared so trusting that he never allowed them once to remark the least suspicion, nor at the same time the slightest insight into what he was resolved to do; because the guard they had was a strong one, which showed the mood they were in. In order to disguise his own mind the General asked them what he should do on the occasion. They replied that it would be best for him to go back to *Columbo*, since the insult he had received from the Prince of *Uva* had been fully revenged. His Highness should be content in having destroyed and razed to the ground the principal city of his State, and compelled him to retire into a corner of the mountains, with great loss of reputation for having fled from such unequal numbers, and that it was a warning to him henceforth not to attempt any further attack. He did not deserve such wholesome counsel from such weak minds. With this they retired, thinking they had left the General satisfied of their obedience.

Our army was formed up on the summit of a mountain facing the city of *Retule;* and on its slopes the enemy appeared in such an array of barbarism that they spread over the whole mountains and country round about, being in such numbers that, according to some accounts, they swarmed in increasing numbers every instant in order to surround us. Some make the number of the enemy to have been 80,000 fighting men, others less; but there is no account that says they did not exceed 20,000. Now they form up in a circle, now they divide into companies, and soon after, although they are a good way off, they threaten the Christians by discharging arquebuses, as men expecting orders to

advance. But by this time it had got dark, and the General presumed that during this cessation the barbarians would not dare to attack before the traitors had given the signal for the declaration of rebellion. With this misgiving, after seeing his own men placed in the very centre of all, he spoke to them in words like these :—

My friends and comrades! You are now aware of a conspiracy of traitors. It came late to our knowledge, because there is nothing so easy as to deceive a loyal heart. The only remedy we have is in God's hands, to whom we ought to pray first of all, and then our constancy and steady resolution will not fail us in the last extremity. I confess that great is the peril of the present moment; but the greater the danger the greater will be your courage. The memory of the many victories we have gained over these barbarians should verily, O comrades, give us hope. These are the same enemies whose backs we have so often seen : they fight with numbers on their side ; but we have valour. Heaven, whose cause we fight for, will not forsake us, inasmuch as we have always found it favourable. Unless we had experience of the cowardice of these barbarians, it was sufficient demonstration of it to see how their princes make use of traitors to carry out their plans. It shames me to think that, for the space of even a night, they should be allowed to remain in our midst ; for there is nothing more hateful to the good than evil companionship. But the light will soon come which will separate us from this contagion, and then we shall be able to distinguish the traitor from the obedient, the infamous from the faithful. If God spares my life, I hope that there will be no rewards wanting for some and punishments for others. With this fervent wish I give you my word not to forsake you. Here you see your General, your friend, and your comrade : may he be a refuge to you in this great peril. These barbarians will not delay more than beyond the night their attack on us, nor the traitors in leaving us. It is better that we should give up all but our arms, for we shall be the lighter to use them and less impeded for whatever might happen. We shall only reserve a little rice sufficient to last us two days, and just enough to be carried in the girdle : the rest will be given to the flames ; for should we come out conquerors, what greater riches do you require than victory? If, with all, God will be served by the triumph of our enemies, we shall find the greatest happiness in so honourable a death ; since we shall die so gloriously, doing our duty for the service of our religion and our king.

The faithful with great alacrity obeyed their General, and with great protestations and oaths swore to die by his side. After this they immediately made a pile of everything they had brought with them for their food and comfort and put

fire to it, spending the night in preparing themselves for the feast they expected on the following day. There was not one who, in imitation of their General, did not confess more than once that they were determined to sell their lives dearly, and show the enemy that the Portuguese, with the same valour they disregarded life, despised death. The General, glad to see such fidelity and courage in his men, after he had spoken to each of his Captains in turn, exhorted those *Zingalas* who still remained faithful, but whose numbers he could not tell. All that is known is that they were very few who feared to die, since it was the means to reap the reward for all the toil and trouble they had suffered to preserve the faith in that Island, in whose defence they were to die like true martyrs of Christ.

Day was beginning to dawn when the traitors, the safer to carry out their wicked plans, came up to the General, still presuming to deceive him, and asked him that they might be allowed to lead the vanguard from the camp in order to display their courage in receiving the first onslaught of the enemy at the foot of the mountain; and as they were in such numbers he did not think it prudent to refuse them what they asked. It now being about the eighth hour of the morning he raised camp and commenced his march in the following order.

*Don Cosmo* led the van, and after him followed his three companions, *Don Alexo* coming last with the rest of the lascarins. The Portuguese formed one squadron, their flanks covered by a few of the most reliable *Zingalas*; and the General, without keeping to one post, went about from one division to another, exposing himself wherever there was most danger. The enemy seeing us come down prepared to receive us in such numbers and with such impetuosity that it was necessary for the Christians to keep well together so as not to throw the whole into confusion.

*Don Cosmo* then seeing what was passing, so as to throw all doubt of his treachery to the winds, killed a Portuguese named *Fulano Bernades*, who happened to be

nearest him at the time, and cutting off his head placed it aloft on a pike, tying a handkerchief round it, which to the enemy was to be the signal of the rebellion. The lascarins who were ignorant of it, now aware of their Captain's intentions, faced about and mixed up with the Portuguese; and *Don Alexo* ordering his men to run down the friendlies with their pikes, these were compelled to follow their comrades, who, uniting together, attacked us in front, whilst the enemy fell on our flanks.

The traitors already giving us up for lost, some of them made off for *Columbo* to place their houses and families beforehand in security against the fury of their opponents, who, although they were friends and bound to them, would be in such numbers that it would be difficult in the first onslaught to distinguish friends from foes. The General had written to *Columbo* of the peril he was in, and had prepared as much as he could for the defence of that city, on which depended a great district not to be lost.

The Portuguese and the few *Zingalas* who still followed them fought the whole of that day with incredible valour, without one moment's respite; for the barbarians, continually reinforced by numbers, fought with great bravery, and although they had lost considerably, there were so many still alive that they made no account of the dead. At last cutting through all this press, our men came down the mountain side, forcing the enemy to retreat with no little loss. But against such swarms what could avail? Numbers of our men had fallen, and those who remained were nearly all wounded. The General had no place to entrench his men, but open country, nowhere to retreat, nor place where he could erect a fort or redoubt wherein to shelter himself from the enemy who surrounded him on every side. Holding him encircled the barbarians came on like a pack of mad dogs, who, craving to bite all who pass by them, whenever attacked run, but anon return and bark at a distance, importunate and furious until they seize their prey.

Although night had set in they were still hovering round with ferocious yells, sometimes retiring to throw spears and shoot arrows, which although they did not do much damage, were yet sufficient to annoy. The General, ever vigilant throughout all this distress, having lost that night the best soldiers he had, never once gave up hope : his courage never flagged, but seemed to increase with the danger. After looking to the wounded he encouraged every man, and made them lie down and eat what they could whilst the darkness continued : then he left them to repose, after having eaten so much as was necessary to recruit their bodies after such toil and watching, which had weakened and taken away the strength they so much needed. Scarcely had our men commenced to eat, when a great thunderstorm burst over their heads with torrents of rain and hail, as if Heaven itself was conspiring against these poor wretches, and as if its anger would not allow even that brief repose, assisting in their ruin and helping the barbarous infidels to bring about our destruction—means which God invariably sends as a punishment for the happy and profitable justification of his Catholics.

These considerations often make me smile at our human frailty, when pride and blind error tries to search for mortals the unfathomable and hidden mysteries, when it is better for them to trust with firm faith than to inquire in ignorant curiosity. For the afflictions and calamities which the Christians suffered, and the successes which the infidels gained, appear to our ignorance an argument in favour of Divine impiety, careless as to reward or punishment, without examining the merits of each; the truth being that there can be no fault in the equality with which Providence singularly governs things. Inscrutable are the judgments of that First Cause of Causes whom we worship under that infallible name of God: although many are mysterious, none are unjust. Who, for the greater justification of His elect and predestinated, and for the eternal damnation of the reprobate, desires that his Church Militant should

suffer, and that the heathen should triumph, so that afterwards it would return triumphant; the heathen suffering eternal pains, and His Church triumphing in everlasting glory. Carried away by ignorance and the want of the light of faith, which lead us to believe this as truth (without ever having known truth, as says Tacitus and many other moral philosophers), that human events are governed by chance. And this blindness was so great that they came to blaspheming their gods, calling them unjust and revengeful, and saying that they had no interest nor care for mortals, seeing that they allowed the good to suffer and the bad to prosper in happiness, the ignorant erred, and the philosopher and priest were silent; because, knowing the falseness of their deities, in that they were either of stone, wood, or marble, of which they were made, how could they contain sentiments of vengeance or any other feeling, divine or moral? But as our true God, Supreme Maker, Creator, and Preserver of all things, on whom all things depend as they depend upon His providence: all is ordained, all true, all harmony, all symmetry. And this being a true, infallible, and certain thing in this case, as in other examples throughout time, we see that God punished us in *Ceylan* perhaps for the sins our people have committed in this Island, and allowed the death of these few because He found them prepared for salvation; inasmuch that He always carries out His will by means of the passions of men, and by means of their iniquity He manifests the justice of His judgments. This is why we marvel at this hidden vein of wisdom which we cannot solve; and we know that all punishments are for ultimate good, although our blind understanding cannot see it, and is so sluggish that it cannot follow it, because to us the true goal is hidden and unseen, to which we arrive without our knowing it; like some rivers which lost to sight flow underground to the sea, which is their final home.

Returning to the thread of our history. The storm, which lasted many hours, caused the greatest distress amongst our men: there remained neither provisions, powder, nor

ammunition which were not saturated, rendering it absolutely impossible for them to use their arquebuses in their defence; so that they gave themselves up for lost, looking upon this last calamity which had befallen them as if it was from the hand of God. They reconciled themselves, and gave thanks unto Him, spending the remainder of the night in preparing for death like Christians. It was comforting to see how they exhorted one another, and how the General went about encouraging all not to fear so ordinary a thing as death, inasmuch that he looked upon his own as a triumph to be obtained above all titles.

The priests, both Jesuits and Franciscans, went about the camp like true Apostles, inspiring courage into the souls and minds of those poor Portuguese, of whom there barely remained more than 300, and a small number of *Zingalas*. The most conspicuous of them all for his zeal was the Padre *Simon de Leiva* of the Company of Jesus, a man of great virtue and unblemished life, the General's confessor, whose side he never left until he gave up the ghost.

At about the first watch of the night came *Luis Gomes Pinto*, one of the principal and bravest Captains of *Ceylan*, who had many times served as *Disava* and Captain-Major of the Camp, to persuade the General to make use of the opportunity and escape to *Columbo*, having chosen 50 soldiers to escort him: with these, taking advantage of the few hours that remained to them of night, he could elude the enemy, and making a rapid retreat, place himself in safety. He begged the General to consider the loss his death would be, and that for many years there had not been another man of such renown and valour as Constantino de Sá found in the king's service. He told him that it was not a new thing for great Captains to retreat, considering we had a thousand examples amongst the most renowned and bravest Captains of the world, who had good reason for so doing; because the safety of kingdoms depends on the lives of the great men who sustain and exalt them, and sometimes the greatest defeats are restored in this manner when there is no other

way open. The General, although he well knew the zeal and bravery of *Luis Gomes* (for he had offered his own person instead to remain at the post of danger to the last), listened to him with some degree of impatience, understanding that he was to save himself alone. He replied with his face full of anger :—

He did not love his life so much as to preserve it at the expense of his honour. He was aware that he could save himself, yet as he had to give an account of his army to his king, and to leave a good name to the world : to die would not be a fault, but to live would be, if they saw that the General had saved himself. What if he took away fifty men, when they were so few already,—what would the rest do, abandoned by their best comrades ? *Columbo* and the fortresses of the Island had sufficient garrisons to defend themselves if honour and zeal actuated their Governors and Captains. As to the enemy, whatever glory remained to them they could not forget that they got it only by treason and treachery on their part, and for that reason now more than ever they had to fear the arms of the incensed Portuguese, burning under insult. That for the post of General there would not be wanting happier and more fortunate subjects who would do credit to the Portuguese nation, and who would revenge the present disaster. It concerned him for that nation to die at his post fighting bravely, and doing his duty faithfully to his God and his king. Heaven would not allow him to desert his Portuguese in their last extremity, when they had followed him and suffered with him through all the dangers gone through in this Island : their fortunes were his, and he would live or die with them.

With this firm resolution, as soon as day dawned the General raised his camp and commenced his march in the same order as before. The barbarians came swarming round him with renewed fury, and in the form of a half moon, which gradually spread out into a complete circle. Our little force remained in the centre hard pressed and confounded. They tried in vain to discharge their arquebuses, for their powder was wet and useless, and their slow matches extinguished. They marched on, astonished at the skill with which the enemy wounded them from afar with their arrows and arquebuses ; and having recourse to their swords, which alone they could freely use, the barbarians dared not come to close quarters, for they were killed as soon as they came up to our ranks.

The General seeing his men now thrown into confusion, after he had done all he could as a brave and experienced Captain, amid the groans of the wounded and the remonstrances of his Portuguese soldiers, the bravest of whom were already dead, and the few faithful *Zingalas* that were left, as a last resource took up a position with two of his own retainers, who exchanged arquebuses with him, and with these he kept firing, inflicting such loss on the enemy that none of them dared approach him. They all desired to take him, for the enemy's princes had given strict injunctions and offered great rewards to whoever would take him alive, thinking it the only way to secure victory. It was wonderful the activity the bravest barbarians displayed to obey their king; but as love of life is more powerful amongst them than fidelity, they would not venture near, but kept at a safe distance, astonished at the undaunted courage with which he held them at bay over a pile of dead bodies. At last his two retainers who helped him with their arquebuses were killed, and lifting up his sword like a brave lion he rushed into the thick of the enemy with the courage of despair, and with his own arm killed seventeen of them before they managed to wound him: such was the havoc he made that they declared he sent sixty of them to hell before he had done. The barbarians informed the King of *Candia* of this death roll, assuring him that the General's valour was sufficient to destroy the whole of them; for some exaggerated his skill, others his strength, and every one of them his valour, as he never missed a stroke, and rushing into the press wherever there was the greatest danger, he seemed to recover strength, and in the wholesale slaughter of his adversaries to find new life and renewed courage. With this the idolater of *Candia* gave permission to kill him; then they rained shot and arrows on the General; and one having traversed his breast, and another his back, leaning upon his confessor, and whilst on his knees receiving his last absolution, came an arrow which clove through both their heads, when their united spirits fled to Him who created them.

The barbarians, mad with rage and cruelty, then rushed on the body of the General, cutting it up and hacking it so that they only left the head, which they brought in great triumph to the King of *Candia*. After it had been held up for all to see that they might know that he was dead, and to remove from them the terror of his name, it was carried from one end of the kingdom of *Candia* to the other, and afterwards nailed to a high tree in the Seven *Corlas*, in the centre of other heads of famous Portuguese Captains who had also perished in this fight.

It is miraculous what I have heard said by persons of credit who were in *Ceylan* at this time that six months after this unfortunate disaster the General's head was found still fresh and pure, with a beautiful colour on it, and without any injury from time or other accidental causes, whilst those of his companions were dried up, and the skulls laid bare, quite disfigured from what they were. And what is more worthy of consideration is that it has been affirmed that from the first day it was nailed upon the tree it shed blood, so that it could not be dried up—a marvel which caused such veneration amongst the barbarians that they did not wish to give it up for ransom ; for his own soldiers loved him so much that even when dead they offered large sums to have it back. It is not my intention to invent miracles, nor qualify with such this event. I would prefer to doubt in the probability and examine the causes of similar cases, but in a thing so marvellous we cannot put it down to natural causes. It would be right that, by command of His Majesty, it should be verified for the glory of God and for the honour of such a vassal who died in manner so becoming a Christian, as a knight and soldier of Christ and of his king.

Such was the death of Constantino de Sá y Noroña, glorious by many titles, and so much so that it can be justly called a martyrdom rather than a death ; inasmuch that it is to be believed that by these means he passed away from this worn-out perishable life to the eternal and blessed one. It happened on the 20th of August of the year 1630, at the

flourishing age of forty-four—a short life no doubt if reckoned by the number of years, but a very long one if we regard the number and glory of his deeds which made him illustrious in India. There was not one in the land who did not deplore this event; for now more than ever were the hopes of those belonging to his government gone. They had lost a man whose loss alone was enough to weaken the Portuguese prestige in these States; for eighteen years he had served them, occupying, as has been related, the highest posts in war with valour and experience; twice Governor of *Ceylan*—the highest and most important post in India.

To these considerations of the public welfare may be added other particulars which were not the less felt. Those were the noble qualities which were united in the person of Constantino de Sá as a knight, a soldier, and a statesman, not because they were uncommon and were difficult to find in any other subject, but because he was also a true Christian, liberal-minded, courteous, easy, and affable in his manners. He was at the same time cautious and prudent, upright without egotism or avariciousness, ambitious only of his honour. He was a good man, above all things zealous for the propagation of religion and for the service of the king, in which he performed acts of love and kindness not often practised by other subjects, respected, obeyed, and looked up to for his gifted mind. He had a gallant bearing added to a shapely well-proportioned form and figure, tall and strong, with an expression at once pleasing and manly; his body was a natural fortress of great strength and perfect health.

Such were the parts and such the person of Constantino de Sá y Noroña, a man whose greatness may without a doubt be compared to the greatest men celebrated in the histories of our conquests in Asia. He was the equal of them all in discipline and the art of war, and kept up the Portuguese reputation when it had most fallen, when the glory of their arms had faded, and their name was almost ignored, when their declining power was contested by their greatest European

enemies, the competitors and usurpers of their Eastern Empire. He served his king for no reward, giving up his home and leaving wife and family, and last of all his memory exposed to the criticism of the evil tongues of idlers, who qualify actions by the results, their judgment being without licence and full of envy.

It is true that the philosophers do not condemn nor pronounce judgment on things by their results, but only by the causes and beginnings, because the former are due to fortune, or rather to Providence, which governs and disposes all things according to Its will; but the latter are framed by man's own reason, and begun according to the care he takes as to the best means to bring about success.

It is evident that Constantino de Sá behaved as a true and honourable *Cavallero:* trusting traitors when he was ignorant of treason, he was more unfortunate than culpable. The success or failure of an enterprise neither gives nor takes away from the glory which is due to a hero whose deeds and virtues have made him illustrious to his country. How full is history of the misfortunes of the most invincible Captains. They are more as examples of the wonderful vicissitudes of fortune than an attempt to tarnish their glory. Pompey conquered, Hannibal defeated; Francis, king of France, taken prisoner; the defeat and sinking of his opponent Charles the Fifth's fleet at Algiers : none of these events wiped out the famous deeds of their soldiers, who, in spite of these misfortunes, deserved the name of Great, because of their steadfastness in suffering. Nor are they worthy of less praise who fell by the sword, or by poison, at the hand of traitors or of enemies, or by the violence of fate, as happened to Variatus, Julius Cæsar, Henry IV., Alexander, and Germanicus, and in our own times in India to the Almeidas, father and son; in Africa, to the Menezes and the Atraides; and lastly, to the numbers of great men and valiant soldiers who in our wars of conquest met with tragical deaths, always mournful but glorious; for their fame was not buried with their bodies nor their

merits obliterated, although their princes might have shown shortcoming in the rewards they owed for their services.

Our General surpassed all in the manner of his death since he revenged it beforehand by the numbers of enemies he killed by his own hand, the odds against which he fought, the immense numbers of the enemy—not an enemy without a name, nor without valour, like the Western Jews, nor effeminate cowards like most Oriental nations, but barbarians looked upon as the bravest and most warlike in the world. On the other hand, he had not been subdued by the enemies' strength and power, but for the temerity and small numbers of the Portuguese, the infidelity and treason of the *Zingalas*, the difficulties of the ground, the tempestuous weather, the irremediable dangers that surrounded him—not a single thing that did not conspire against his life : he at last fell sword in hand, and was cut to pieces in the service of his God and his king ; for which he rendered his name glorious and respected by posterity, the memory of it putting to shame those who tried to slander him in the ears of his sovereign,—those whose duty it was to have informed him of the meritorious deeds,—because they saw themselves exposed to the freaks of fortune by the example of the services he *(Constantino de Sá)* rendered their country.

But low as envy could tarnish the merits of Constantino de Sá, they could not deprive him of the monument my pen now erects to his fame, which will last as long as our writings. He will enjoy throughout eternity eternal bliss, although his body lies without a tomb (the last calamity that could befall a Roman), his valour instead of reward having the recognition due to his virtues—virtues worthy of such a guerdon and of everlasting praise.

*Laus Deo.*

CEYLON
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